Biographia Evangelica:

OR, AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES AND DEATHS

Of the moſt eminent and evangelical

AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,

BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,

IN THE SEVERAL

DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,

From the Beginning of the Reformation, to the preſent Time:

WHEREIN

Are collected, from authentic Hiſtorians, their moſt remarkable ACTIONS, SUFFERINGS, and WRITINGS; exhibiting the Unity of their FAITH and EXPERIENCE in their ſeveral *Ages*, *Countries*, and *Profeſſions*; and illuſtrating the Power of DIVINE GRACE in their *holy Living* and *Dying*.

By the Rev. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,
Lecturer of *St. Bennet's*, Grace-church Street; and of *St. Helen's*, Biſhopſgate Street.

The FAITHFUL are—*choſen in Chriſt*; Eph. i. 4.—*called by Grace*; Gal. i. 15.—*juſtified freely by Grace*; Rom. iii. 24.—*holy and beloved*; Col. iii. 12.—They *live by Faith*; Gal. iii. 11.—*obtain a good Report through Faith*; Heb. xi. 39.—*die bleſſed in the Lord*; Rev. xiv. 13.—*ſhall appear with him in Glory*. Col. iii. 4.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed by J. W. PASHAM, for the AUTHOR;
And ſold by ALEX. HOGG, No. 16. Pater-noſter Row; G. KEITH, Grace-church ſtreet; and J. MATHEWS, No. 18. in the Strand,
M.DCC.LXXIX.

W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

AT a Time, when Infidelity and Irreligion abound on the one Hand, and Popery and other heretical Tenets are making large Strides upon the Reformed Religion on the other; it hath been thought neceſſary, by many ſerious Perſons, of all the Proteſtant Denominations among us, to oppoſe a Torrent of Wickedneſs and Deluſion, which threatens to bear down all before it. The Judgements of GOD, which ſeem to hang over us as a Nation, and the dreadful Scourge of War, with which we are already viſited, may juſtly be imputed to the prevailing Iniquity of the Times, the Diſſoluteneſs of our public Principles and Manners, and the open Diſregard for the LORD OF HOSTS, which ſo many among us, in Practice if not in Words, have dared to avow. We have reaſon to tremble as a Nation, under the awful Viſitations of the ALMIGHTY; and to fear, that, unleſs a Reformation of our general Conduct take place, and a greater Regard be paid to the Intereſts of Religion and Truth, we ſhall be afflicted with yet heavier Diſpenſations, and that what we ſee already, is only *the Beginning of Sorrows.*

With this View it hath been ſuggeſted, that (as nothing makes ſtronger Impreſſions upon the Mind than *Example*) a Review of the Lives and Principles of the moſt eminent Perſons in the Proteſtant Churches, from the Beginning of the Reformation to the preſent Day, might be a providential Means of aſſiſting, at leaſt, in giving a Check to

this general Inundation of Infidelity and falſe Opinions. The attentive Peruſal and Conſideration of what thoſe great and good Men maintained, ſuffered for, or died in Poſſeſſion of; may, in the Hand of GOD, be inſtrumental in leading others to follow their Example, or at leaſt deter many from reviling and contemning thoſe peculiar Principles of the Proteſtant Doctrine, which their Indolence or their Ignorance have not ſuffered them to underſtand. It may ſafely be ſaid, that nothing has contributed ſo much to the Reception of impious or ſuperſtitious Tenets among us, as the ſpiritual Darkneſs of our *preſent enlightened Age*, which indeed has made great Improvements in the Knowledge of every Thing *but* one—and that is, *the One Thing Needful.* Our Youth are trained up, according to the Faſhion, in the Ignorance and Contempt of every Thing ſacred; and no Man is allowed either Senſe or Diſcretion, unleſs he is quite at Eaſe with reſpect to Religion, and indifferent to the great Concerns of Eternity. In ſhort, to be polite, in the common Acceptation, is to be profane; and to gain a Character of Underſtanding and Honor, a Man muſt affect to deſpiſe the conſcientious Purity of the Goſpel, and openly diſregard the AUTHOR of all Wiſdom. What can be hoped for from Maxims like theſe; but what we have already found; viz. *Irreligion* on the one Side, and *ſpiritual Error* on the other? And theſe, we may expect, will draw upon us (as they did upon the Churches of *Aſia*) the dreadful Scourges of GOD, by *outward* Calamities, and in the Progreſs of *inward* Blindneſs or Abandonment.

Every Man, therefore, who has any Concern for the Glory of GOD, the Purity of the Goſpel, and the beſt Intereſts of Poſterity, will readily (we ſhould hope) give his earneſt Encouragement to a Work, which ſeems calculated for theſe important Purpoſes, as well as his own Edification. It is a FAMILY-BOOK, and may be put into

into the Hands of Youth, both for their Information as a Hiſtory, and for their Profit as an Inſtructor. Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments* were ordered by Authority to be placed in every Church, that the People of the ſeveral Pariſhes in the Kingdom, might be led, to a thorough Deteſtation of the poiſonous Principles and bloody Practices of the *Papiſts*. 'Tis to be regretted, that this Order, like many others, is grown obſolete. Perhaps, in no Caſe, is the Diſuſe of wholeſome Injunctions more to be lamented, than in the unbridled Liberty, which is taken in the Education of our Youth. People, of the worſt Principles, may, without Examination, inculcate them freely upon the riſing Generation: And thus, inſidiouſly, Popery, Infidelity, and Immorality, are ſcattered all over the Land. However, it cannot be unſeaſonable for Parents, in particular, to lay a Work of this Kind before their Children, when the Tenets of *Rome*, dangerous to all civil and religious Liberty, ſeem to be gaining Ground among us. Thoſe, indeed, are the moſt *ignorant* of the Community, who are infected or moſt likely to be infected by that corrupt Leaven; for, it may be truly ſaid, no Man was ever ſeduced into its erroneous Principles, either by the Conviction of his *Reaſon* or his *Senſes*, and much leſs by the Sanctions of *Scripture*. And we muſt do the Papiſts the Juſtice to ſay, that they do not attempt this Sort of Conviction. Their Arguments and Inducements are laid in the Fears of the *Simple*, who know neither the true Doctrines of Chriſtianity nor themſelves, and in their own ſelf-ſufficient, or rather all-ſufficient, *Authority*; which, if it was properly explained, would ſooner excite the Contempt and Abhorrence, than the Approbation of any reaſonable Being.

As to the Work itſelf, we have freely made uſe of the ſeveral Authors who penned the Lives of theſe illuſtrious Men; omitting what was either too prolix for our Plan,

or

or what, upon Compariſon with other Accounts, did not appear ſufficiently founded; and adding many Circumſtances, which had eſcaped them or have ſince been collected by others. By this Method, we may, without Vanity, hope, that theſe Relations are in general more complete than thoſe which have been hitherto offered to the Public. In the ſeveral Accounts of theſe evangelical Men, the great Object of our Plan has been the general Edification, as well as Information; and, for this End, the Reader will find many ſerious Reflections interſperſed throughout the Work. How far we have ſucceeded, muſt be ſubmitted to the Judgement of the Reader; whom, if a ſincere Chriſtian, we ſhall truſt to pleaſe; and, if otherwiſe, we ought not to be anxious about it.

We will only detain the Reader to aſſure him, that no bigotted Partiality to Sects or Denominations, whether eſtabliſhed or tolerated, will be found in this Collection; but our whole Attention has been paid to truly great and gracious Characters of all thoſe Perſuaſions, which hold the diſtinguiſhing Principles of the Goſpel, and are united in the main Endeavor to promote our common Chriſtianity.

The Copper-plates are the Performance of an ingenious young Artiſt, and ſufficiently beſpeak his Merit. The Encouragers of this Undertaking will perceive, that this Part of the Work has been performed in a Manner much ſuperior to what is generally given; and, we doubt not, it will be fully agreeable to their Expectation.

May the GOD of all Grace be pleaſed to bleſs our Attempt; to the Inſtruction of *the Ignorant and them that are out of the Way*; to the Edification of humble Profeſſors of the Goſpel; and to the Satisfaction of all thoſe, whatever be their outward Denomination, who *love our* LORD JESUS CHRIST *in Sincerity.*

INDEX.

INDEX.

	Page
WICKLIFFE	1
Huſs	29
Jerom of *Prague*	47
John de Weſaliâ	58
Hamilton	59
Geldenhaur	81
Oecolampadius	85
Zuinglius	99
Bilney	114
Frith	123
Tindale	128
Lambert	139
Regius	144
Capito	147
Simon Grynæus	149
Leo Judæ	152
Brulius	154
Luther	158
Wiſhart	235
F. Myconius	250
Diazius	254
Cruciger	257
Fagius	260
Bucer	264
Munſter	290
Hedio	291
Geo. Pr. of *Anhalt*	292
Rogers	296
Saunders	304
Hooper	317
Taylor	330
Ferrar	346
Bradford	352
Jonas	373
Latimer	376
Ridley	403
Philpot	428
Cranmer	434
Ponet	469
Melancthon	471
John à Laſco	492
P. Martyr	499
Tho. Grynæus	509
Vergerio	511

INDEX.

	Page
BILNEY	114
Bradford	352
Brulius	154
Bucer	264
Capito	147
Cranmer	434
Cruciger	257
Diazius	254
Fagius	260
Ferrar	346
Frith	123
Geldenhaur	81
Geo. Pr. of *Anhalt*	292
Grynæus Simon	149
Grynæus Thomas	509
Hamilton	59
Hedio	291
Hooper	317
Huſs	29
Jerom of *Prague*	47
John à Laſco	492
Jonas	373
Lambert	139
Latimer	376
Leo Judæ	152
Luther	158
P. Martyr	499
Melancthon	471
Myconius, F.	250
Munſter	290
Oecolampadius	85
Philpot	428
Ponet	469
Regius	144
Ridley	403
Rogers	296
Saunders	304
Taylor	330
Tindale	128
Vergerio	511
Weſaliâ, John de	58
Wickliffe	1
Wiſhart	235
Zuinglius	99

LETTERS
OF
RECOMMENDATION
Received from the following DIVINES.

DEAR SIR,

I Have perused the first Volume of your BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA with great Pleasure, and admire both the Plan and Execution thereof. May the great Head of the Church bless this Undertaking, so highly seasonable at this critical Period; when the glorious Doctrines of the Reformation (in Defence whereof many of those illustrious Worthies laid down their Lives) are too generally denied on the one Hand; and the Errors of Popery are evidently gaining Ground on the other! This Publication therefore, I doubt not, will be blessed to the Glory of our GOD and SAVIOUR, and to the Establishment of His People in the fundamental Truths of the Gospel: and I trust you will meet with the utmost Encouragement from Believers of every Denomination. For my own Part, I shall be happy to recommend it as far as my little Influence may be supposed to extend. Your enriching this valuable Work with so many excellent Plates renders it one of the cheapest Publications I have seen, and must be a great Recommendation of it to the Public. Praying therefore for a Blessing on this and every Labour of Love for the REDEEMER's Sake, I remain, with great Esteem and Regard,

Dear Sir,

Dec. 2, 1779. At the Countess of HUNTINGDON's House, Spa-Fields, London.

Your affectionate Friend,
J. WILLS.

REV. SIR,

AS you have been so obliging as to solicit me to give my Opinion of a Work which you are now publishing, I am happy to assure you that it gives me great Pleasure to find that a Thing of this Nature is undertaken. The Plan, you have adopted, has often passed through my own Mind; and I have myself purposed to *attempt*, what I hope you will be encouraged to *finish*.

You may be apprehensive, and a little fearful perhaps, that the BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA will not meet with general Acceptance: you will at least have the Honour of having designed a Work which, if I mistake not, is *original* in its Way, and which, if properly regarded, is calculated to be of *extensive* and *lasting Benefit* to Mankind.

History is certainly *the Key of Knowledge:* and biographical History has this peculiar Advantage, that it contains the Knowledge of *Men* and *Things* at the same Time: and evangelical Biography has this

this ſtill greater Advantage, that it unites the *utile dulce*, and conveys not only the moſt entertaining, but the moſt important Science, I mean, the *Wiſdom that maketh wiſe to Salvation:* without which all other Wiſdom is at the beſt comparative Folly.

You have my hearty Wiſh, that your valuable Publication may meet with the Succeſs it deſerves, and that it may be inſtrumental in oppoſing the fatal Increaſe of Popery in this Kingdom, and in promoting that Zeal for our Religion, which has always diſtinguiſhed the moſt eminent Proteſtants of every Denomination.

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your's moſt reſpectfully,

Lower Groſvenor-Place. C. DE COETLOGON.

DEAR SIR,

THE REFORMATION of this Kingdom, from the Superſtition, Idolatry and Cruelty of the Church of Rome, is ſuch a national Bleſſing, as ſhould excite our conſtant Praiſes to that GOD by whom we poſſeſs it. The Memory, alſo, of thoſe illuſtrious Men, who were the Inſtruments of bringing about and maintaining it, ſhould not be forgotten by us. The BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA ſeems calculated to anſwer theſe valuable Ends. The Prints, likewiſe, are ſo well executed, that they much enhance the Value of the Work. That it may be much and profitably read is the ſincere Deſire of,

SIR,

Watling Street, Your's, &c.

Nov. 26th, 1779. HEN. FOSTER.

TO THE REV. ERASMUS MIDDLETON.

DEAR SIR,

I Have peruſed, with great Pleaſure and Profit, your very excellent BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA. The Plan adopted, I moſt highly approve of, but eſpecially the juſt, impartial, and faithful Account you have given us of thoſe great and glorious Luminaries of the Church, the bleſſed REFORMERS; whoſe precious Names and Characters muſt ever be dear and valuable to all who love our LORD JESUS CHRIST, for the noble Teſtimony they bore, living and dying, to the Truth of the ever bleſſed and eternal Word of GOD.—In a day like this, when the precious and invaluable Word of GOD is ſo ſlighted and deſpiſed, it is moſt heartily to be wiſhed, that your very excellent Publication might be attentively read, by every Lover of Truth, as a Work, highly calculated, to inſtruct, ſettle, and eſtabliſh, every unprejudiced and impartial Reader.—That you may meet with every Encouragement in ſo laudable an Undertaking, and behold with Pleaſure, Gratitude, and Joy, many happy and bleſſed Effects reſulting from it, is the earneſt Prayer of,

Your very affectionate Friend,

Northampton Chapel, WM. TAYLOR.

Dec. 2d, 1779.

Letters of Recommendation, &c.

NEITHER the *Author* or *Engraver* need the Recommendation of their Admirer.

British Muſeum, A. GIFFORD.
Nov. 6th, 1779.

REV. SIR,

I Have read the firſt Volume of the BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA, and ſincerely wiſh it may meet with Succeſs, as it is a Work which ſeems calculated to afford a conſiderable Degree of profitable Entertainment.

Hackney, JOHN CONDER.
Sept. 26th, 1779.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I Have looked into your valuable Work, intitled, BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA; I highly eſteem it, as it contains what may indeed be called a PRESENT TRUTH; as it exhibits what the Grace of GOD can do, and has actually done for the Souls of Men, who have felt its Power on their Hearts.

The extenſive Nature of your Plan alſo exhibits to our View, that the Grace and Favour of GOD is not confined to the party Names and Diſtinctions that have divided Chriſtians from one another in theſe latter Days; but extends to all of every Denomination who love the LORD JESUS, who believe in his Name, and walk according to his Goſpel; and this may, and ſhould, encourage all of the ſame Stamp to be Followers of them who through Faith and Patience do now inherit the Promiſes.

That part of your Work particularly that holds forth to our View, the Sufferings and Patience of the eminent Miniſters and Chriſtians who ſuffered from and under the Synagogue of Satan at Rome, deſerves particular Regard, at a Time when the Wound the Beaſt received at the REFORMATION ſeems to be, as it were, healing among us. May the LORD in Mercy deliver us from ever falling under that heavy Yoke any more. If you think this honeſt and well meant Teſtimony can be of any Service to your Work, you are at Liberty to make what Uſe of it you pleaſe, and I am,

Your affectionate Brother, in the Work and Bonds of the Goſpel,

Braintree, in Eſſex, THOMAS DAVIDSON.
Dec. 2, 1779.

THE Lives of illuſtrious Men have been read with Greedineſs and Attention in all Ages, whether in the Pagan, the Jewiſh, or the Chriſtian World. The Lives of the famous Greeks and Romans, written by the judicious and excellent Plutarch, is a Work of ſuch Importance and Uſe, that we may truly affirm with a learned Man, "If it were propoſed to deſtroy all the literary Works of the Pagan World, except one, Plutarch's Lives ſhould be preſerved as the moſt pleaſing, inſtructive and uſeful."

Now

Now if we ſet ſuch a Value on the Lives of the Pagan Philoſophers, Stateſmen and Warriors, how much more ſhould we prize the Hiſtory of the great Generals and Commanders in the Chriſtian Church: thoſe greateſt Heroes that have lived ſince the Reformation from Popery: and whoſe Lives, Labours, and Characters, are here faithfully recorded: and if we purſue Plutarch's Manner of running a Parallel between the Character of one great Man and another, and compare the Chriſtian with the Pagan Heroes, we ſhall find the Advantages moſt abundantly on the Chriſtian Side. Where can we find in the Heathen World, any Characters that can equal Wickliffe, Tindale, Luther, and Calvin, with a long Series more here enumerated.

In the brighteſt Pagans you ſee Traces of Genius, Policy, Fortitude, Juſtice, and the Love of their Country: but all flowing from the Principles of Nature, and actuated by a violent Ambition or Love of Fame; but in the Chriſtian Heroes exhibited in this Work, you ſee heavenly Wiſdom, ardent Love of GOD, Faith in the Blood of CHRIST, Zeal for the Divine Glory; invincible Fortitude to dare even the moſt dreadful Forms of Death; ſtrong Compaſſion for immortal Souls; yea, and what is ſtill higher, a Love of their bittereſt Enemies, and fervent Prayers for them in the Agonies of Death. Who would not eſteem and venerate ſuch exalted Characters? Who would not read with Avidity and Delight the Lives, the Virtues, and the glorious Martyrdom of many of theſe great Men?

How ſeaſonable and uſeful at this ſingular Point of Time is ſuch a Work! I do therefore moſt cordially expreſs my Approbation of the Deſign and Execution of it, and heartily recommend it to my Friends and fellow Proteſtants of all Denominations.

Northampton,
Nov. 21ſt, 1779. JOHN RYLAND.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,

HAVING long wiſhed to ſee the Lives of all eminently holy Men from the Dawn of the Reformation to the preſent Time, collected in one Book, I was happy to find my Wiſh about to be accompliſhed in the Publication of the *Biographia Evangelica*. Such a Work is peculiarly ſeaſonable at this alarming Criſis, and will (through the Bleſſing of GOD) prove an effectual Antidote againſt Popery, as well as the Means of reviving that Spirit for the Things of CHRIST, which, alas! is now ſo languid among Chriſtians of all Denominations. It is my ſincere Deſire the Work may be generally read, and my earneſt Prayer that it may fully anſwer the End of the pious Author. I am,

SIR,

Great Portland Street,
Nov. 24, 1779. Your moſt obedient Servant,
JOHN TROTTER.

BRITISH MUSEUM



From an Original Picture in the Collection of the Duke of Dorset

Biographia Evangelica.

JOHN WICKLIFFE,

THE FIRST REFORMER.

WHEN we look back upon the days of barbariſm, and the groſs ignorance of the true light of the goſpel, which prevailed in the Chriſtian world, for ſo many ages together, before the Reformation; when we reflect upon the ſtupid ceremonies and abominable ſuperſtitions and cheats, practiſed by the monks and others; and then ſurvey the hand of GOD, working, in a moſt extraordinary manner, through all this maſs of corruption and folly, and bringing about, by degrees, the clear ſhining of the everlaſting goſpel: We muſt ſtand aſtoniſhed at the whole, and, from the wonderful contraſt of the times, may ſay; *This hath GOD wrought; it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

GOD vouchſafed to honor *England* with the firſt dawning of the Reformation: And an *Engliſhman* was the firſt champion of that cauſe, which afterwards received the name of PROTESTANTISM. This remarkable inſtrument of the divine bleſſing was JOHN WICKLIFFE, or JOHN de WICKLIFFE, taking his ſirname from a village once called *Wickliffe*, near *Richmond*, in *Yorkſhire*, where he was born in the year 1324. It has been obſerved, that no ſuch place exiſts at preſent under that name; but it is well known, that great numbers of our villages, and even towns and hundreds, have received different denominations from change of poſſeſſors in the courſe of ages. *Wickliffe* was ſent early to *Oxford*, and was firſt admitted commoner of *Queen's College*, and afterwards of *Merton*, where he became fellow.

Merton College was then the beſt ſeminary for great and learned men in the whole univerſity; and the following eminent perſons belonged to it, about this time. 1. *Walter Burley*, called the Plain Doctor, who was preceptor to king *Edward* III. 2. *William Occam*, called the Singular Doctor. 3. *Thomas Bradwardine*, the Profound Doctor, who was called to court by archbiſhop *Stratford*, and ſucceeded him in the ſee of *Canterbury*. 4. *Simon Mepham*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in 1330. 5. *Simon Iſlip*, who was alſo promoted to the ſame ſee, in 1349, was lord privy ſeal, and ſecretary to the king. 6. *William Rede*, an excellent mathematician, and biſhop of *Chicheſter* in 1369. 7. *Geoffry Chaucer*, the Father of *Engliſh* Poetry. *Wickliffe* was afterwards called *Doctor Evangelicus*, or the Goſpel Doctor; and he certainly deſerved the title, as the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures was his principal delight. He was indeed (to uſe the words of biſhop *Newton*) 'deſervedly famous, the honour of his 'own, and the admiration of all ſucceeding times.'

Wickliffe was ſoon diſtinguiſhed, among theſe illuſtrious contemporaries, for the cloſeneſs of his application to ſtudy, and the vivacity of his genius. He became celebrated in philoſophy and divinity; being ſo remarkable for an elegancy of wit, and ſtrength in diſputations, that he was eſteemed more than human by the common ſort of divines. He adorned the learning of the ſchools, by acquiring a deep knowledge of the civil and canon law, as alſo of the municipal laws of his own country, which have been always too much neglected till our own times, when we find the Vinerian profeſſorſhip of the laws of *England* eſtabliſhed in the univerſity of *Oxford*. *Wickliffe* not only ſtudied and commented upon the ſacred writings; but he tranſlated them into his native language, and wrote homilies on ſeveral parts of them. He alſo diligently ſtudied the writings of St. *Auſtin*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Gregory*, the four fathers of the Latin church: But he was thirty-ſix years of age before he had a proper opportunity of exerting his excellent talents, ſo as to attract the obſervation of the univerſity, and even of the whole kingdom; for it was in the year 1360 when he became the advocate for the univerſity againſt the encroachments made by the mendicant friars, who had been very troubleſome from their firſt eſtabliſhment in *Oxford*, in 1230, and occaſioned great inquietude to the chancellor and ſcholars,

lars, by infringing their ſtatutes and privileges, and ſetting up an exempt juriſdiction.

Popery was eſtabliſhed in *England* by *Auſtin* the monk, and continued to be the only religion till the Reformation. The church of *Rome* had infected all *Chriſtendom* with its errors and corruptions; and the whole church was degenerated from its primitive purity by the artifices of the monks, who had polluted the clear ſtream of religion with the rank weeds of ſuperſtition.

The clergy had engroſſed the greateſt part both of the riches and power of *Chriſtendom:* But the corruptions of their worſhip and doctrine were eaſily detected; nor had they any varniſh to color them by, except the authority and traditions of the church. When ſome ſtudious men began to read the antient fathers, and councils, they found a vaſt difference between the firſt five ages of the Chriſtian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the laſt ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning: Only a little miſguided devotion was retained for ſix of thoſe ages; and, in the laſt four, the reſtleſs ambition and uſurpation of the popes were ſupported by the ſeeming holineſs of the begging friars, and the falſe counterfeits of learning, conſiſting only of a vile metaphyſical jargon, or vain ſchool-divinity, which prevailed among the canoniſts, ſchool-men, and caſuiſts.

It may be noted, that ſoon after and about the year 1300, flouriſhed ſeveral able and pious men, who boldly withſtood the errors of the church of *Rome*, and the inſolence of its popes. Of theſe, perhaps, none was more remarkable than *Marſilius* of *Padua*, who wrote his *Defenſor Pacis* for the emperor *Lewis*, of *Bavaria*, againſt pope *John* XXII, and who is execrated by name in the bull of pope *Gregory* againſt *Wickliffe*. He vehemently oppoſed the enormities of the court of *Rome*, and maintained, that believers are freely juſtified by grace alone, and that works are not the efficient cauſes of our ſalvation, though juſtification and ſalvation are ever attended with them. He and others paved the way for our great countryman, who ſoon afterwards appeared and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above them.

Wickliffe was indeed the morning-ſtar of the Reformation; though he appeared like a meteor to the monks, when he oppoſed them in ſupport of the univerſity. The number of ſtudents there had been thirty thouſand; but, in 1357, they were ſo far decreaſed that the whole was not above ſix thouſand. This was entirely owing to the

bad practices of the preaching friars, who took all opportunities to entice the ſtudents, from the colleges, into their convents; which made people afraid of ſending their children to the univerſity. The friars diſregarded the determination of the parliament in 1366, whereby it was enacted, that they ſhould receive no ſcholar under the age of eighteen; and that the king ſhould have power to redreſs all controverſies between them and the univerſity. *Wickliffe* ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bold and zealous oppoſition againſt the uſurpations and errors of the friars, who juſtified their begging trade, by aſſerting, that the poverty of *Chriſt*, and his apoſtles, made them poſſeſs all things in common, and beg for a livelihood. This opinion was firſt oppoſed by *Richard Kilmyngton*, dean of St. *Paul*'s; who was ſeconded by *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, archbiſhop of *Armagh*; after which, *Wickliffe*, *Thoreſby*, *Bolton*, *Hereford*, *Bryts*, and *Norris*, openly oppoſed this doctrine at *Oxford*, where they made the friars bluſh for their audacity.

Wickliffe wrote with an elegance uncommon in that age, eſpecially in the *Engliſh* language, of which he may be conſidered as one of the firſt refiners, and his writings afford many curious ſpecimens of the old *Engliſh* orthography. In one of his tracts, intitled "Of Clerks "Poſſeſſioners," he expoſes the friars for drawing the youth of the univerſity into their convents, and ſays, "Freres "drawen children fro *Chriſt*'s religion into their private "order by hypocriſie, leſings, and ſteling. For they "tellen that their order is more holy than any other; "that they ſhullen have higher degree in the bliſs of "heaven than other men that been not therein; and "ſeyn, that men of their order ſhullen never come to "hell, but ſhullen dome other men with *Chriſt* at "domeſday."

Wickliffe wrote and publiſhed ſeveral tracts againſt the beggary of the friars; particularly "Of the Poverty of "Chriſt, againſt able Beggary;" and "Of Idleneſs in "Beggary." He aſſerts, that "Chriſt bad his apoſtles "and diſciples that they ſhould not bere a ſachell, ne "ſcrip; but look what man is able to hear the goſpel, "and eat and drink therein, and paſs not thence, and "not paſs fro houſe to houſe.—Sith there were poor "men enough to taken mens alms before that freres "camen in, and the earth is now more barren than it was, "other freres, or poor men, moten wanten of this alms:

"but

" but freres, by ſubtle hypocriſie, gotten to themſelves, " and letten the poor men to have theſe alms."

He diſputed with a friar, on able beggary, before the duke of *Glouceſter*, to whom he ſent an account of both their arguments, and addreſſed his highneſs in theſe words; " To you lord, that herde the diſputaſion be geve the " fyle to rubbe away the ruſt in either partye."

Theſe controverſies gave *Wickliffe* ſuch great reputation in the univerſity, that, in 1361, he was advanced to be maſter of *Baliol College*; and four years after he was made warden of *Canterbury-hall*, founded by *Simon de Iſlip*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in 1361, and now ſwallowed up in *Chriſt-church*. The royal licence granted to the archbiſhop, for founding the college, is dated the twentieth of *October* 1361; and only mentions 'a certain number of 'ſcholars,' religious and ſecular. There were to be a warden and eleven ſcholars, who were to ſtudy logic, the civil and canon law; for whoſe maintenance the archbiſhop ſettled on them the rectory of *Pageham* in *Suſſex*, and the manor of *Wodeford* in *Northamptonſhire*. He purchaſed ſome old houſes in the pariſh of St. *Mary*'s in *Oxford*, and fitted them up for the reception of his ſcholars, whom he placed there himſelf, and appointed *Henry de Wodehall*, or *Woodhall*, to be the warden. This man was a monk of *Chriſt-church*, *Canterbury*, and doctor of divinity: But he was at ſuch variance with the ſecular ſcholars, that the archbiſhop, in 1365, turned him, and three monks, out of his new-founded *Hall*, in whoſe room he appointed *Wickliffe* to be warden, and three other ſeculars to be ſcholars. It was afterwards pretended, that the warden, and three of the ſcholars, were to be monks of *Chriſt-church*, *Canterbury*, and the other eight, ſecular prieſts; though this limitation could not be proved from the writings relating to the foundation.

The letters of inſtitution, whereby the archbiſhop appointed *Wickliffe* to this wardenſhip, were dated the fourteenth of *December*, 1365; in which he is ſtyled 'a perſon 'in whoſe fidelity, circumſpection, and induſtry, his 'grace very much confided; and one on whom he had 'fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the ho-'neſty of his life, his laudable converſation, and know-'ledge of letters.'

Wickliffe behaved with univerſal approbation, till the death of the archbiſhop, who had a great eſteem for him. His grace died the twenty-fifth of *April*, 1366, and was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal dignity by *Simon*

Langham, biſhop of *Ely*, who had been a monk, and was inclined to favor the religious againſt the ſeculars. The monks of *Canterbury* applied to *Langham* to eject *Wickliffe* from his wardenſhip, and the other ſeculars from their fellowſhips. They alledged, that the warden was to be a monk, nominated by the prior and chapter of *Canterbury*, and appointed by the archbiſhop: But that *Wickliffe* craftily obtained the wardenſhip. Archbiſhop *Langham* ejected *Wickliffe* from the wardenſhip, and the three other ſeculars, in 1367; in conſequence of which, he alſo iſſued out his mandate, requiring *Wickliffe* and all the ſcholars to yield obedience to *Wodehall* as their warden. This was refuſed by them, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the founder; but the archbiſhop ſequeſtered the revenue, and took away the books and other things, which the founder by his laſt will had left to the *Hall*.

Wickliffe, and the three expelled fellows, appealed to the pope; to which appeal the archbiſhop made a reply, and the pope commiſſioned cardinal *Andruynus* to examine and determine the affair; who, in 1370, ordained, by a definitive ſentence, which was confirmed by the pope, that only the monks of *Chriſt-church*, *Canterbury*, ought to remain in the college called *Canterbury-hall*, and that the ſeculars ſhould be all expelled; that *Wodehall* and the other monks, who were deprived, ſhould be reſtored; and that perpetual ſilence ſhould be impoſed on *Wickliffe* and his aſſociates. *Wickliffe*, and three poor clerks, could not oppoſe ſuch a powerful combination, and the decree was ſtrictly put in execution, purſuant to the papal bull, dated at *Viterbium*, the twenty-eighth of *May*, 1370, directed to *Simon de Sudbury*, biſhop of *London*, and others, who were to reſtore *Wodehall* and the monks, and to compel all thoſe who contradicted them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, without permitting any appeal.

In this arbitrary manner *Wickliffe* was diſpoſſeſſed of the wardenſhip of *Canterbury-hall*, which had been conferred on him by the founder, whoſe munificent intentions were fruſtrated by the papal ſentence, which was directly contrary to the form of the licence of *Mortmain* that empowered the founder to endow his ſeminary for a certain number of ſcholars, religious and ſecular, who now, by this papal ſentence, were to be all religious. It was, therefore, a queſtion in law, whether the *Hall* and endowment were not forfeited to the crown? But the monks, in 1372, procured the royal pardon, and confirmation

firmation of the papal ſentence, on paying 200 marks, which was equivalent to 800 pounds of our money.

While the diſpute was carried on about the right to *Canterbury-hall*, king *Edward* had notice from pope *Urban*, that he intended to cite him to his court at *Avignon*, to anſwer for his default in not performing the homage which king *John* acknowledged to the ſee of *Rome*; and for refuſing to pay the tribute of 700 marks a year, which that prince granted to the pope. The king laid this before his parliament, in 1366; who were determined to aſſiſt him with all their power againſt ſuch arbitrary attempts from the pope. The firmneſs of the parliament cauſed the pope to ſtop ſhort, and prevented his ſucceſſors from ever after troubling the kings of *England* on that account. However, one of the monks ventured to defend the claim made by the pope; to which *Wickliffe* replied, and proved, that the reſignation of the crown, and promiſe of a tribute made by king *John*, ought not to prejudice the kingdom, or oblige the preſent king, as it was done without conſent of parliament. No wonder, then, that *Wickliffe* ſhould incur the reſentment of the pope, who was impatient of contradiction, and could not bear any oppoſition to his pretenſions: But *Wickliffe* thereby made himſelf known to the court, and particularly to the duke of *Lancaſter*, who took him under his patronage. At this time *Wickliffe* ſtiled himſelf *peculiaris regis clericus*, or the king's own clerk or chaplain: But he profeſſed himſelf an obedient ſon of the *Roman* church, to avoid the perſonal injury intended him by his adverſaries.

However, this deprivation was no injury to the reputation which *Wickliffe* had acquired. Every body ſaw it was a party buſineſs; and that it was not ſo much againſt his perſon that the monks had a prejudice, as againſt all the ſeculars that were members of the college. Shortly after, *Wickliffe* was preſented, by the favor of the duke of *Lancaſter*, to the living of *Lutterworth*, in the dioceſe of *Lincoln*; and then it was that he publiſhed, in his writings and ſermons, certain opinions which appeared to be novel, becauſe contrary to the received doctrine of thoſe days. As he did not declare his ſentiments till after he had loſt his rectorſhip, his enemies have taken occaſion, from thence, to accuſe him of acting out of a ſpirit of revenge, by reaſon of the injury that had been done him. 'I ſhall not, ſays *Rapin*, undertake to clear him from this 'charge. As there is none but God alone that ſees into 'the hearts of men, it is raſhneſs to accuſe or excuſe 'them,

'them, with regard to the ſacred motives of their actions. 'I ſhall only take notice, that *Wickliffe*'s bittereſt enemies 'have never taxed him with any immoralities.'

Wickliffe was turned out of his rectorſhip by the court of *Rome*; and a man muſt be poſſeſſed of a very diſintereſted way of thinking, not to reſent ſuch uſage; eſpecially as *Wickliffe* was irreproachable in his morals. The ſpirit of the times was no little encouragement to his reſentment. 'I muſt however,' ſays Mr. *Guthrie*, 'do '*Wickliffe* the juſtice, which has *not been done him before*, 'of obſerving, that he ſeems to have maintained his re-'forming opinions even before he was turned out of his 'rectorſhip.' This is to his honor, and removes one of the ſtrongeſt objections againſt the motives of *Wickliffe*'s Reformation, as we have it from an author unfavorable to his memory. This opinion is alſo farther confirmed by the ingenious Mr. *Gilpin*.

But *Wickliffe* began more early to attempt the Reformation of thoſe diſorders and corruptions which he ſaw in men of his own profeſſion; and particularly the exactions and uſurpations of the pope. This is evident from his tract, "Of the laſt Age of the Church," which he publiſhed in the year 1356, fourteen years before he loſt the rectorſhip.

Wickliffe, in 1372, took his degree as doctor of divinity, which he publickly profeſſed, and read lectures in it with very great applauſe; for he had ſuch authority in the ſchools, that his opinion was received as an oracle, inſtead of being diſregarded after his ejectment. In theſe lectures, he more ſtrongly expoſed the follies and ſuperſtitions of the friars: He charged them with holding fifty hereſies and errors: He ſhewed their corruptions, and detected their practices. This was ſtriking at the root of all the abuſes which had crept into the church; at a time, when the greater and more neceſſary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends, and romantic ſtories; fables which, in this reſpect, only differed from thoſe of the antient heathen poets, that they were more incredible, and leſs elegant.

The pope diſregarded the ſtatute of proviſors, by ſtill continuing to diſpoſe of eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities as he thought fit. Theſe were enjoyed by *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, and other aliens, who had the revenues of them remitted abroad. The parliament frequently complained to the king and the pope of this intolerable grievance,

ance, by repreſenting its fatal inconveniences to the church, and pernicious conſequences to the kingdom.

This oppreſſion was ſo inſupportable, in 1373, that the king ſent the biſhop of *Bangor*, and three other ambaſſadors, to the pope, to require of him that he would not interfere with the reſervation of benefices: But this embaſſy was ineffectual; for though the pope entered into a concordate about that matter, it was only a temporal conceſſion; and the parliament renewed their requeſt, that remedy ſhould be provided againſt the proviſions of the pope, whereby he reaped the firſt fruits of eccleſiaſtical dignities. It has always been the policy of the court of *Rome* to play faſt and looſe with temporal princes in its tranſactions with them, waiting diligently for advantageous ſeaſons, and preſſing them cloſely whenever they occurred: But, when it met with dangerous oppoſitions, it dextrouſly waved the conteſt without renouncing its claims, and temporized, and ſoothed, and flattered, and lay by, for a more convenient opportunity.

The king, in 1374, iſſued out a commiſſion for taking an exact ſurvey of all the eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, throughout his dominions, which were in the hands of aliens. The number and value of them aſtoniſhed the king, who then appointed ſeven ambaſſadors to treat with the pope upon the buſineſs of the former embaſſy. Doctor *Wickliffe* was the ſecond perſon mentioned in this commiſſion; and the ambaſſadors were met at *Bruges* by the pope's nuncio, two biſhops, and a provoſt, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of *England*. The treaty continued two years, when it was concluded, that the pope ſhould deſiſt from making uſe of reſervations of benefices. But all treaties with that corrupt court were of no ſignification; and the parliament, the very next year, complained the treaty was infracted. A long bill was brought into parliament againſt the papal uſurpations, as the cauſe of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm: They remonſtrated that the tax paid to the pope amounted to five times as much as the tax paid to the king; and that God had given his ſheep to the pope to be paſtured, not fleeced. Doctor *Wickliffe* was now made more ſenſible of the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope, whom he boldly expoſed in his public lectures, and private converſation. He called him "Antichriſt, "the proud worldly prieſt of *Rome*, and the moſt curſed "of clippers and purſe-kervers." He alſo very freely reproved the corruptions which prevailed among the pre-

lates and inferior clergy, obſerving, " that the abomi-
" nation of deſolation had its beginning from a perverſe
" clergy, as comfort aroſe from a converted clergy." Of prelates, he ſays, " Oh Lord, what token of mekeneſs,
" and forſaking of worldly riches is this? A prelate, as
" an abbot or priour that is dead to the world, and pride
" and vanity thereof, to ride with fourſcore horſe, with
" harneſs of ſilver and gold: and to ſpend with earls and
" barons, and their poor tenants, both thouſand marcs
" and pounds, to meyntene a falſe plea of the world, and
" forbare men of their right." But *Wickliffe* ſufficiently experienced the hatred and perſecution of thoſe, whom he endeavored to reform. The monks complained to the pope that *Wickliffe* oppoſed the papal powers, and defended the royal ſupremacy; on which account, in 1376, they drew up nineteen articles againſt him, extracted from his public lectures and ſermons. Theſe articles were ſent to the pope, and were principally as follow:

" That there is one only univerſal church, which is the
" univerſity" [or entire number] " of the predeſtinate.
" *Paul* was never a member of the devil, although" [before his converſion] " he did certain acts like unto the
" acts of the church malignant. The reprobate are not
" parts of the" [inviſible] " church; for that no part
" of the ſame finally falleth from her: becauſe the charity" [or grace] " of predeſtination, which bindeth the church
" together, never faileth."

" The reprobate, although he be ſometime in grace,
" according to preſent juſtice" [i. e. by a preſent appearance of outward righteouſneſs,] " yet is he never a part
" of the holy church" [in reality:] " and the predeſti-
" nate is ever a member of the church, although ſometime
" he fall from grace *adventitiâ*, but not from the grace of
" predeſtination: ever taking the church for the convo-
" cation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in grace or
" not, according to preſent juſtice." i. e. whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be ſo, the predeſtinate, or elect, conſtitute, as ſuch, that inviſible church, which God the Father hath choſen, and God the Son redeemed.

" The grace of predeſtination is the band, wherewith
" the body of the church, and every member of the ſame,
" is indiſſolubly joined to Chriſt their head."

" That the euchariſt, after conſecration, was not the
" real body of Chriſt, but only an emblem or ſign of it.
" That the church of *Rome* was no more the head of the
" univerſal

" univerſal church than any other church; and that St. " *Peter* had no greater authority given him than the reſt " of the apoſtles. That the pope had no more juriſdic- " tion in the exerciſe of the keys, than any other prieſt. " That if the church miſbehaved, it was not only lawful, " but meritorious, to diſpoſſeſs her of her temporalities. " That when a prince, or temporal lord, was convinced " that the church made an ill uſe of her endowments, he " was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them " away. That the goſpel was ſufficient to direct a Chriſ- " tian in the conduct of his life. That neither the pope, " nor any other prelate, ought to have priſons for the " puniſhing offenders againſt the diſcipline of the church; " but that every perſon ought to be left at his liberty in " the conduct of his life."

This was oppoſing the rights, which the popes had long aſſerted, of a ſuperiority over temporal princes, and of depriving them of their kingdoms, whenever they thought proper. It was juſtifying the regal, in oppoſition to the papal, pretenſions of an eccleſiaſtical liberty, or an exemption of the perſons of the clergy, and the goods of the church, from the civil powers. It was denying the power that the pope maintained of remitting, or retaining, the ſins of individuals abſolutely: It was ſhewing the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and rejecting the opinion of papal indulgences.

Such are the tenets with which this famous reformer is charged: And it is rather wonderful that he ſhould have the courage to proceed ſo far, than extraordinary, that he did not go farther, conſidering the prejudices of education, which the wiſeſt and beſt of men, without a particular effort of divine grace, ſeldom or never ſubdue.

The followers of *Wickliffe* went greater lengths than he intended: But all the opinions which they have fathered upon the Wickliffites are not to be regarded; any more than the cenſures, which were afterwards thrown upon *Luther* for the ſubſequent heterodoxies of the Lutherans, the Anabaptiſts, and other ſects in *Germany*, which he oppoſed himſelf while living, and to which his writings are a ſtanding contradiction.

Wickliffe had opened the eyes of the people; and they began to think, the moment they could ſee; to which they were the more incited by the example ſet them by the duke of *Lancaſter*, and the lord *Henry Percy*, earl-marſhal, who took *Wickliffe* under their patronage and protection. This alarmed the court of *Rome*; and pope *Gregory* XI. ſent

forth ſeveral bulls againſt *Wickliffe*, all dated the twenty-ſecond of *May*, 1377. One was directed to *Simon Sudbury*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Courtney*, biſhop of *London*, whom he delegated to examine into the matter of the complaint. Another was diſpatched to the king himſelf: And a third to the univerſity of *Oxford*. In the firſt bull, to the two prelates, he tells them, 'he was informed 'that *Wickliffe* had raſhly proceeded to that deteſtable 'degree of madneſs, as not to be afraid to aſſert, and 'publicly preach, ſuch propoſitions, as were erroneous 'and falſe, contrary to the faith, and threatening to ſub-'vert and weaken the eſtate of the whole church.' He therefore required them to cauſe *Wickliffe* to be apprehended and impriſoned by his authority; and to get his confeſſion concerning his propoſitions and concluſions (of which they deemed *nineteen* to be heretical) which they were to tranſmit to *Rome*; as alſo whatever he ſhould ſay, or write, by way of introduction or proof: But, if *Wickliffe* could not be apprehended, they were directed to publiſh a citation for his perſonal appearance before the pope within three months. The pope requeſted the king to grant his patronage and aſſiſtance to the biſhops in the proſecution of *Wickliffe*, who had promulgated 'opinions full of errors 'and containing manifeſt hereſy; ſome of which appeared 'to be the ſame with thoſe of *Marſilius* of *Padua*, and '*John de Gandun*, condemned by pope John XXII.' In the bull to the univerſity, he ſays, the heretical pravity of *Wickliffe* tended 'to ſubvert the ſtate of the whole 'church, and even the civil government:' And he orders them to deliver *Wickliffe* up in ſafe cuſtody to the delegates.

King *Edward* III. died the twenty-firſt of June 1377, before the bulls arrived in England. The univerſity treated their bull with contempt, or with very little devotion. They favored and protected *Wickliffe*, who was powerfully ſupported by the duke of *Lancaſter*, and the earl-marſhal. Theſe noblemen openly declared, they would not ſuffer him to be impriſoned: And, indeed, there was yet no act of parliament, which empowered the biſhops to impriſon heretics without the royal conſent. But the delegated prelates, on the nineteenth of *February* 1378, iſſued out their mandate to the chancellor of the univerſity of *Oxford*, commanding him to cite *Wickliffe* to appear before them in the church of St. *Paul*, *London*, in thirty days.

Before that day came, the firſt parliament of king *Richard* II. met at *Weſtminſter*, where it was debated, 'whether

'they

'they might lawfully refuſe to ſend the treaſure out of the 'kingdom, after the pope required it on pain of cenſures, 'and by virtue of the obedience due to him?' The reſolution of this doubt was referred, by the king and parliament, to doctor *Wickliffe*, who anſwered it was lawful; and undertook to prove it ſo, by the principles of the law of *Chriſt*.

Wickliffe appeared to the ſummons of the delegates at St. *Paul*'s, where a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled to hear the examination. The doctor was attended by the duke of *Lancaſter*, and the lord-marſhal *Percy*, who had conceived ſuch a very high opinion of his learning and integrity, that they aſſured him he had nothing to fear, and that he might make his defence with courage againſt the biſhops, who were but mere ignorants in reſpect to him. When *Wickliffe* came near the place of the aſſembly, there was ſo great a croud of people attending, that it was with difficulty he and his two patrons got admittance into the church. This manner of their appearance, by introducing *Wickliffe* as to a triumph, rather than a trial, touched the biſhop of *London*, who told the earl-marſhal, 'if he had known what maſteries they would have kept 'in the church, he would have ſtopped them from coming 'there.'

The archbiſhop, and the biſhop of *London*, held their court in the chapel, where ſeveral other prelates, and ſome noblemen, attended to hear the trial. *Wickliffe* ſtood before the commiſſioners, according to cuſtom, to hear what was laid to his charge: But the earl-marſhal bid him ſit down, 'as he had many things to anſwer, and had need of 'a ſoft ſeat to reſt him upon, during ſo tedious an attend-'ance.' The biſhop of *London* objected to this; which was anſwered by the duke of *Lancaſter*, in ſuch warm terms, that he told the biſhop, 'he would bring down the pride 'of all the prelacy in the kingdom.' The biſhop made a ſpirited reply: And the duke ſaid ſoftly, to one who ſat by him, that, 'rather than take ſuch language from the 'biſhop, he would drag him out of the church by the hair 'of his head.' This was over-heard by ſome of the bye-ſtanders, and the aſſembly was inſtantly in a violent commotion. The Londoners declared they would oppoſe any inſults upon their biſhop: The noblemen treated the citizens with diſdain; they carried off *Wickliffe* in ſafety; and the court broke up without entering into an examination of the buſineſs. But the Londoners plundered the duke of *Lancaſter*'s palace in the *Savoy*, and the duke turned the

mayor and aldermen out of the magiſtracy, for not reſtraining the ſedition. *Wickliffe* had the happineſs to find his doctrine embraced by men of letters, and perſons of quality. Some would make us believe, that people were frightened into a feigned approbation of his doctrine: But it may be ſaid, with much greater probability, that fear deterred many from being his followers. The truth is, a man ran no riſk in continuing to adhere to the old tenets; whereas it might be dangerous to embrace the new ones.

The duke of *Lancaſter* was made preſident of the council; and the biſhops were afraid to offend the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*. However, the two prelates ſummoned the doctor a ſecond time before them, at *Lambeth*. He appeared; when the Londoners forced themſelves into the chapel, to encourage the doctor, and intimidate the delegates. *Wickliffe* ſeemed willing to give the prelates ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, and delivered them a paper, wherein he explained the ſeveral concluſions with which he was charged. In all appearance, the delegates would not have been contented with ſo general an explanation; if the king's mother had not obliged them to deſiſt, by ſending Sir *Lewis Clifford* to forbid their proceeding to any definitive ſentence againſt *Wickliffe*. The delegates were confounded with this meſſage; and, as their own hiſtorian ſays, 'at the wind of a reed ſhaken, their ſpeech became 'as ſoft as oil, to the public loſs of their own dignity, 'and the damage of the whole church.' They dropped the thoughts of all cenſures againſt *Wickliffe*, and diſmiſſed him, after enjoining him ſilence; to which injunction he paid no regard, and maintained his opinions in the utmoſt latitude. This ſteadineſs ill agrees with the explanation of his opinions, which it is pretended he made before the biſhops, and is repreſented as full of equivocations and evaſions. The diſguiſing his ſentiments is little conformable to his natural temper, which was far enough from being fearful: Though a modern writer takes upon him to ſay, 'that *Wickliffe* appears to have been a 'man of ſlender reſolution.' He alſo calls *Wickliffe*'s explanations aukward apologies: But he ſhould have remembered they are only ſuch as are given us by *Walſingham*, whom he calls a prejudiced writer.

The duke of *Lancaſter* flattered himſelf with the hopes of being ſole regent during the minority of the king his nephew, who was crowned on the thirteenth of July 1377; but the parliament joined ſome biſhops and noblemen with him in the regency. This was a damp upon the Wickliffites,

liffites, or Lollards, who were become ſo numerous, that two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. But pope *Gregory* XI. died the twenty-ſeventh of *March* 1378, which was a great advantage to *Wickliffe*; for, by his death, an end was put to the commiſſion of the delegates. Here the hiſtorian ſeems to be miſtaken, when he ſays, the demiſe of the pope occaſioned grief to the faithful. Becauſe *Wickliffe* did not make his appearance before the delegates of *Lambeth*, till almoſt three months after the death of *Gregory*. A ſchiſm enſued, by a double election of two popes; which was a real advantage to the Wickliffites; ſince *Urban* VI. was not acknowledged by the kingdom to be lawful pope till the end of the next year. On this occaſion, *Wickliffe* wrote a tract "Of the Schiſm "of the *Roman* Pontiffs:" And ſoon after publiſhed his book "Of the Truth of the Scripture." In the latter he contended for the neceſſity of tranſlating the ſcriptures into the *Engliſh* language, and affirmed, that the will of God was evidently revealed in two Teſtaments; that the law of Chriſt was ſufficient to rule the church; and that any diſputation, not originally produced from thence, muſt be accounted profane.

The fatigues which *Wickliffe* underwent, by attending the delegates, threw him into a dangerous fit of illneſs, on his return to *Oxford*. The mendicant friars took this advantage, and ſent a deputation to him, to inform him of the great injuries he had done them, by his ſermons and writings. The deputies told him, he was at the point of death, and exhorted him to revoke whatever he had advanced to their prejudice. *Wickliffe* immediately recovered his ſpirits, raiſed himſelf on his pillow, and replied: "I "ſhall not die, but live to declare the evil deeds of the "friars:" The unexpected force of his expreſſion, together with the ſternneſs of his manner, drove away the friars in confuſion.

The parliament, which aſſembled in 1380, was famous for a ſtatute made againſt the blood-ſuckers that had long devoured the land; viz. the foreign eccleſiaſtics, who, by this ſtatute, were rendered incapable of holding any benefices in *England*. At the ſame time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, for fear they ſhould inſtil notions into the people of *England*, repugnant to the good of the ſtate. While *Wickliffe*, in his lectures, ſermons, and writings, embraced every opportunity of expoſing the Romiſh court, and detecting the vices of the clergy both religious and ſecular.

The

The feſtivals of *Wickliffe*, which are extant, and his ſermons on the *Commune Sanctorum*, gave great offence to the monks, who kindled a ſeditious ſpirit among the people on account of the poll-tax, which ſoon broke out into thoſe inſurrections headed by *Wat Tyler*, *Ball*, and *Littſtar*. Theſe rebels beheaded *Simon Sudbury*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the lord high-treaſurer, and put many others to death. Their deſign was to murder the king, root out the nobility, and deſtroy all the clergy except the mendicant friars. Some hiſtorians accuſe the Wickliffites with cauſing this rebellion; but without any foundation. It is certain, that religion had no hand in theſe commotions; ſince the duke of *Lancaſter*, the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*, was the principal object of the rebels fury: Beſides, *Wickliffe* then reſided on his living of *Lutterworth*, and was never charged with any thing on that account. Nor can we hardly find an inſtance of inſurrections, cauſed by a religious zeal, appeaſed in ſo ſhort a time as this was, which continued only about a month, from the beginning to the end.

The holy ſcriptures had never been tranſlated into *Engliſh*; except by *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and *John de Treviſe*, a *Corniſh-man*, who both lived in the reign of *Edward* III. That taſk was now undertaken by *Wickliffe*, and other learned aſſociates; which made it neceſſary for *Wickliffe* to apologize for their undertaking, by ſhewing that *Bede* tranſlated the bible, and king *Alfred* the pſalms, into the *Saxon* tongue. It had long given *Wickliffe* great offence (ſays Mr. *Gilpin*), and indeed he always conſidered it as one of the capital errors of popery, that the bible ſhould be locked up from the people. He reſolved, therefore, to free it from bondage. The bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's will, which, he ſaid, was ſufficient to guide his church. Theſe, and other arguments, paved the way for the publication of this great work, and ſatisfied the minds of all ſober men.

This work it may eaſily be imagined raiſed the clamors of the clergy. *Knighton*, a canon of *Leiceſter*, and contemporary with *Wickliffe*, affords a ſample of the language of his brethren. 'Chriſt entruſted his goſpel (ſays he) to the 'clergy, and doctors of the church, to miniſter it to the 'laity and weaker ſort, according to their exigencies and 'ſeveral occaſions. But this maſter *John Wickliffe*, by 'tranſlating it, has made it vulgar, and laid it more open 'to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it 'uſed to be to the moſt learned of the clergy and thoſe of

'the

'the beſt underſtanding: And thus the goſpel-jewel, the 'evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and *trodden under* 'foot of ſwine.' However, ſome great and learned men were of opinion, there was an older tranſlation, which muſt have been *that* above mentioned: Though it has been aſſerted, 'the firſt tranſlation that was ever made of the 'whole bible into the *Engliſh* language, as ſpoke after the 'conqueſt, was made by doctor *Wickliffe*.' He and his aſſiſtants were very careful in making their tranſlation, by correcting the *Latin* text, collecting the gloſſes, and conſulting the antient divines; after which they ſet about the tranſlation, not literally, but as clearly as they could to expreſs the ſenſe and meaning of the text according to the *Hebrew*, as well as the *Latin* bibles. In this he had much aſſiſtance from the commentators, and particularly from the annotations of *Nicholas Lyra*. They diſtinguiſhed which books had the authority of holy writ, and which were apocryphal; They juſtified their tranſlations; and affirmed, "that he that kepeth mekeneſs and charitie, hath "the trewe underſtandynge and perfection of holi write."

The zeal of the biſhops to ſuppreſs *Wickliffe*'s bible only made it, as is generally the caſe, the more ſought after. They, who were able, among the reformers, purchaſed copies; and they, who were not able, procured at leaſt tranſcripts of particular goſpels, or epiſtles, as their inclinations led. In after times, when Lollardy increaſed, and the flames were kindled, it was a common practice, to faſten about the neck of the condemned heretic, ſuch of theſe ſcraps of ſcripture as were found in his poſſeſſion, which generally ſhared his fate.

Wickliffe proceeded in detecting the errors and abuſes that had crept into the church; and oppoſed the popiſh doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which was aſſerted by *Radbertus* about the year 820. It is confeſſed by the papiſts, that this man was the firſt who wrote ſeriouſly and copiouſly on this ſubject, 'the truth or reality of the body 'and blood of the euchariſt.' This was contrary to the catholic doctrine that had exiſted near a thouſand years after *Chriſt*, and particularly in the church of *England* according to the *Saxon* homilies. *Wickliffe* attacked this error in his divinity lectures, in 1381, and maintained the true and antient notion of the Lord's ſupper. On this account he publiſhed ſixteen concluſions, the firſt of which is, that "the conſecrated hoſt, ſeen upon the altar, is not "*Chriſt*, or any part of him; but an effectual ſign of him." He offered to enter into a public diſputation with any man

upon theſe concluſions; which was prohibited by the religious, who were doctors in divinity; and *Wickliffe* then publiſhed his opinion concerning the euchariſt.

In his tract *de Blaſphemia*, he obſerved, that the true doctrine of the ſacrament of the euchariſt was retained in the church a thouſand years; even till the looſing of Satan: but this oppoſition to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation ſoon brought *Wickliffe* into more difficulties; for he was attempting to eradicate a notion, that exalted the myſtical and hierarchical powers of the clergy. *William de Barton* chancellor of the univerſity, and eleven doctors, of whom eight were of the religious, condemned *Wickliffe*'s concluſions as erroneous aſſertions. *Wickliffe* told the chancellor, that neither he, nor any of his aſſiſtants, were able to confute his opinion; and he appealed from their condemnation to the king.

William Courtney, biſhop of *London*, ſucceeded archbiſhop *Sudbury* in the ſee of *Canterbury*, and was entirely devoted to the intereſt of his patron the pope. This prelate had before ſhewn himſelf a violent oppoſer of *Wickliffe*, and now proceeded againſt him and his followers. But as ſoon as the parliament met, in 1382, *Wickliffe* preſented his appeal to the king, and both houſes. *Walſingham* repreſents this, as done with a deſign to draw the nobility into erroneous opinions; and that it was diſapproved by the duke of *Lancaſter*, who ordered *Wickliffe* to ſpeak no more of that matter. Others ſay, that the duke adviſed the doctor, not to appeal to the king, but ſubmit to the judgement of his ordinary; upon which, the monks aſſert, he retracted his doctrine at *Oxford*, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſix biſhops, and many doctors, ſurrounded with a great concourſe of people. It is true, he openly read a confeſſion in Latin; which was ſo far from being a retractation, that it ſeems rather a vindication of his opinion of the ſacrament; for it declares his reſolution to defend it with his blood, and cenſures the contrary as hereſy. He at large explains his meaning, how he underſtood the body of *Chriſt* to be in the euchariſt, or ſacrament of the altar; and expreſsly ſays, "this venerable ſacrament is naturally bread and wine; but is "ſacramentally the body and blood of *Chriſt*."

The new archbiſhop prevailed upon the king to empower the biſhops to impriſon heretics, without aſking the royal permiſſion: But the houſe of commons complained to the king, that this was a breach of the peoples privileges, and very deſtructive to liberty; ſince the clergy thereby be-

came the abſolute maſters of the honor and fortune of private perſons. The king revoked the grant; but the revocation is not to be found on the parliament rolls, where it was expunged by the artifices of the clergy, whoſe chief view was to puniſh the Wickliffites.

The king, in 1382, married *Anne* of *Luxemburg*, ſiſter of the emperor *Wenceſlaus*; and this princeſs became a great patroneſs of the Wickliffites to the time of her death, which happened in 1394. But archbiſhop *Courtney* proſecuted *Wickliffe*, and appointed a court of ſelect biſhops, doctors and batchelors; which aſſembled in the monaſtery of the preaching friars, *London*. This court declared fourteen concluſions of *Wickliffe*, and others, heretical and erroneous.

It is ſaid, *Wickliffe* was cited to appear at this court, but was prevented by his friends, who adviſed him, that a plot was laid by the prelates to ſeize him on the road. However, his cauſe was undertaken by the chancellor of *Oxford*, the two proctors, and the greateſt part of the ſenate, who, in a letter, ſealed with the univerſity ſeal, ſent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. Doctor *Nicholas Hereford*, Doctor *Philip Rapyngdon*, and *John Ayſhton*, M. A. were the principal followers of *Wickliffe*, and appeared at this court, where they defended his doctrine, as alſo in the convocation. Doctor *Hereford* afterwards took a journey to *Rome*, and offered, in the conſiſtory before the pope, to defend the concluſions lately condemned by the archbiſhop, who committed him to priſon on his return to *England*. It has alſo been ſaid, that the duke of *Lancaſter* deſerted the Wickliffites; and that all of them, except *Wickliffe*, ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed church. Archbiſhop *Courtney* exerted all his own authority, and all his intereſt at court, to puniſh the Wickliffites, and ſuppreſs their doctrine. He ordered the condemnation of the heretical articles to be publiſhed in the univerſity. But *Wickliffe* increaſed in reputation, and his doctrine gained ground in the affections of the people; while he was obliged to quit his profeſſorſhip, and retire to *Lutterworth*, where he ſtill vindicated his doctrine, and juſtified his followers.

Doctor *Wickliffe* was ſeized with the palſy, in 1382, ſoon after he left *Oxford*; and the pope then cited him to appear at Rome. *Wickliffe* returned a letter of excuſe to this citation; wherein he tells the pope, that "*Chriſt* "taught him more obeiſhe to God than to man." His enemies were ſenſible that his diſtemper would ſoon put

a period to his life; and therefore they permitted him to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity, after he had been many years expoſed to continual danger. He was ſeized with another violent fit of the palſy, on Innocents' day 1384, as he was in his church of *Lutterworth*, when he fell down, never recovered his ſpeech, and ſoon expired, in the ſixtieth year of his age.

The Chriſtian world has not had a greater man in theſe laſt ages than doctor *Wickliffe*. He had well ſtudied all the parts of theological learning; and he was endowed, by the grace of God, with an uncommon gravity and ſanctity of manners; from whence aroſe that vehement deſire of reſtoring the primitive purity of the church in that ignorant and degenerate age. His moſt inveterate adverſaries never preſumed to call in queſtion his excellent piety, and unblemiſhed life: But many of them have ſufficiently acknowledged his great learning, and uncommon abilities. Indeed, in thoſe writings of his which are yet remaining, doctor *Wickliffe* has ſhewn an extraordinary knowledge of the ſcriptures; he diſcovers a ſound judgement, argues cloſely and ſharply, breathes a ſpirit of true piety, and preſerves a modeſty becoming his character. Nothing is to be found in him either puerile or trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age; but every thing he ſays is grave, judicious, and exact. He wanted nothing to render his learning conſummate, but his living in a happier age.

The great *Bradwardin* was, in ſome ſenſe, *Wickliffe*'s ſpiritual father; for it was the peruſal of *Bradwardin*'s writings, which, next to the holy ſcriptures, opened that proto-reformer's eyes to diſcover the genuine doctrine of faith and juſtification. *Bradwardin* taught him the nature of a true and juſtifying faith, in oppoſition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages.

The cenſure which *Melancton* paſſed on *Wickliffe* was made great uſe of by the papiſts: And ſome proteſtant writers have charged him with maintaining ſeveral erroneous opinions; but what *Collier* ſays of him is beneath contempt. *Guthrie* affects to condemn him for being a predeſtinarian; but he acknowledges, however, that 'his 'notions about the fopperies of religion, images, pilgrim-'ages, legends, and the like, are many of them ſenſible, 'and moſt of them allowable: That his opinions with 'regard to the ſacraments of the church, as then believed 'in *England*, are free, and ſuch as have been adopted by 'many ſtrict foreign churches: That, however immo-

'derate

'derate he was in his principles, he appears to have been 'a wiſe and moderate man in his practice; witneſs his 'dying in peace upon his own living, amidſt an univerſal 'combuſtion which his tenets had raiſed: And that he 'muſt be allowed to have left behind him the dawn of that 'Reformation which was afterwards compleated.'

Mr. *Guthrie*, obſerved that *Wickliffe* 'ſeems to have 'been a ſtrong predeſtinarian.' It will preſently appear (ſays a later writer) that he more than ſeemed to have been ſuch; and that *Luther* and *Calvin* themſelves were not ſtronger predeſtinarians than *Wickliffe*. I ſhall open the evidence with two propoſitions, extracted from his own writings:

1. "The prayer of the *reprobate* prevaileth for no man."

2. "All things that happen, do come *abſolutely* of *ne-* "*ceſſity*."

The manner in which this great harbinger of the Reformation defended the latter propoſition, plainly ſhews him to have been (notwithſtanding *Guthrie*'s inſinuation to the contrary) a deep and ſkilfull diſputant. "Our "Lord," ſays he, "affirmed that ſuch or ſuch an event "ſhould come to paſs. It's accompliſhment, therefore, "was unavoidable. The antecedent is infallible: By "parity of argument, the conſequent is ſo too. For the "conſequent is not in the power of a created being, for- "aſmuch as *Chriſt* affirmed ſo many things" [before they were brought to paſs]. "Neither did [pre] affirm any "thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that his affirmation "was, not accidental, but neceſſary; it follows, that "the event affirmed by him, muſt be neceſſary likewiſe. "This argument," adds *Wickliffe*, "receives additional "ſtrength, by obſerving, that, in what way ſoever God "may declare his will, by his after-diſcoveries of it in "time; ſtill, his determination, concerning the event, took "place before the world was made: *Ergo*, the event will "ſurely follow. The neceſſity, therefore, of the ante- "cedent, holds no leſs irrefragably for the neceſſity of "the conſequent. And who can either promote or hin- "der the inference, namely, That this was decreed of "God before the formation of the world." I will not undertake (ſays Mr. *Toplady*) to juſtify the whole of this paragraph. I can only meet the excellent man half-way. I agree with him, as to the *neceſſity of events*: But I cannot, as he evidently did, ſuppoſe God himſelf to be *a neceſſary agent*, in the utmoſt ſenſe of the term. That God *acts* in the moſt exact conformity to his own *decrees*,

is a truth which ſcripture aſſerts again and again: But that God was *abſolutely* FREE *in decreeing*, is no leſs aſſerted by the inſpired writers; who, with one voice, declare the Father's predeſtination, and ſubſequent diſpoſal, of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent neceſſity, but on the ſingle, ſovereign pleaſure of his own *will*.

The quotation however, proves, that *Wickliffe* was an abſolute neceſſitarian. And he improves, with great ſolidity and acuteneſs, the topic of *prophecy* into (what it moſt certainly is) a very ſtrong argument for *predeſtination*. As the *prophecies* of the old and new teſtaments are ſuch an evidence of the divine inſpiration of the ſacred writers, and ſuch a proof of *Chriſtianity*, as all the infidels in the world will never be able to overthrow; ſo, on the other hand, thoſe ſame *prophecies* conclude, to the full, as ſtrongly in favor of peremptory *predeſtination*. For if events were *undecreed*, they would be *unforeknown*: And, if *unforeknown*, they could not be infallibly* *predicted*. To ſay, that 'events may be *foreknown* without falling under any 'active or permiſſive decree;' would be ſaying either *nothing* to the purpoſe, or *worſe* than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, *foreknow* any event whatever, which he did not *previouſly determine* to accompliſh or permit; and that event, barely foreknown, but entirely undecreed, be ſo *certainly future*, as to furniſh poſitive ground for *unerring prophecy*; it would follow, 1. That God is *dependent*, for his knowledge, on the things known; inſtead of all things being dependent on *him*: And, 2. That there are ſome extraneous concatenations of cauſes, *prior* to the will and

* It is very obſervable, that *Wickliffe*'s argument for predeſtination, drawn from the *prophecies* of our Lord, ſo puzzled the then archbiſhop of *Armagh* (whoſe name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out) that it furniſhed his grace with employment for *two years* together, to reconcile the *free-will* of man with the certain completion of *prophecy*. A taſk, however, which after all his labor, the romiſh prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his lordſhip, that he might not be forced to acknowledge predeſtination and give up *free-will*, thought proper to give up the infallible preſcience of *Chriſt* himſelf; blaſphemouſly affirming, that 'it was poſſible for *Chriſt* to be *miſtaken* in his 'prophecies, and to *miſinform* his church as to future events.' The paſſage is ſo uncommon, that I will give it in the writer's own words. "Dicit adverſarius [ſcil. *Wickliffe*,] quoad iſtud argumentum, domi- "num *Armachanum* per duos annos ſtuduiſſe pro ejus diſſolutione, & "finaliter neſcivit (ut dicit) aliter evadere, niſi CONCEDENDO, quòd "*Chriſtus erraſſe potuit, et eccleſiam decepiſſe*. Quam concluſionem "nullus catholicus (ut dicit *Wickliffe*) concederet. Et ſic videtur "ponere dominum *Armachanum* extra numerum catholicorum." *Guilelm. Wodford* contrà *Wickleſum*. Vide *Faſcic. Rer.* vol. 1. p. 256.

and

and knowledge of God, by which his will is regulated, and on which his knowledge is founded.

What he little more than intimates, in the citation given above; he delivered, it ſeems, more plainly and peremptorily, elſewhere. Among the ſixty-two articles, laid to his charge by *Thomas Netter* (commonly called, *Thomas* of *Walden* who flouriſhed about the year 1409,) and for which, that writer refers to the volume and chapter of *Wickliffe*'s works; are theſe three: 1. That "*all things come to paſs* "*by* FATAL *neceſſity.*" 2. That "*God could not make the* "*world otherwiſe than it is made:*" 3. And, that "*God* "*cannot do any thing, which he doth not do.**"

This is *fataliſm* with a witneſs. And I cite theſe propoſitions, not to depreciate Dr. *Wickliffe*, whoſe character I admire and revere, as one of the greateſt and beſt ſince the apoſtolic age; nor yet with a view to recommend the propoſitions themſelves: But, ſimply, to ſhew, how far this illuſtrious Reformer ran from the preſent Arminian ſyſtem, or rather no-ſyſtem, of chance and free-will. But, concerning even thoſe of *Wickliffe*'s aſſertions, which were the moſt raſh and unguarded; candor (not to ſay, juſtice) obliges me to obſerve, with *Fuller*, that were all his works extant, 'we might therein read the *occaſion*, *intention*, and '*connection*, of what he ſpake: Together with the *limi-* 'tations, *reſtrictions*, *diſtinctions*, and *qualifications*, of what 'he maintained. There we might ſee, what was the over-'plus of his paſſion, and what the juſt meaſure of his 'judgement. Many phraſes, heretical in ſound, would 'appear orthodox in ſenſe. Yea, ſome of his [reputedly] 'poiſonous paſſages, dreſſed with due caution, would prove 'not only *wholeſome*, but cordial truths; many of his ex-'preſſions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *granum ſalis*; 'no weight of truth, but ſome grains of diſcretion†.'

What I ſhall next add, may be rather ſtyled bold truths, than indiſcrete aſſertions. "He defined the *church* to "conſiſt *only of perſons* PREDESTINATED. And affirmed, "*That God loved* David *and* Peter *as dearly*, *when they*

* *Fuller*'s church hiſt. b. 4. p. 134.—What this valuable hiſtorian premiſes, concerning *Wickliffe*, before he enters on his account of him, deſerves to be quoted. 'I intend,' ſays Dr. *Fuller*, 'neither to deny, 'diſſemble, defend, nor excuſe, any of his faults. *We have* this trea-'ſure, ſaith the apoſtle, in earthen veſſels: And he that ſhall endeavor 'to prove *a pitcher of clay* to be a *pot of gold*, will take great pains to 'ſmall purpoſe. Yea, ſhould I be over-officious to retain myſelf to 'plead for *Wickliffe*'s faults, that glorious ſaint would ſooner chide 'than thank me.'

† Ibid. p. 135.

"*grievouſly*

" *grievouſly ſinned, as he doth now when they are poſſeſſed of* " *glory**." This latter poſition might, poſſibly, have been more unexceptionably expreſſed; be it, ſubſtantially, ever ſo true.

Wickliffe was ſound in the article of gratuitous pardon and juſtification by the alone death and righteouſneſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*. " The merit of *Chriſt*," ſays he, " is, of " itſelf, *ſufficient* to redeem every man from hell. It is " to be underſtood of *a ſufficiency* OF ITSELF, without *any* " *other* concurring cauſe. All that follow *Chriſt*, being " *juſtified by* HIS *righteouſneſs*, ſhall be ſaved, as his off- " ſpring." Dr. *Alix* obſerves, that *Wickliffe* ' rejects the ' doctrine of the *merit* of works, and falls upon thoſe ' who ſay, that *God did not* ALL *for them*, but think that ' *their merits help*.' " *Heal us, Lord*, FOR NOUGHT, ſays " Wickliffe; *that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy*." It has been already obſerved, and proved, that he had very high notions of that inevitable *neceſſity*, by which he ſuppoſed every event is governed. Yet, he did not enthuſiaſtically ſever the end from the means. Witneſs his own words: " Though *all* future things do happen *neceſſarily*, " yet God wills that good things happen to his ſervants " through the efficacy of *prayer*." Upon the whole, it is no wonder that ſuch a profligate factor for popery and arminianiſm, as *Peter Heylin*, ſhould *(pro more)* indecently affirm, that " *Wickliffe*'s field had more tares, than wheat; " and his books more heterodoxies, than ſound catholic " doctrine." See *Toplady*'s Hiſtoric Proof.

Whatever *Walſingham* and *Knighton* have advanced in prejudice of *Wickliffe*, is ſufficiently contradicted by letters teſtimonial given by the univerſity of *Oxford*, in 1406, in his behalf, and ſealed with their common ſeal; wherein it is ſaid, ' that his converſation, from his youth ' to his death, was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt in the ' univerſity, that he never gave any offence, nor was he ' aſperſed with any mark of infamy or ſiniſter ſuſpicion: ' But that in anſwering, reading, preaching, and determin- ' ing, he behaved himſelf laudably, as a valiant champion ' of the truth, and catholicly vanquiſhed by ſentences of ' holy ſcripture all ſuch as by their wilful beggary blaſ- ' phemed the religion of Chriſt. That this doctor was ' not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our prelates ' delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid ' that our prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſo ' great probity for an heretic, who had not his equal in

* Ibid. p. 134.

' all

'all the univerſity in his writings of logic, philoſophy, 'divinity, morality, and the ſpeculative ſciences.'

As doctor *Wickliffe* was very diligent and frequent in preaching, and reading his divinity lectures; ſo he wrote and publiſhed a great many tracts, of which biſhop *Bale* has given a particular account. They are two hundred and fifty-five in all, of which thirty-two are preſerved in *Trinity-college*, and C. C. C. *Cambridge*; five in *Trinity-college*, *Dublin*, four in the *Bodleian* library, two in the *Cotton* library, and three in the king's library. Moſt of them are theological; but ſome are philoſophical; forty-eight are in *Engliſh*, and the others are in Latin. Beſides theſe, there is a volume of *Engliſh* tracts ſaid to be wrote by *Wickliffe*; ſome of which are yet extant. He is ſaid to have wrote two hundred volumes, beſides his tranſlation of the Bible into *Engliſh*, a fair copy of which is in *Queen's-college*, *Oxford*, and two more in the univerſity library. 'It was done no doubt in the moſt expreſſive 'language of thoſe days, though ſounding uncouth to our 'ears; the *knave* of *Jeſus Chriſt* for ſervant; and *Philip* 'baptized the *gelding*, for eunuch: So much our tongue 'is improved in our age.' *

His opinions were miſrepreſented by his adverſaries; but he was protected by many powerful friends, and his doctrine was embraced by the greateſt part of the kingdom. King *Edward* III. the princeſs dowager of *Wales*, the duke of *Lancaſter*, the queen of *Richard* II. the earl-marſhal, *Geoffry Chaucer* the father of *Engliſh* poetry, and lord *Cobham*, who diſperſed *Wickliffe*'s works all over *Europe*, were his patrons and friends. From ſuch a noble

* *Romans* ix. 11,—21. Whanne thei weren not ghit borun, neithir "hadden doon ony thing of good, eithir of yvel; that the purpos of "God ſchulde dwell bi elecciouu, not of workis, but of God clepy-"ing; it was ſeid to him, that the more ſchulde ſerve the laſſe: as it "is writun, I louyde Jacob, but I hatide Eſau. What therefore "ſchulen we ſeie? wher wickidneſſe be anentis God? God forbede. "For he ſeith to Moiſes, I ſchal have mercy on whom I have mercy, "and I ſchal ghyve merci on whom I have mercy. Therefore, it is "not neither of man willynge, neither rennynge; but of God hauynge "mercy. And the ſcripture ſeith to *Farao*, For to this thing have "I ſtyrrid thee, that I ſchewe in thee my vertu, and that my name "be teeld in al erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he hath "mercy: And whom he wole, he endurith. Thanne ſeiſt thou to "me, What is ſought ghit, for who withſtondith his will? Oo man, "what art thou that anſweriſt to God! Wher a maad thing ſeith to "him that made it, What haſt thou maad me ſo? Wher a pottere of "cley hath not power to make, of the ſame gobet, oo veſſel into "onour, anothir into diſpyt!" *Lewis*'s Edition of *Wickliffe*'s Tranſl. N. Teſt.—*Lond.* 1731, Folio.

fountain the ſtream ran ſtrong, and was ſoon increaſed; for many eminent divines, noblemen, and other perſons of diſtinction, embraced the new doctrine; which conſtantly gathered ground, notwithſtanding it was violently oppoſed by the prieſts, who raiſed bloody perſecutions againſt the Wickliffites in the reigns of *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. and *Henry* V.

The number of thoſe who believed in the doctrine of *Wickliffe* multiplied like ſuckers growing out of the root of a tree. After a time, the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical powers were combined to ſuppreſs its growth; and archbiſhop *Arundel*, in convocation, condemned eighteen of *Wickliffe*'s concluſions, twelve years after his death. Acts of parliament were made againſt the Wickliffites, and many of them were burnt for heretics. The books of *Wickliffe* were prohibited to be read in the univerſities: And, in 1416, archbiſhop *Chichely* ſet up a kind of inquiſition in every pariſh to diſcover and puniſh the Wickliffites; by which cruel and unchriſtian methods the great and good *John* lord *Cobham* was burnt for hereſy; and he was the firſt nobleman whoſe blood was ſhed in *England*, on account of religion, by popiſh barbarity. *Fox* aſſerts, in his acts and monuments, that the two famous poets of that time, *Gower* and *Chaucer*, were Wickliffites, and that they covered their opinion very ingeniouſly, and by way of parable, in their writings; adding likewiſe, that, by the expoſition of thoſe writings by ſuch as had the key, many were brought into *Wickliffe*'s perſuaſion. *Chaucer* died in the year 1400, and *Gower* ſome time before.

The infallibity of the pope was oppoſed to the doctrine of *Wickliffe*; and the council of *Conſtance*, on the fifth of *May*, 1415, condemned forty-five articles, maintained by *Wickliffe*, as heretical, falſe, and erroneous. His bones were ordered to be dug up, and caſt on a dunghill: But this part of the ſentence was not executed till 1428, when orders were ſent by the pope to the biſhop of *Lincoln* to have it ſtrictly performed. The remains of this excellent man were accordingly dug out of the grave, where they had lain undiſturbed four and forty years: His bones were burnt, and the aſhes caſt into an adjoining brook called the *Swift*, which ſprings near *Knaptoft* in *Leiceſterſhire*. Such was the reſentment of the *Romiſh* church on the memory of him, who was called the firſt *Engliſh Lollard*.* *Cambden*

* The ſect of the *Lollards*, ſpread throughout *Germany*, had for their leader *Walter Lollard*, who began to diſperſe his doctrines about the year

Cambden ſays, this was done forty-one years after his death by warrant of the council of *Sienna:* But this is a miſtake, for it was done by the ſame council of *Conſtance*, which condemned *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, to be burnt for favoring the doctrine of *Wickliffe*, and maintaining others which were alſo condemned as heretical. This council ſat to give ſanction to injuſtice, and to eſtabliſh iniquity by law; though it inflicted an irretrievable blow upon the papal authority.

It is ſaid, that the gown which doctor *Wickliffe* wore now covers the communion-table in the church of *Lutterworth:* And, as this eminent man may juſtly be conſidered as the author of the Reformation, not only in *England*, but throughout all *Europe*; ſure ſome decent reſpect ſhould have been paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory.

The Wickliffites were oppreſſed, but could not be extinguiſhed: Perſecution ſerved only to eſtabliſh that faith which became general at the Reformation, about a hundred years after theſe reſtraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimouſly embraced the doctrine which *Wickliffe* began; and popery was aboliſhed in *England*, that the purity of religion might increaſe the bleſſings of liberty.

His works (ſays Mr. *Gilpin*) are amazingly voluminous; yet he ſeems not to have engaged in any very large work: His pieces in general may be properly called tracts. Of theſe many were written in Latin, and many in *Engliſh:* Some on ſchool-queſtions; others on ſubjects of more general knowledge; but the greateſt part on divinity. It may be ſome amuſement to the reader to ſee what ſubjects he hath choſen. I ſhall give a liſt therefore of the more remarkable of them, from the various collections which have been made. *Trialogorum, lib.* 4.——*De religione perfectorum.*——*De eccleſiâ & membris.*——*De diabolo & membris.*——*De Chriſto & Antichriſto.*——*De Antichriſto & membris.*——*Sermones in epiſtolas.*——*De veritate ſcripturæ.*——*De ſtatu innocentiæ.*——*De ſtipendiis miniſtrorum.*——

year 1315. He deſpiſed the ſacraments of the church, and derided her ceremonies and her conſtitutions; obſerved not the faſts of the church, nor its abſtinencies; acknowledged not the interceſſion of the ſaints, and believed that the damned in hell, and even the evil angels, ſhould one day be ſaved. *Trithemius*, who recites their opinions, ſays, that *Bohemia* and *Auſtria* were infected with them; that there were above 24,000 perſons in *Germany* which held thoſe errors, and that the greater part defended them with obſtinacy, even to death.—*Du Pin.*

De epiſcoporum erroribus.——De curatorum erroribus.——De perfectione evangelicâ.——De officio paſtorali.——De ſimoniâ ſacerdotum.——Super pœnitentiis injungendis.——De ſeductione ſimplicium.——Dæmonum æſtus in ſubvertendâ religione.——De pontificum Romanorum ſchiſmate.——De ultimâ ætate eccleſiæ.——Of temptation.——The chartre of hevene.——Of ghoſtly battel.——Of ghoſtly and fleſhly love.——The confeſſion of St. Brandoun.——Active life, and contemplative.——Virtuous patience.——Of pride.——Obſervationes piæ in Chriſti præcepta.——De impedimentis orationis.——De cardinalibus virtutibus.——De actibus animæ.——Expoſitio orationis dominicæ.——De 7 ſacramentis.——De naturâ fidei.——De diverſis gradibus charitatis.—De defectione à Chriſto.——De veritate & mendacio.——De ſacerdotio Levitico.——De ſacerdotio Chriſti.——De dotatione Cæſareâ.——De verſutiis pſeudocleri.——De immortalitate animæ.——De paupertate Chriſti.——De phyſicâ naturali.——De eſſentiâ accidentium.——De neceſſitate Inturorum.——De temporis quidditate.——De temporis ampliatione.——De operibus corporalibus.——De operibus ſpiritualibus.——De fide & perfidiâ.——De ſermone Domini in montem.——Abſtractiones logicales.——A ſhort rule of life.—The great ſentence of the curſe expounded.——Of good prieſts.——De contrarietate duorum dominorum.——Wickliffe's wicket.——De miniſtrorum conjugio.——De religioſis privatis.——Conciones de morte.——De vitâ ſacerdotum.——De ablatis reſtituendis.——De arte ſophiſticâ.——De fonte errorum.——De incarnatione verbi.——Super impoſitis articulis.——De humanitate Chriſti.——Contra concilium terræ-motus.——De ſolutione Satanæ.——De ſpiritu quolibet.——De Chriſtianorum baptiſmo.——De clavium poteſtate.——De blaſphemiâ.——De paupertate Chriſti.——De raritate & denſitate.——De materiâ & formâ.——De animâ.——Octo beatitudines.——De trinitate.——Commentarii in pſalterium.——De abominatione deſolationis.——De civili dominio.——De eccleſiæ dominio.——De divino dominio.——De origine ſectarum.——De perfidiâ ſectarum.——Speculum de antichriſto.——De virtute orandi——De remiſſione fraternâ.——De cenſuris eccleſiæ.——De charitate fraternâ.——De purgatorio piorum.——De Phariſæo & Publicano.

His great work, and what offended the church of *Rome* moſt highly, was his *Tranſlation of the Scriptures* into *Engliſh*, which effectually expoſed the ſophiſtries and ſuperſtitions of the time, and led the people from following the traditions of men to the pure will and word of the bleſſed GOD.

JOHN


BRITISH
MUSEUM


JOHN HUSS D.D.

JOHN HUSS, D. D.

THE BOHEMIAN REFORMER.

JOHN HUSS, or Hus, whoſe name in the *Bohemian* language ſignifies *Gooſe*, was born at *Huſſenitz*, a village in *Bohemia*. His parents were not bleſt with affluence; but they gave him a liberal education, which he improved by his ſtrong mental abilities, and cloſe application to his ſtudies, in the univerſity of *Prague*, where he commenced batchelor of arts in 1393, maſter of arts in 1395, and batchelor of divinity in 1408. *Huſs* was a man (ſays *Wharton* in his Appendix to *Cave*'s Hiſtoria Literaria) even by the confeſſion of his enemies, illuſtrious and remarkable both for doctrine and piety. It was in this year that *Sbynko*, or *Subinſko Lepus*, the archbiſhop of that city, iſſued two orders to ſuppreſs the doctrine of the Wickliffites, which had been introduced into that kingdom, and was countenanced by the greateſt part of the maſters and ſcholars of the univerſity of *Prague*, who, by a providence we ſhall mention preſently, had got the books of *Wickliffe* into their hands.

Queen *Anne*, the wife of king *Richard* II. of *England*, was daughter to the emperor *Charles* IV. and ſiſter to *Wenceſlaus*, king of *Bohemia*, and *Sigiſmund* emperor of *Germany*. She was a princeſs of great piety, virtue, and knowledge; nor could ſhe endure the implicit and unreaſonable ſervice and devotion of the *Roman* church. Her death happened in 1394, and her funeral was attended by all the nobility of *England*. She had patronized *Wickliffe*, who ſpeaks of her in his book "Of the three-fold Bond of Love," in theſe words: "It is poſſible that the noble queen of *Eng-*
"*land*, the ſiſter of *Cæſar*, may have the goſpel written
"in three languages, *Bohemian*, *German*, and Latin:
"But to hereticate her, on this account, would be Lu-
"ciferian folly." After her death, ſeveral of *Wickliffe*'s books were carried by her attendants into *Bohemia*, and were the means of promoting the reformation there.

The books of *Wickliffe* were carried into *Bohemia* by *Peter Payne*, an *Engliſhman*, one of his diſciples: But the archbiſhop of *Prague* ordered the members of that univerſity

univerſity to bring him the books of *Wickliffe*, that thoſe in which any errors were found might be burnt. The tracts of *Wickliffe* had been ſo carefully preſerved, that we are aſſured a certain biſhop wrote out of *England*, that he had got two very large volumes of them, which ſeemed as large as St. *Auſtin*'s works. Archbiſhop *Sbynko* burnt two hundred volumes of them, very finely written, and adorned with coſtly covers and gold boſſes; for which reaſon, they are ſuppoſed to belong to the nobility and gentry of *Bohemia*.

Peter Payne was principal of *Edmund-hall*, in the univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was diſtinguiſhed for his excellent parts, and his oppoſition to the friars. He was a good diſputant, and confuted *Walden*, the *Carmelite*, about the beggary of Chriſt, pilgrimages, the euchariſt, images, and relicts; for which he was obliged to quit the univerſity, and fly into *Bohemia*, where he contracted an acquaintance with *Procopius*, the *Bohemian* General, and publiſhed ſome books written by *Wickliffe*, which were greatly eſteemed by *Huſs*, *Jerom*, and the greateſt part of the univerſity of *Prague*. The ſtudents belonging to this learned ſeminary were offended with their archbiſhop for ſuppreſſing the books of *Wickliffe*, and ordering the *Bohemian* clergy to teach the people, that, after the pronunciation of the words of the holy ſacrament, there remained nothing but the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* under the ſpecies of bread, and the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the cup.

There was alſo, according to *Fox*, another cauſe of the diſperſion of *Wickliffe*'s books in *Bohemia*. A young man of an opulent and noble family of that country came over to *Oxford*, about the year 1389, for the proſecution of his ſtudies, and, upon his return, carried with him ſeveral tracts of *Wickliffe*, amongſt which were his books, *De realibus univerſalibus*; *De civili jure & divino*; *De eccleſiâ*; *De quæſtionibus variis contra clerum*; &c. With this gentleman *Huſs* was well acquainted, and obtained from him the loan of theſe books, which were the means of bringing light into his mind, and ſo much impreſſed him with the conviction of their truth, that he embraced and maintained the doctrines they contained ever afterwards. He uſed to call *Wickliffe* an angel ſent from heaven to enlighten mankind; and would mention among his friends his meeting with that great author's writings, as the moſt happy circumſtance of his life; adding, that it would be his joy in heaven to live for ever with that excellent man.

Huſs had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the univerſity, where he taught grammar and philoſophy. He had applied himſelf

ſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and the Latin fathers: He was become an excellent preacher, and was made chaplain in the church of the *Holy Innocents*, called *Bethlehem*, at *Prague*. He was held in great eſtimation for his exemplary life and converſation as a divine, and for having been one of the principal perſons who had obtained a great favor to the univerſity. It ſhould be obſerved, that this univerſity was founded by the emperor *Charles* IV. who compoſed it of perſons from the four different ſtates of *Bohemia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Poland*. The three latter were almoſt all *Germans*, and had three voices againſt one, which made them maſters of the profeſſor's chair, governors of the univerſity affairs, and diſpoſers of the beſt benefices in the city: While the poor *Bohemians*, whoſe proſperity depended entirely on thoſe advantages, found themſelves utterly excluded. This was the ſtate of that ſeminary, when doctor *Huſs*, aſſiſted by others, repreſented the cauſe of the complaining *Bohemians* to their king *Wenceſlaus* V. *Huſs* was ſucceſsful; he obtained a revocation of the privileges granted to thoſe foreigners, and the *Bohemians* were reſtored to the principal places in the univerſity; which ſo greatly offended the foreigners, that they retired to *Miſnia*, and carried with them upwards of two thouſand ſcholars. This increaſed the reputation of doctor *Huſs*, and made him of great conſideration in the univerſity, when the archbiſhop publiſhed two orders againſt Wickliffitiſm.

Huſs arduouſly embraced the doctrine of *Wickliffe*, and eaſily perſuaded many members of the univerſity,* that the firſt of theſe orders, made by the archbiſhop, was an infringement of the privileges and liberties of the univerſity, whoſe members had a right to read all ſorts of books, without any moleſtation. He alſo obſerved, that the ſecond order contained a moſt intolerable error, in ſeeming to affirm that there was nothing but the body and blood of *Chriſt* under the ſpecies of bread, and in the cup. Upon this foundation, they appealed from thoſe orders to *Gregory* XII. at *Rimini*, who was then acknowledged pope in *Germany*, in oppoſition to *John* XXIII. at *Rome*, and *Benedict* XIII. at *Avignon*. Their appeal was received, and the pope cited the archbiſhop to *Rome*. But that prelate informed the pope, that the doctrine of *Wickliffe* began to take root in *Bohemia:* upon which the archbiſhop

* For Dr. *Huſs*'s public defence of *Wickliffe*'s opinions before the univerſity of *Prague*, in the year 1412, ſee FOX's *Acts, &c.* vol. 1. *temp. Ric.* 2.

obtained

obtained a bull, whereby the pope gave him commiſſion to prevent the publiſhing of thoſe errors in his province.

This archbiſhop, we are told, was a moſt illiterate man. He was ſo illiterate, that he was called, in ridicule, *Alphabetarius*, the A B C Doctor. Indeed, the clergy of thoſe times were remarkably ignorant, inſomuch that many of the prelates could not write, but directed their chaplains to ſubſcribe their very names for them to eccleſiaſtical deeds and papers.

The archbiſhop, by virtue of this bull, definitively condemned the writings of *Wickliffe*; proceeded againſt four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine; and prohibited them, notwithſtanding their privileges, to preach in any congregation. Doctor *Huſs*, with ſome other members of the univerſity, and the patron of the chapel of *Bethlehem*, made their proteſtations againſt theſe proceedings; and, on the twenty-fifth of *June*, A. D. 1410, entered a new appeal from the ſentences of the archbiſhop. This affair was carried before pope *John* XXIII. who granted a commiſſion to cardinal *Colonna* to cite *John Huſs* to appear perſonally at the court of *Rome*, to anſwer the accuſations laid againſt him of preaching both errors and hereſies. Doctor *Huſs* deſired to be excuſed a perſonal appearance, and was ſo greatly favored in *Bohemia*, that king *Wenceſlaus*, the queen, the nobility, and the univerſity, deſired the pope to diſpenſe with ſuch an appearance; as alſo that he would not ſuffer the kingdom of *Bohemia* to lie under the defarnation of being accuſed of hereſy, but permit them to preach the goſpel with freedom in their places of worſhip; and that he would ſend legates to *Prague* to correct any pretended abuſes, the expence of which ſhould be defrayed by the *Bohemians*.

Three proctors appeared for doctor *Huſs*, before cardinal *Colonna*, who was elected pope, in 1417, and aſſumed the name of *Martin* V. The proctors alledged excuſes for the abſence of *Huſs*, and declared they were ready to anſwer in his behalf: But the cardinal declared *Huſs* contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly.

The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed the cardinals of *Aquileia*, *Brancas*, *Venice*, and *Zabarella*, to draw up the proceſs of this whole affair. Theſe commiſſioners not only confirmed the judgement given by cardinal *Colonna*, but carried the matter much further; for they extended the excommunication, which had paſſed againſt *Huſs*, to all his diſciples, and alſo to his friends. He was declared a promoter of hereſy, and an interdict

was pronounced againſt him. From theſe proceedings he appealed to a future council; and, notwithſtanding the deciſion of the four commiſſioners, and his being expelled from the church of *Bethlehem*, he retired to *Huſſenitz*, the place of his nativity, where he boldly continued to promulgate his doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote, about this time, are very numerous; and he compiled a treatiſe wherein he maintained that the reading of the books of heretics cannot be abſolutely forbidden. He juſtified *Wickliffe*'s book on the Trinity, and defended the character of that Reformer againſt a charge brought by one *Stokes*, an *Engliſhman*, and others, who accuſed him of diſobedience.

It is truth, and not opinion, which can travel through the world without a paſſport. The glorious cauſe of truth had been freely eſpouſed by *Huſs*, who undauntedly declaimed againſt the clergy, the cardinals, and even againſt the pope himſelf. He wrote a diſcourſe to prove, that the faults and vices of churchmen ought to be reproved from the pulpit. Regarding the blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which many pretended to have as a relic, he obſerved, that *Chriſt*, being glorified, took up with him all his own blood, and that there is no remain of it on earth; as alſo that the greateſt part of the miracles, which are reported about the apparition of his blood, are the frauds and impoſtures of avaricious and deſigning men. He maintained, that *Jeſus Chriſt* might be called bread: But he departed not from the doctrine of the church about the tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But it is of ſmall importance with the church of *Rome*, in what particular points the judgements of men coincide with its doctrines, if the whole of the corrupt leaven be not implicitly ſwallowed. And perhaps no points are held more ſacred by that heretical communion, than thoſe which yield the moſt abundant profit to the holy ſee, falſly ſo called. To attack the virtue of papal indulgences, is ſtriking at the moſt fundamental pillar of the popedom; and to deny the ſtock of merit, laid up in the church for public ſale, is a damnable denial of the privileges of the clergy, to whom both heaven and earth belong, under the diſpoſal of their pontiff, *Chriſt*'s pretended vicar here below. Theſe monſtrous abuſes, ſome very few of that church have attempted, as far as they dared, to cenſure.—And with reſpect to *Rome* itſelf, a journey thither would probably

effect more to prevent a perverſion from proteſtantiſm to popery, than a thouſand wordy arguments. The wickedneſs and vices of the clergy, in that city, ſpeak aloud for their principles. The review of theſe cauſed *Hildebert*, archbiſhop of *Tours*, ſo long ago as the twelfth century, to characterize that famous mart of ſouls in the following words:

Urbs fœlix, ſi vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis eſſet turpe carere fide.

That is,

'Happy city, if it had no maſters; or if it were ſcandalous for thoſe maſters to be unfaithful.' *Luther* uſed to ſay, that 'for 1000 florins he would not but have been at *Rome*,' where he ſaw ſo thoroughly into that ſink of ſin and ſpiritual abomination, that he abhorred the place and its profeſſion all his life afterwards. He had been ſent thither, in the early part of his life, in behalf of his convent. But to proceed:

About the time when *Huſs* wrote the above diſcourſes, *Peter* of *Dreſden* was obliged to fly from *Saxony*, and ſeek a refuge at *Prague*, where he encouraged *Jacobelle* of *Miſnia*, a prieſt of the chapel of St. *Michael*, to preach up the eſtabliſhment of the communion under the ſpecies of wine. This opinion was embraced by doctor *Huſs* and his followers, who began to preach, that the uſe of the cup was neceſſary to the laity, and that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered under both kinds. Archbiſhop *Sbynko* was incenſed at theſe proceedings, and applied to king *Wenceſlaus* for aſſiſtance, which that monarch refuſed. The prelate then had recourſe to *Sigiſmund*, king of *Hungary*, who promiſed to come into *Bohemia*, and ſettle the affairs of the church in that kingdom: But *Sbynko* died in *Hungary*, before *Sigiſmund* began his journey into *Bohemia*. *Albicus* ſucceeded to the archiepiſcopal ſee of *Prague*, who permitted the Huſſites to continue their ſermons; and their doctrine became almoſt general.

Doctor *Huſs* left his retirement, and returned to *Prague*, in 1412, at the time that pope *John* XXIII. publiſhed the bulls againſt *Laodiſlaus*, king of *Naples*, whereby he ordered a croiſade againſt him, and granted indulgences to all thoſe who undertook this war. Theſe bulls were confuted by doctor *Huſs*, who declaimed againſt croiſades and indulgences. The populace became animated by his orations, and declared that pope *John* was antichriſt. The magiſtrates cauſed ſome of them to be apprehended, and

the

the reſt took up arms to ſet them at liberty; but they were pacified by the magiſtrates, who gave them ſolemn aſſurances that no injury ſhould be done to the priſoners: however, they were privately beheaded in the judgement-hall. The blood which ran out from the place of execution diſcovered the maſſacre of theſe men to the common people, who took arms again, forcibly carried off the bodies of thoſe that were executed, honourably interred them in the church of *Bethlehem*, and reverenced them as martyrs. '*Huſs* (ſays Mr. *Gilpin*) diſcovered, on this 'occaſion, a true Chriſtian ſpirit. The late riot had 'given him great concern; and he had now ſo much 'weight with the people, as to reſtrain them from at-'tempting any farther violence—whereas, at the ſound 'of a bell, he could have been ſurrounded with thou-'ſands, who might have laughed at the police of the city.'

The magiſtrates of *Prague* found it neceſſary to publiſh their reaſons for theſe rigorous proceedings againſt the Huſſites. They aſſembled many doctors of divinity in their city, who drew up a cenſure of forty-five of *Wickliffe*'s propoſitions; and, in their preface to it, they aſſerted the authority of the pope, the cardinals, and the church of *Rome*; after which, they accuſed the Huſſites of ſedition. Doctor *Huſs* wrote many books, and other diſcourſes, againſt the cenſure of theſe doctors, whom he called Prætorians. He maintained ſome of the articles which they condemned; particularly thoſe concerning the liberty of preaching, the power of ſecular princes over the revenues of eccleſiaſtics, the voluntary payment of tythes, and the forfeiture that ſpiritual and temporal lords make of their power, when they live in mortal ſin.

Doctor *Huſs* wrote a long treatiſe about the church, to confute the preface of that cenſure, in which he maintains, that the church conſiſts of thoſe only who are predeſtinate; that the head and foundation of it is *Jeſus Chriſt*; that the pope and cardinals are only members of it, and the other biſhops are ſucceſſors to the apoſtles as well as they; that no one is obliged to obey them, if their commands are not agreeable to the law of God; and that an excommunication, which is groundleſs, hath no effect. He particularly anſwered the writings of *Stephen Paletz*, *Staniſlaus Zuoima*, and eight other doctors. He alſo cauſed a writing to be fixed upon the church of *Bethlehem*, charging the clergy with theſe ſix errors:

Firſt, Of believing that the prieſt, by ſaying maſs, becomes the creator of his Creator. Second, Of ſaying that

we ought to believe in the virgin, in a pope, and in the ſaints. Third, That the prieſts can remit the pain and guilt of ſin. Fourth, That every one muſt obey his ſuperiors, whether their commands be juſt or unjuſt. Fifth, That every excommunication, juſt or unjuſt, binds the excommunicate. The ſixth relates to ſimony.

He alſo wrote three large volumes againſt the clergy; the firſt entitled, "The Anatomy of the Members of Antichriſt." The ſecond, "Of the Kingdom of the "People, and the Life and Manners of Antichriſt." The third, "Of the Abomination of Prieſts, and carnal "Monks, in the Church of *Jeſus Chriſt*." Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral other tracts on Traditions, the Unity of the Church, Evangelical Perfection, the Myſtery of Iniquity, and the Diſcovery of Antichriſt. With what ſurprizing ſpirit, ſtrength of argument, and powerful judgement, he wrote on theſe ſubjects, may be well conceived by the amazing influence that his doctrines obtained.

Wickliffe had advanced, 'That if a biſhop or prieſt 'ſhould give holy orders, or conſecrate the ſacrament of 'the altar, or miniſter baptiſm, whiles he is in mortal 'ſyn; it were nothing avaylable.' This was vindicated by doctor *Huſs*, who obſerves, that the article conſiſts of three parts: Firſt, That a civil or temporal lord is no lord, while he is in mortal ſin: Secondly, That a prelate is no prelate, while he is in mortal ſin: Thirdly, That a biſhop is no biſhop, while he is in mortal ſin. Both theſe divines taught ſubjection and obedience to princes: But *Wickliffe* aſſerted, that 'If temporal lords do wrongs and extor-'tions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his 'people, and tyrants of antichriſt:' And *Huſs* corroborated this opinion, by ſhewing that it was held by St. *Auſtin*.

Though *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, ſo far agreed with *Wickliffe*, that they oppoſed the tyranny and corruptions of the pope and his clergy: Yet they were not of the ſame opinion with relation to the euchariſt, for neither of them ever oppoſed the real preſence, and tranſubſtantiation, as *Wickliffe* had done.

The great and noble Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, lord *Cobham*, had ſpoken boldly in ſeveral parliaments againſt the corruptions of the Chriſtian faith and worſhip, and had frequently repreſented to the kings *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. and *Henry* V. the inſufferable abuſes committed by the clergy. This nobleman, at the deſire of doctor *Huſs*, cauſed all the works of *Wickliffe* to be wrote out, and diſperſed

perſed in *Bohemia*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other parts of *Europe*. But that good man, who had wrote ſeveral diſcourſes concerning a reformation of diſcipline and manners in the church, was abandoned by *Henry* V. and fell a ſacrifice to the fury of the prieſts. He was condemned, in 1413, by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as a heretic, and ſent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him. He eſcaped from his confinement, and avoided the execution of his ſentence till 1418, when he was taken, and burnt hanging. His behaviour, at the time of his death, was great and intrepid. He exhorted the people to follow the inſtructions, which God had given them in the Scriptures; and admoniſhed them to diſclaim thoſe falſe teachers, whoſe lives and converſations were ſo contrary to *Chriſt*, and repugnant to his religion. *England* was filled with ſcenes of perſecution, which extended to *Germany* and *Bohemia*, where doctor *Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, were marked out to ſhare the fate of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

The council of *Conſtance* was aſſembled on the ſixteenth of *November* 1414, to determine the diſpute between three perſons who contended for the papacy. There were, as attendants and members of this council (ſays Mr. *Fax*), 'archbiſhops and biſhops, 346; abbots and doctors, 564; 'princes, dukes, earls, knights, and ſquires, 16,000; 'common women, 450; barbers, 600; muſicians, cooks, 'and jeſters, 320.' *Bartholomew Coſſa* took the name of *John* XXIII: *Angeli de Coraro* called himſelf *Gregory* XII: And *Pedro de Luna* was ſtiled *Benedict* XIII: But it was *John*, who ſummoned doctor *Huſs* to appear at *Conſtance*. The emperor *Sigiſmund*, brother and ſucceſſor to *Wenceſlaus*, encouraged *Huſs* to obey the ſummons, that he might clear the *Bohemian* nation from the imputation of hereſy: And, as an inducement to his compliance, he ſent him a paſſport, with aſſurance of ſafe conduct, whereby he gave him permiſſion to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

Doctor *Huſs* cauſed ſome placarts to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in *Prague*, wherein he declared, that he went to the council to anſwer all the accuſations that were made againſt him; and that he was ready to appear before the archbiſhop, to hear his adverſaries, and juſtify his innocence. He demanded of the biſhop of *Nazareth*, the inquiſitor, whether he had any thing to propoſe againſt him; from whom he received a favorable teſtimony: But when he preſented himſelf at the court of

the

the archbiſhop, who had called an aſſembly againſt him, he was denied admiſſion. When he departed from *Prague* to repair to *Conſtance*, he was accompanied by *Wences*, lord of *Dunbar*, and *John*, lord of *Chlum*. *Huſs* made public declarations, in all the cities through which he paſſed, that he was going to vindicate himſelf at *Conſtance*, and invited all his adverſaries to be preſent. He arrived at *Conſtance* on the third of *November*; and ſoon after *Stephen Paletz* came there as his adverſary, who was joined by *Michael* of *Cauſis*. They declared themſelves his accuſers, and drew up a memorial againſt him, which they preſented to the pope, and prelates of the council.

Doctor *Huſs*, twenty-ſix days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been obſerved, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own requeſt: But, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct, he was no ſooner come within the pope's juriſdiction, than he was arreſted, and committed priſoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and juſtice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial ſafe conduct: But the pope obſerved, that he never granted any ſafe conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor. This infamous ſynod acted up to the ſpirit of their own favorite maxim, THAT NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS. The emperor arrived at *Conſtance* on the twenty-third of *December*, and pope *John* fled from thence; as the council had reſolved, that he and his two rivals, *Gregory* and *Benedict*, ſhould diveſt themſelves of all authority, that their competition might be fairly decided, ſchiſm extirpated, and an univerſal Reformation of faith and manners enacted, with reſpect both to the head and members of the church. The fourth ſeſſion was held on the twenty-ſixth of *March* 1415, in which the powers of the council, independent of the pope, were re-acknowledged and ratified. The eighth ſeſſion was held *May* the fifth, when the doctrines of *Wickliffe* were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles: And in the twelfth ſeſſion, held the twenty-ninth of *May*, pope *John* XXIII. was depoſed.

The fathers of the council were ranged under five nations; *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *England*, and *Spain*. All matters, propoſed in the council, were to be determined by the plurality of voices in each nation: But the cardinals, and their college, had their votes: And it was agreed, that after the buſineſs had paſſed through the different committees, the full ſtate of the whole ſhould be made to

the council, and that their decree ſhould be formed upon the plurality of the votes of the nations. *Robert Halam*, biſhop of *Saliſbury*, the biſhop of *Litchfield*, and the abbot of St. *Mary's*, in *York*, were members of this council for the *Engliſh* nation.

The ſpirit with which the council of *Conſtance* acted againſt the popes; their declaring themſelves as a council, and all councils to be above popes; the rigour with which they executed their decrees, and the awful form of their proceedings, are commendable. But to what did it all tend? To no generous principle of love to God, or benevolence to man. It only tranſlated the ſeat of wicked power. The people were as much ſlaves to ignorance; they were as much tied down to ſuperſtition; and they had as little the exerciſe of any one rational ſentiment, as ever. This council acted the part of inquiſitors: They ordered the remains of doctor *Wickliffe* to be dug up and burnt, 'with this charitable caution, if they might be 'diſcerned from the bodies of other faithful people. His 'aſhes (ſays *Fuller*) were caſt into the *Swift*; that brook 'conveyed them into the *Avon*; *Avon* into the *Severn*; '*Severn* into the narrow ſeas; they into the main ocean. 'Thus the aſhes of *Wickliffe* are the emblems of his doc-'trine, which is now diſperſed all over the world.'

Doctor *Huſs* was allowed to be a man of conſequence, and reputation, in *Bohemia:* He was a great and good man, and a noble martyr to Chriſtianity. His accuſers preſented a petition to the pope, containing the heads of the accuſation which they had to propoſe againſt him, and requeſted that commiſſioners might be named to draw up his proceſs. The patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and two biſhops, were the perſons commiſſioned, who heard many witneſſes againſt doctor *Huſs*, and ordered his books to be examined. While this proceſs was drawing up, pope *John* eſcaped from the emperor *Sigiſmund*, who delivered *Huſs* into the hands of the biſhop of *Conſtance*, by whoſe order he was confined in a caſtle beyond the *Rhine*, near to *Conſtance*.

The council appointed the cardinals of *Cambray*, and St. *Mark*; the biſhop of *Dol*, and the abbot of the *Ciſtercians*, to finiſh the proceſs againſt doctor *Huſs*, and renew the condemnations againſt the doctrine of *Wickliffe*. Soon after, they joined to theſe commiſſioners a biſhop for each nation, and granted a commiſſion to cite *Jerom* of *Prague*, the companion and friend of doctor *Huſs*, who was one of the principal preachers of this new doctrine. The nobi-

lity

lity of *Bohemia* and *Poland* preſented a petition to the emperor and council, wherein they deſired that doctor *Huſs* might be ſet at liberty, as he had been ſeized and impriſoned contrary to the ſafe conduct of his imperial majeſty. The *Bohemians* preſented a writing to the council, wherein they maintained, that the propoſitions, which the enemies of *Huſs* had drawn out of his books, were mutilated, and falſified, on purpoſe to put him to death: They prayed the council to ſet him at liberty, that he might be heard for himſelf, and offered to give bond for his appearance. The patriarch of *Antioch* anſwered, in the name of the council, that they could not ſet *Huſs* at liberty; but would ſend for him, and give him a favorable hearing. The lords of *Bohemia* then addreſſed the emperor, who had ſent him there to defend that kingdom from a charge of hereſy, and was now one of his perſecutors.

The fourteenth ſeſſion was held on the fifth of *June*, when it was reſolved, that, before they ſent for doctor *Huſs*, the articles drawn out of his books ſhould be examined, and condemned, even without hearing his vindication. This was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by the nobles of *Bohemia*, that the emperor told the council, they muſt hear *Huſs*, before they condemned him; upon which they ſent for him, ordered him to acknowledge his books, and read the firſt articles of his accuſation. Theſe were about thirty,* drawn from the writings of *Wickliffe*, and ſome of them he freely admitted; ſuch as, 'that there was one, only, 'univerſal church, which is a collection of all the elect. 'That the apoſtle *Paul* was never a member of the devil, 'which he proved from the teſtimony of St. *Auguſtin*. 'That a predeſtinate perſon always continues a member 'of the church; becauſe, though he may ſometimes fall 'from that grace which is adventitious to him, yet never 'from the grace of predeſtination. That no member of 'the true church apoſtatizes from it, becauſe the grace 'of God, which eſtabliſhes him, never fails. That St. 'Peter never was, nor is, the head of the catholic church, 'becauſe this is the peculiar prerogative of *Chriſt*. That 'the condemnation of the forty-five articles of *Wickliffe*

* The reader, who is deſirous more particularly to examine the acts and proceedings againſt this good man, together with ſome of his letters to friends, may find them at large in the firſt volume of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*. And for a more minute account, he may peruſe an excellent hiſtory of *Huſs*, *Jerom*, *Ziſca*, &c. written in a very maſterly manner by the Rev. Mr. *Gilpin*.

'was

'was irrational and unjuſt. That there was no colour 'of reaſon, that there ſhould be a ſpiritual head always 'viſibly converſant in the church, and governing it.'

Mr. *Toplady*, in his very able performance, entitled, *Hiſtoric Proof of the Doctrinal Calviniſm of the church of England*, ſtates the following articles for which, among others, this excellent man was put to death. "*There is* "*but one holy, univerſal, or catholic church, which is the* "*univerſal company of* ALL *the* PREDESTINATE. I do "confeſs," ſaid *Huſs*, "that this propoſition is mine; "and [it] is confirmed by St. *Auguſtin* upon St. *John*."

"*St.* Paul *was* NEVER *any member of the devil, albeit* "*that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of* "*the malignant church*" [i. e. St. *Paul* prior to his converſion, acted like a *reprobate*, though he was, ſecretly, and in reality, one of God's *elect*]. "*And likewiſe St.* Peter, "*who fell into an horrible ſin of perjury, and denial of his* "*Maſter*; *it was by the* PERMISSION *of God, that he might* "*the more firmly and ſteadfaſtly riſe again and be confirmed.*" To this charge, *Huſs* replied, "I anſwer, according to "St. *Auſtin*, that it is expedient that the elect and pre-"deſtinate ſhould ſin and offend*."

"*No part or member of the church doth depart, or fall* "*away, at any time, from the body: Forſomuch as the cha-*"*rity of* PREDESTINATION, *which is the bond and chain of* "*the ſame, doth never fall.*" *Huſs* anſwers; "This pro-"poſition is thus placed in my book: *As the reprobate of* "*the church procede out of the ſame, and yet are not as parts* "*or members of the ſame; forſomuch as no part or member of* "*the ſame doth* FINALLY *fall away: Becauſe that the charity* "*of* PREDESTINATION, *which is the bond and chain of the* "*ſame, doth never fall away.* This is proved by 1 *Cor.* "xiii. and *Rom.* viii. *All things turn to good, to them that* "*love God*: Alſo, *I am certain that neither death nor life* "*can ſeparate us from the charity and love of God*, as it is "more at large in the book."

Another article, objected againſt him, was, his being of opinion that "*The* PREDESTINATE, *although he be not* "*in the ſtate of grace according to the preſent juſtice, yet is* "ALWAYS *a member of the univerſal church.*" He anſwers: "Thus it is in the book, about the beginning of

* Let not the reader imagine (ſays Mr. *Toplady*) that I *approve* of the unguarded manner, in which Mr. *Huſs* here expreſſes himſelf. I only give his anſwer, faithfully, as I find it. His meaning I doubt not, was this: That, by the incomprehenſible alchymy of God's infinite wiſdom, even moral evil itſelf ſhall be finally over-ruled to good."

" the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that *There be* " *divers manners or ſorts of being in the church: For there* " *are* ſome in the church, according to the miſ-ſhapen " faith; and other ſome *according to* PREDESTINATION: " As Chriſtians predeſtinate, now in ſin, SHALL RETURN " AGAIN *unto grace.*" The good man added: " *Predeſ-* " *tination* doth make a man a member of the univerſal " church; the which [i. e. *Predeſtination*] is a *preparation* " *of* GRACE *for the preſent, and of* GLORY *to come:* And " not any degree of" [outward] " dignity, neither elec- " tion of man" [or, one man's deſignation of another to ſome office or ſtation], " neither any ſenſible ſign" [i. e. *Predeſtination* does not barely extend to the outward ſigns, or means of grace: But includes ſomething more and higher]: " For the traytor *Judas Iſcariot*, notwithſtand- " ing *Chriſt*'s election" [or appointment of him to the apoſtleſhip], " and the *temporal* graces which were given " him for his office of apoſtleſhip, and that he was *reputed* " and *counted of men* a true apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt*; yet " was he no true diſciple, but a *Wolf* covered in a ſheep's " ſkin, as St. *Auguſtin* ſaith."

" *A* REPROBATE *man is never a member of the holy church.* " —I anſwer, It IS in my book, with ſufficient long pro- " bation out of the xxvith *Pſalm*, and out of the vth " chapter to the *Epheſians:* And alſo by St. *Bernard*'s " ſaying, *The church of* Jeſus Chriſt *is* MORE *plainly and* " *evidently* HIS BODY, *than the body which he delivered for* " *us to death.* I have alſo written, in the fifth chapter of " my book, that *the holy church*" [i. e. the *outward, viſible* " church of profeſſing Chriſtians, here on earth] " *is the* " *barn of the Lord, in which are both good and evil, pre-* " *deſtinate and reprobate: The good being as the good corn,* " *or grain; and the evil, as the chaff.* And thereunto is " added the expoſition of St. *Auſtin.*"

" Judas *was* NEVER *a true diſciple of* Jeſus Chriſt.—I " anſwer, and I do confeſs the ſame.—*They came out from* " *amongſt us, but they were none of us.—He knew, from the* " *beginning, who they were that believed not, and ſhould betray* " *him. And therefore I ſay unto you, that none* COMETH " *unto me, except it be* GIVEN *him of my Father.*"

Such were ſome of the allegations, brought againſt this holy man by the council of *Conſtance*; and ſuch were his anſwers, when he ſtood on his public trial, as a lilly among thorns, or a ſheep in the midſt of wolves. How eaſy is it for a man to write in defence of theſe ineſtimable truths, which (through the goodneſs of divine providence)

have

have now, in *our* happy land, the ſanction of national eſtabliſhment! But with what invincible ſtrength of grace was this adamantine ſaint endued, who bore his explicit, unſhaken teſtimony to the faith, in the preſence and hearing of its worſt foes, armed with all the terrific powers of this world!

Theſe are doctrines which, even in the pureſt ages of the church, have received countenance, and *Huſs* boldly acknowledged them. But one circumſtance bore more hard againſt him, which was, wiſhing his ſoul to be with the happy ſpirit of *Wickliffe*. Doctor *Huſs* had too generous, too open, a nature, to deny what he thought; nor did he imagine that life was worthy prevarication. He freely confeſſed, he was ſo charmed with *Wickliffe*'s books, that he wiſhed his ſpirit might enjoy the ſame fate with his hereafter. A great many other falſe and frivolous objections were raiſed againſt him, which he refuted with a manly eloquence; and recommending himſelf, and his cauſe, to God, he was carried off.

He was no ſooner gone, than the emperor, whoſe ſubject he was, and who ſhewed a peculiar zeal in his fate, roſe, and told the aſſembly, 'That, in his opinion, every 'tenet he had then held, deſerved death. That if he did 'not abjure, he ought to be burnt: And that all his fol-'lowers, eſpecially *Jerom* of *Prague*, ſhould be exem-'plarily puniſhed.' But we are told, that the emperor and the cardinal of *Chambre*, exhorted doctor *Huſs* to ſubmit to the deciſion of the council. The next day, he was brought again before the aſſembly, where eighty-nine articles were read to him, which were ſaid to be drawn out of his books, and he was adviſed to abjure them all: But he replied, that there were many of thoſe propoſitions which he had never maintained, and he was ready to explain his opinion regarding the others. After many diſputes, he was ſent back to priſon; and a reſolution was then taken to burn him as a heretic, if he would not retract.

The emperor, on the tenth of *June*, ſent four biſhops, and two lords, to the priſon, to prevail on *Huſs* to make a recantation. But that pious divine, with truly Chriſtian ſimplicity, called the great God to witneſs, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conſcious of having preached, or written, any thing againſt the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then repreſented the great wiſdom and authority of the council. "Let "them, ſaid *Huſs*, ſend the meaneſt perſon that can con-

" vince me, by arguments, from the word of God, and " I will ſubmit my judgement to him." This Chriſtian and pious anſwer had no effect; becauſe he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon truſt, without the leaſt ſhadow of an argument offered; and the deputies departed in high admiration of his obſtinacy!

While this good confeſſor was in bonds, he wrote letters to incite his countrymen to perſevere in the doctrines he had taught; and expreſſed his own firm reſolution of never departing from them while he had life.

Doctor *Huſs*, on the ſeventh of *July*, was conducted to the place where the fifteenth ſeſſion of the council was held. He was required to abjure, which he refuſed: And the biſhop of *Londi*, in a bloody, perſecuting ſermon, about the deſtruction of heretics, pronounced the prologue of his fate, by exhorting the emperor, who ſeemed ready enough of himſelf, to exterminate the growing hereſy, *that* (as he was pleaſed to pervert the ſcripture) *the body of ſin might be deſtroyed*. He told *Sigiſmund*, 'that he 'ought to deſtroy all errors and hereſies, and eſpecially 'the obſtinate heretic *Huſs* before him, ſince by his 'wickedneſs and miſchief, many places of the world were 'infected with moſt peſtilent and heretical poiſon, and, 'by his means and occaſion, almoſt utterly ſubverted and 'deſtroyed. And that then the emperor's praiſes would 'be celebrated for evermore, for having overthrown ſuch 'and ſo great enemies of the faith.' A moſt honorable teſtimony for Dr. *Huſs* from the traducing mouth of a virulent adverſary! In fine, the proctor of the council demanded that the proceſs againſt *Huſs* ſhould be finiſhed; the condemned articles of *Wickliffe* were read, and the thirty articles alledged againſt *Huſs*, who explained ſome, and defended others. Many other articles of accuſation were alſo read, which were proved by witneſſes againſt him. His fate was determined, his vindication diſregarded, and judgement was pronounced. His books were thereby condemned, and he was declared a manifeſt heretic, convicted of having taught many hereſies and pernicious errors; of having deſpiſed the keys of the church, and eccleſiaſtical cenſures; of having ſeduced and given ſcandal to the faithful by his obſtinacy; and of having raſhly appealed to the tribunal of *Chriſt*: The council, therefore, cenſured him for being obſtinate and incorrigible, and ordained, 'That he ſhould be degraded from the prieſt-'hood, his books publicly burnt, and himſelf delivered 'to the ſecular power.'

Doctor

Doctor *Huſs* heard this ſentence without the leaſt emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and ſaid, with all the ſpirit of primitive martyrdom, "May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this "injuſtice of my enemies. Thou knoweſt the injuſtice "of their accuſations: How deformed with crimes I have "been repreſented; how I have been oppreſſed by worthleſs witneſſes, and an unjuſt condemnation: Yet, O "my God, let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can "expreſs, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." Theſe excellent ſentences were ſo many expreſſions of treaſon againſt the trade of prieſtcraft, and conſidered as ſuch by the narrow-minded aſſiſtants. The biſhops appointed by the council ſtript him of his prieſtly garments, degraded him from his prieſtly function and univerſity degrees, and put a mitre of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inſcription, in great letters, 'A RING-LEADER OF HERETICS.' Our heroic martyr received this mock-mitre, ſmiling, and ſaid, "It was leſs "painful than a crown of thorns." A ſerenity, a joy, a compoſure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his ſoul had cut off many ſtages of tedious journey, in her way to the point of eternal joy and everlaſting peace.

The biſhops delivered *Huſs* to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of *Bavaria*. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the ſuburbs to be burnt alive. Prior to his execution, Mr. *Huſs* made his ſolemn *appeal* to God, from the judgement of the pope and council. In this *appeal* (the whole of which would well repay the reader's peruſal,) he again repeats his aſſured faith in the doctrine of *election*; where he celebrates the willingneſs with which *Chriſt* vouchſafed, "*By the moſt bitter and ignominious death, to* REDEEM "*the* CHILDREN OF GOD, CHOSEN BEFORE THE "FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD, *from everlaſting damnation.*" When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, ſang portions of pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, and repeated theſe words: "Into "thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt "redeemed me, O moſt good and faithful God. Lord "*Jeſus Chriſt*, aſſiſt and help me, that with a firm and "patient mind, by thy moſt powerful grace, I may undergo this moſt cruel and ignominious death, to which "I am condemned for preaching the truth of thy moſt "holy goſpel." When the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, "My

"Lord

"Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* was bound with a harder chain than "this for my ſake; and why ſhould I be aſhamed of this "old ruſty one?" When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of *Bavaria* was officious enough to deſire him to abjure. "No, ſays *Huſs*, I never preached "any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught "with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood." He ſaid to the executioner, "Are you going to burn a *gooſe*? In "one century, you will have a *ſwan* you can neither "roaſt nor boil." If he was prophetic, he muſt have meant *Luther*, who had a ſwan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr ſang a hymn with ſo loud and chearful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles, and the noiſe of the multitude. At laſt his voice was cut ſhort, after he had uttered, "*Jeſus Chriſt*, thou Son of "the living GOD, have mercy upon me;" and he was conſumed in a moſt miſerable manner. The duke of *Bavaria* ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr's cloaths into the flames: After which, his aſhes were carefully collected, and caſt into the *Rhine*.

While doctor *Huſs* was in priſon, he wrote ſome treatiſes about the commands of God, of the Lord's prayer, of mortal ſin, of marriage, of the knowledge and love of God, of the three enemies of man, and the ſeven mortal ſins, of repentance, and of the ſacrament of the body and blood of *Chriſt*. He alſo drew up a little piece about the communion in both kinds. He wrote an anſwer to the propoſitions drawn out of his books, which had been communicated to him: And he prepared three diſcourſes; one about the ſufficiency of the law of *Jeſus Chriſt*; another to explain his faith about the laſt articles of the creed, and the third about peace. All theſe treatiſes were printed in one volume at *Nuremburg* in 1558: As alſo a ſecond volume containing a harmony of the four evangeliſts, with moral notes; many ſermons; a commentary upon the firſt ſeven chapters of the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; commentaries upon the ſeven canonical epiſtles, the cixth pſalm, and thoſe following to the cxixth; and ſeveral other pieces, which, if they were not altogether correct, muſt be imputed to the reigning darkneſs of the times, and to his inceſſant conflicts with the ſons of *Rome*.

This great martyr, as well as his friend *Jerom*, may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as dying for the principles of *Wickliffe*, or rather the principles of the goſpel, tranſmitted to them from *England*. To preſerve the memory of

this excellent man, the ſeventh of *July* was, for many years, held ſacred among the *Bohemians*. In ſome places large fires were lighted in the evening of that day upon the mountains, to preſerve the memory of his ſufferings; round which the country-people would aſſemble, and ſing hymns.

As a ſpecimen of the compoſed ſpirit of this excellent martyr, in the midſt of this virulent perſecution, we will ſubjoin one of his letters, which he wrote from the priſon, to his friends in *Bohemia*.

" My dear friends, let me take this laſt opportunity of " exhorting you to truſt in nothing here; but to give " yourſelves up entirely to the ſervice of GOD. Well " am I authorized to warn you not to truſt in princes, " nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them. " GOD only remaineth ſtedfaſt. What HE promiſeth, " he will undoubtedly perform. As to myſelf, on his " gracious promiſe I reſt. Having endeavoured to be his " faithful ſervant, I fear not being deſerted by him. " *Where I am*, ſays the gracious Promiſer, *there ſhall my* " *ſervant be.*—May the GOD of heaven preſerve you! " —This is probably the laſt letter I ſhall be enabled to " write. I have reaſon to believe, I ſhall be called upon " to-morrow to anſwer with my life.—*Sigiſmund* hath, in " all things, acted deceitfully. I pray, GOD forgive " him! You have heard in what ſevere language he hath " ſpoken of me."

There are ſeveral other letters in Fox's acts and monuments, in old *Engliſh*; to which we muſt refer our readers. They all breathe the ſame ſpirit of piety, firmneſs, and inward conſolation.

JEROM OF PRAGUE.

THE LAY-REFORMER.

GREAT were the commotions, which prevailed in the world, about the time of the promulgation of the goſpel in *Germany*. The truth had every kind of prejudice to encounter; nor did the kingdom of darkneſs yield to its power without violent ſtruggles and diſorder. And all proteſtants, who are proteſtants indeed, and who know

know the grace of GOD and his goſpel, have reaſon to bleſs that wonderful providence, by which many of the *European* nations were delivered from the groſſeſt darkneſs and ignorance, and by which indeed even popiſh nations have been led to the revival of knowledge, and to diſdain in part the blind ſubmiſſion, they once univerſally ſhewed, to the corrupted ſee of *Rome*.

Jerom of *Prague* was the companion and co-martyr of doctor *Huſs*, to whom he was inferior in experience, age, and authority; but he was eſteemed his ſuperior in all polite and liberal endowments. He was born at *Prague*, and educated in that univerſity, where he was admitted maſter of arts; and promoted the doctrine of *Wickliffe* in conjunction with *Huſs*. He travelled into moſt of the ſtates of *Europe*, and was every where eſteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the ſchools, where he promoted what *Huſs* had advanced. The univerſities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, and *Heidelberg*, conferred the degree of maſter of arts upon him. He is ſaid alſo to have had the degree of maſter of arts conferred upon him at *Oxford*; but it is certain, that he commenced doctor in divinity, in the year 1396. He began to publiſh the ſame doctrine with doctor *Huſs* in 1408, and it is averred, that he had a greater ſhare of learning and ſubtilty than his excellent friend. However that may be, the council of *Conſtance* kept a very watchful eye upon him, and eſteemed him to be a very dangerous perſon to the intereſts of *Rome*. While he was in *England*, and moſt probably when at *Oxford*, he copied out the books of *Wickliffe*, and returned with them to *Prague*. By that great man's evangelical writings, it pleaſed GOD to work upon him, and upon his friend doctor *Huſs*, to the acknowledgement of his truth. *England*, therefore (as we obſerved in the life of *Wickliffe*) may claim the honor of beginning the Reformation; and may it be the laſt country upon earth to loſe it! At preſent, it muſt be owned, ſuch is the national corruption of manners, the prevailing luxury of the times, and the practical atheiſm and irreligion of many among us, that it will be through GOD's mercy, if we are not conſumed by his judgements, and given up for a prey to our enemies.

Jerom was cited before the council of *Conſtance*, on the ſeventeenth of *April* 1415, when his friend doctor *Huſs* was confined in a caſtle near that city. He arrived at *Conſtance* in the ſame month, when he was informed how his friend had been treated, and that he alſo would be ſeized:

Upon

Upon which, *Jerom* retired to *Iberlingen*, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the emperor and council to deſire a ſafe conduct; and one was preſented to him, which gave him permiſſion to come, but not to return. He then cauſed a proteſtation to be fixed up, wherein he declared, that he would appear before the council to juſtify himſelf, if a proper ſafe conduct was granted: And he demanded of the *Bohemian* lords an act of his declaration. After this, he began his journey to return into *Bohemia:* But he was ſtopt at *Hirſchau*, by the officers of *John* the ſon of prince *Clement*, count *Palatine*, who had the government of *Sultzbach:* And *Lewis*, another ſon of the ſame prince, carried *Jerom* to *Conſtance*, where he was to anſwer the ſame accuſation as had been exhibited againſt doctor *Huſs*, who was martyred on the ſeventh of *July*.

Jerom had many friends at the council, who bore him great affection, and tried all they could to bring him to a recantation; as they were convinced he had no proſpect of eſcaping if he took his trial, becauſe the emperor had declared that he ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed. His friends prevailed, and he was brought before the council, in the nineteenth ſeſſion, held the twenty-third of *September*, when he read a public abjuration of his doctrines, thinking thereby to elude his proſecution.

In this retractation, he is ſaid to have anathematized the doctrines of *Wickliffe* and *Huſs*; to have proteſted, that he was of the ſame ſentiments with the *Romiſh* church; and to have profeſſed, that he would follow its doctrine, particularly about the keys, the ſacraments, the orders, the offices, and the cenſures of the apoſtolic ſee; as alſo concerning indulgences, the relics of ſaints, eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the ceremonies. It is farther ſaid, that he thereby approved the condemnation of the articles which the council preſcribed; acknowledged they were faithfully extracted from the works of *Huſs*, and that he was juſtly condemned. But he was carried back to priſon, notwithſtanding this recantation, and was accuſed of inſincerity. New articles of accuſation were brought againſt him, and it was alledged, that it would be dangerous to ſet him at liberty. He immediately repented of his abjuration, and of condemning *Huſs*. He deſired audience of the council, and was twice heard in the general congregations held in *May* 1416, when one hundred and ſeven heads of accuſation were propoſed againſt him, which he endeavored to anſwer, and made an oration, wherein he declared that he repented of his recantation, and of having approved

the condemnation of *Wickliffe* and *Huſs*. *Dupin* alſo ſays, that the fathers of the council were fully ſatisfied of his relapſe, and ſent for him to the twenty-firſt ſeſſion, held the thirtieth of *May*. The biſhop of *Londi*, who preached the ſermon previous to the condemnation of *Huſs*, now preached another to uſher in the fate of *Jerom*. When the ſermon was ended, the martyr, unjuſtly ſtigmatized a heretic, declared he ſtill perſiſted in his laſt retractation, and told them, that they would condemn him wickedly and unjuſtly. But (ſays he) after my death, I will leave a ſting in your conſcience and a nail in your hearts, ET CITO VOS OMNES, UT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET JUSTISSIMO JUDICE, POST CENTUM ANNOS: That is, "I cite you all to anſwer to me before "the moſt high and the moſt juſt Judge, within a hun-"dred years." He was then condemned as a heretic relapſed, delivered over to the ſecular power, and led away to death, which he endured with great conſtancy.

Such is the account given by the popiſh writers: But the *Florentine* ſecretary, *Poggius*, who was a ſpectator of all he relates, and gave a full account of the matter to *Aretin* the pope's ſecretary, is more circumſtantial and impartial in his relation of this affair. He tells us, (as we ſhall ſee below) that as *Jerom* was returning to *Bohemia*, he was brought back to *Conſtance* by the duke of *Bavaria*; and, the next day, carried as a priſoner before the council, where it ſoon appeared, that his abjuration had ſlipt from him in an unguarded hour through the weakneſs of the fleſh. *Poggius*, who was one of the beſt judges of the age, aſſerts, that *Jerom* ſpoke with ſuch a quickneſs of ſentiment, ſuch a dignity of expreſſion, and ſuch ſtrength of argument, that he ſeemed to equal the nobleſt of the antient compoſitions. When ſome members of the council called out to him to put in his anſwers, he told the aſſembly, that the objections againſt him were the effects of prepoſſeſſion and prejudice: That, therefore, in juſtice, they ſhould permit him to lay open the whole tenor of his doctrine, life, and converſation, whereby he could indubitably weaken and invalidate all the prepoſſeſſions, which ignorant zeal and open malice had rendered too ſtrong againſt him in his unhappy condition. He was told, he could not expect ſuch indulgence. This exhauſted his patience, and he exclaimed to the whole aſſembly in theſe terms. "What barbarity "is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been "through all the variety of priſons. There is not a

"miſery

" miſery, there is not a want, that I have not experienced. " To my enemies you have allowed the fulleſt ſcope of " accuſation: To me you deny the leaſt opportunity of " defence. Not an hour will you indulge me in pre- " paring my trial. You have ſwallowed the blackeſt " calumnies againſt me. You have repreſented me as a " heretic, without knowing what is my doctrine; as an " enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I pro- " feſſed; and as a perſecutor of prieſts, before you could " have any opportunity of underſtanding my ſentiments " on that head. You are a general council: In you " center all that this world can communicate of gravity, " wiſdom, and ſanctity: But ſtill you are men, and men " are ſeducible by appearances. The higher your cha- " racter is for wiſdom, the greater ought your care to be " not to deviate into folly. The cauſe I now plead is " not my own cauſe: It is the cauſe of men; it is the " cauſe of Chriſtians; it is the cauſe which is to affect " the rights of poſterity, however the experiment is to " be made in my perſon." The bigotted part of the aſſembly conſidered this ſpeech as poiſon to the ears of the auditors: But many of the members were men of taſte and learning, who were favorably inclined to the priſoner, and pitied him in their hearts, though a reſtraint was on their tongues.

Jerom was obliged to give way to their authority, and to hear his charge read, which was reduced under theſe heads; ' That he was a derider of the papal dignity, an ' oppoſer of the pope, an enemy of the cardinals, a per- ' ſecutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Chriſtian ' religion.' He anſwered this charge with an amazing force of elocution, and ſtrength of argument. " Now, " ſays he, wretch that I am! whither ſhall I turn me? " To my accuſers! My accuſers are as deaf as adders. " To you my judges! You are prepoſſeſſed by the arts " of my accuſers." We are told by *Poggius*, that *Jerom*, in all he ſpoke, ſaid nothing unbecoming a great and wiſe man: And he candidly aſſerts, that, if what *Jerom* ſaid was true, he was not only free from capital guilt, but from the ſmalleſt blame.

The trial of *Jerom* was brought on the third day after his accuſation, and witneſſes were examined in ſupport of the charge. The priſoner was prepared for his defence; which will appear almoſt incredible, when it is conſidered that he had been three hundred and forty days ſhut up in a dark offenſive dungeon, deprived of day-light, food, and

ſleep. His ſpirit ſoared above theſe diſadvantages, under which a man leſs enabled, muſt have ſunk; nor was he more at a loſs for quotations from fathers and antient authors, than if he had been furniſhed with the fineſt library in *Europe*.

Many of the zealots and bigots of the aſſembly were againſt his being heard, as they knew what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds even of the moſt prejudiced. However, it was carried by the majority that he ſhould have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in ſuch an exalted ſtrain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was ſeen to melt, and the mind of ſuperſtition ſeemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable diſtinction between evidence as reſting on facts, and as ſupported by malice and calumny. He laid before the aſſembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct, which he owned had been always open and unreſerved. He juſtly obſerved, that the greateſt and moſt holy men have been known to differ in points of ſpeculation, with a view to diſtinguiſh truth, not to keep it concealed. And he then expreſſed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cauſe of religion and truth. He next entered on a high encomium upon doctor *John Huſs*; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious tract of martyrdom. He was (ſaid *Jerom*) a good, juſt and holy man, and very unworthy of the death which he ſuffered. He knew him, from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, nor addicted to any kind of vice; on the contrary, he was a chaſte and ſober man, and a faithful and true preacher of the bleſſed goſpel. That, with reſpect to himſelf, whatſoever things *Wickliffe* and *Huſs* had written, and eſpecially againſt the pomp and pride of the clergy, he would affirm to his lateſt breath, that they were holy and bleſſed men, and that nothing ſo much troubled his conſcience as the ſin, which he committed by his recantation in ſpeaking againſt them, which recantation he utterly abjured and abhorred from the bottom of his heart. He added, that he could not help ſaying, with his dying breath, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpoſe of charity and univerſal benevolence, ſhould be proſtituted to the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of the eye, in whores, feaſts, foppiſh veſtments, and other reproaches to the name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

The

The priſoner received many interruptions from the impertinence of ſome, and the inveteracy of others: But he anſwered every one with ſo much readineſs, and vivacity of thought, that, at laſt, they were aſhamed, and he was permitted to finiſh his defence. His voice was ſweet, clear, and ſonorous; pliable to captivate every paſſion, and able to conciliate every affection, which he knew how to do with wonderful addreſs. He was admired by his enemies, and compaſſionated by his friends: But he received the ſame ſentence that had been paſſed upon his martyred friend; and, *Poggius* ſays, the aſſembly condemned him with great reluctance.

The ſame author tells us, that *Jerom* had two days allowed for his recantation; and that the cardinal of *Florence* uſed all the arguments he could for that effect, which were ineffectual. The divine was reſolved to ſeal his doctrine with his blood; he could not be ſeduced to make another retractation; and he ſuffered death with all the magnanimity of *Huſs*. He embraced the ſtake to which he was faſtened, with the peculiar malice of wet cords. When the executioner went behind him to ſet fire to the pile, "Come here, ſaid the martyr, and kindle "it before my eyes; for if I dreaded ſuch a ſight, I "ſhould never have come to this place, when I had a "free opportunity to eſcape." The fire was kindled, and he then ſung a hymn, which was ſoon finiſhed by the incircling flames.

He cried out ſeveral times, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo ſpiritum meum*; i. e. "Into thy hands, O Lord, I "commend my ſpirit." His laſt words, which could be heard were; "O Lord GOD, the Father Almighty, "have mercy upon me, and forgive all my ſins: Thou "knoweſt, with what ſincerity I have loved thy truth." He appeared to endure much by the fire for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, all the while ſeeming, by the motion of his lips, to pray within himſelf. After he was dead, his bed, cloaths, and the other things he had with him in priſon, were thrown into the fire and conſumed with him. Finally, the aſhes were gathered together, and caſt into the river *Rhine*, which runs cloſe by the city.

We cannot conclude this account of *Jerom*, without annexing at large the moſt honorable teſtimony given of him by *Poggius* of *Florence*, an adverſary and the ſecretary of two popes, and conſequently not a more favorable teſtimony than truth itſelf compelled. We copy it from Mr. *Gilpin*'s valuable and elegant hiſtory of *Jerom*; whoſe life

of

of *Ziſca*, the great General of the *Bohemians*, is an admirable performance.

A Letter from *Poggius* of *Florence* to *Leonard Aretin*.

'In the midſt of a ſhort excurſion into the country, I 'wrote to our common friend; from whom, I doubt not, 'you have had an account of me.

'Since my return to *Conſtance*, my attention hath been 'wholly engaged by *Jerom*, the *Bohemian* heretic, as he 'is called. The eloquence, and learning, which this 'perſon hath employed in his own defence are ſo extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving you a ſhort account of him.

'To confeſs the truth, I never knew the art of ſpeaking carried ſo near the model of antient eloquence. It 'was indeed amazing to hear with what force of expreſſion, with what fluency of language, and with what 'excellent reaſoning he anſwered his adverſaries; nor 'was I leſs ſtruck with the gracefulneſs of his manner; 'the dignity of his action; and the firmneſs, and conſtancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think 'ſo great a man was labouring under ſo atrocious an accuſation. Whether this accuſation be a juſt one, God 'knows: For myſelf, I enquire not into the merits of 'it; reſting ſatisfied with the deciſion of my ſuperiors. '—But I will juſt give you a ſummary of his trial.

'After many articles had been proved againſt him, 'leave was at length given him to anſwer each in its order. But *Jerom* long refuſed, ſtrenuouſly contending, 'that he had many things to ſay previouſly in his defence; 'and that he ought firſt to be heard in general, before he 'deſcended to particulars.—When this was over-ruled, "Here, ſaid he, ſtanding in the midſt of the aſſembly, "here is juſtice; here is equity. Beſet by my enemies, "I am already pronounced a heretic: I am condemned, "before I am examined. Were you gods omniſcient, "inſtead of an aſſembly of fallible men, you could not "act with more ſufficiency.—Error is the lot of mortals; "and you, exalted as you are, are ſubject to it. But "conſider, that the higher you are exalted, of the more "dangerous conſequence are your errors.—As for me, "I know I am a wretch below your notice: But at "leaſt conſider, that an unjuſt action, in ſuch an aſſembly, will be of dangerous example."

'This, and much more, he ſpoke with great elegance 'of language, in the midſt of a very unruly and indecent

' aſſembly: And thus far at leaſt he prevailed; the coun-
' cil ordered, that he ſhould firſt anſwer objections; and
' promiſed that he ſhould then have liberty to ſpeak.
' Accordingly, all the articles alledged againſt him were
' publicly read; and then proved; after which he was
' aſked, whether he had aught to object? It is incredible
' with what acuteneſs he anſwered; and with what
' amazing dexterity he warded off every ſtroke of his ad-
' verſaries. Nothing eſcaped him: His whole behaviour
' was truly great and pious. If he were indeed the man
' his defence ſpoke him, he was ſo far from meriting
' death, that, in my judgement, he was not in any degree
' culpable.—In a word, he endeavoured to prove, that
' the greater part of the charge was purely the invention
' of his adverſaries.—Among other things, being accuſed
' of hating and defaming the holy ſee, the pope, the car-
' dinals, the prelates, and the whole eſtate of the clergy,
' he ſtretched out his hands, and ſaid, in a moſt moving
' accent, " On which ſide, reverend fathers, ſhall I turn
" me for redreſs? whom ſhall I implore? whoſe aſſiſtance
" can I expect? which of you hath not this malicious
" charge entirely alienated from me? which of you hath
" it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy?
" —It was artfully alledged indeed! Though other parts
" of their charge were of leſs moment, my accuſers
" might well imagine, that if this were faſtened on me,
" it could not fail of drawing upon me the united in-
" dignation of my judges."

' On the third day of this memorable trial, what had
' paſſed was recapitulated: When *Jerom*, having obtained
' leave, though with ſome difficulty, to ſpeak, began his
' oration with a prayer to God; whoſe divine aſſiſtance
' he pathetically implored. He then obſerved, that many
' excellent men, in the annals of hiſtory, had been op-
' preſſed by falſe witneſſes, and condemned by unjuſt
' judges. Beginning with profane hiſtory, he inſtanced
' the death of *Socrates*, the captivity of *Plato*, the baniſh-
' ment of *Anaxagoras*, and the unjuſt ſufferings of many
' others: He then inſtanced the many worthies of the
' Old Teſtament, in the ſame circumſtances, *Moſes*, *Jo-
' ſeph*, *Daniel*, and almoſt all the prophets; and laſtly
' thoſe of the New, *John* the *Baptiſt*, St. *Stephen*, and
' others, who were condemned as ſeditious, profane, or
' immoral men. An unjuſt judgement, he ſaid, proceed-
' ing from a layic was bad; from a prieſt, worſe; ſtill
' worſe from a college of prieſts; and from a general

' council,

'council, ſuperlatively bad.——Theſe things he ſpoke 'with ſuch force and emphaſis, as kept every one's atten-'tion awake.

'On one point he dwelt largely. As the merits of the 'cauſe reſted entirely upon the credit of witneſſes, he 'took great pains to ſhew, that very little was due to 'thoſe produced againſt him. He had many objections 'to them, particularly their avowed hatred to him; the 'ſources of which he ſo palpably laid open, that he made 'a ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of his hearers; and 'not a little ſhook the credit of the witneſſes. The 'whole council was moved, and greatly inclined to pity, 'if not to favour him. He added, that he came uncom-'pelled to the council; and that neither his life nor doc-'trine had been ſuch, as gave him the leaſt reaſon to 'dread an appearance before them. Difference of opi-'nion, he ſaid, in matters of faith had ever ariſen among 'learned men; and was always eſteemed productive of 'truth, rather than of error, where bigotry was laid 'aſide. Such, he ſaid, was the difference between *Auſ-'tin* and *Jerom*: And though their opinions were not 'only different, but contradictory, yet the imputation of 'hereſy was never fixed on either.

'Every one expected, that he would now either retract 'his errors, or at leaſt apologize for them: But nothing 'of the kind was heard from him: He declared plainly, 'that he had nothing to retract. He launched out into 'an high encomium of *Huſs*; calling him a holy man; 'and lamenting his cruel, and unjuſt death. He had 'armed himſelf, he ſaid, with a full reſolution to follow 'the ſteps of that bleſſed martyr; and to ſuffer with con-'ſtancy whatever the malice of his enemies could inflict. "The perjured witneſſes, (ſaid he) who have appeared "againſt me, have won their cauſe: But let them re-"member, they have their evidence once more to give "before a tribunal, where falſhood can be no diſguiſe."

'It was impoſſible to hear this pathetic ſpeaker with-'out emotion. Every ear was captivated; and every 'heart touched.—But wiſhes in his favour were vain. 'He threw himſelf beyond a poſſibility of mercy. Brav-'ing death, he even provoked the vengeance, which was 'hanging over him. "If that holy martyr, (ſaid he, "ſpeaking of *Huſs*) uſed the clergy with diſreſpect, his "cenſures were not levelled at them as prieſts, but as "wicked men. He ſaw with indignation thoſe reve-

"nues,

" nues, which had been deſigned for charitable ends,
" expended upon pageantry, and riot."

'Through this whole oration he ſhewed a moſt amaz-
'ing ſtrength of memory. He had been confined almoſt
'a year in a dungeon: The ſeverity of which uſage he
'complained of, but in the language of a great and
'good man. In this horrid place, he was deprived of
'books and paper. Yet notwithſtanding this, and the
'conſtant anxiety, which muſt have hung over him, he
'was at no more loſs for proper authorities, and quota-
'tions, than if he had ſpent the intermediate time at
'leiſure in his ſtudy.

'His voice was ſweet, diſtinct, and full: His action
'every way the moſt proper, either to expreſs indigna-
'tion, or to raiſe pity; though he made no affected ap-
'plication to the paſſions of his audience. Firm, and
'intrepid, he ſtood before the council; collected in him-
'ſelf; and not only contemning, but ſeeming even de-
'ſirous of death. The greateſt character in antient ſtory
'could not poſſibly go beyond him. If there is any juſ-
'tice in hiſtory, this man will be admired by all poſte-
'rity.——I ſpeak not of his errors: Let theſe reſt with
'him. What I admired was his learning, his eloquence,
'and amazing acuteneſs. God knows whether theſe
'things were not the ground-work of his ruin.

'Two days were allowed him for reflection; during
'which time many perſons of conſequence, and particu-
'larly my lord cardinal of *Florence*, endeavoured to bring
'him to a better mind. But perſiſting obſtinately in his
'errors, he was condemned as a heretic.

'With a chearful countenance, and more than ſtoical
'conſtancy, he met his fate; fearing neither death itſelf,
'nor the horrible form, in which it appeared. When he
'came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment,
'and made a ſhort prayer at the ſtake; to which he was
'ſoon after bound with wet cords, and an iron chain;
'and incloſed as high as his breaſt with faggots.

'Obſerving the executioner about to ſet fire to the
'wood behind his back, he cried out, " Bring thy torch
" hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I
" feared death, I might have avoided it."

'As the wood began to blaze, he ſang an hymn, which
'the violence of the flame ſcarce interrupted.

'Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not
'extravagant. I was myſelf an eye-witneſs of his whole

'behaviour. Whatever his life may have been, his 'death, without doubt, is a leſſon of philoſophy.

'But it is time to finiſh this long epiſtle. You will 'ſay I have had ſome leiſure upon my hands: And, to 'ſay the truth, I have not much to do here. This will, 'I hope, convince you, that greatneſs is not wholly con-'fined to antiquity. You will think me perhaps te-'dious; but I could have been more prolix on a ſubject 'ſo copious.——Farewel, my dear *Leonard*.'

Conſtance, *May* 20th.

Such was the teſtimony borne to an adverſary by this ingenuous papiſt. His friend *Aretin* was leſs candid. 'You 'attribute more, ſays he, to this man, than I could wiſh. 'You ought at leaſt to *write* more cautiouſly of theſe 'things.' And indeed, it is probable, *Poggius* would have written more cautiouſly, had he written a few days afterwards. But his letter is dated on the very day on which *Jerom* ſuffered, and came warm from the writer's heart. It is ſufficiently plain, what *Poggius* himſelf thought of the council, and its proceedings. His encomium on *Jerom*, is certainly a tacit cenſure of them.

WE may add here, as there are not materials to compoſe a diſtinct life, that the perſecution of JOHN de WESALIA, for adopting the opinions of *Wickliffe*, followed not many years after the martyrdom of *Huſs* and *Jerom*. He was brought before the inquiſition and treated with great harſhneſs and ſeverity, which appear to be the more inhuman, as the good man was advanced to decrepid old age. However, he boldly defended the truth, and even told his inquiſitors, upon an inſtance of their ill treatment, that "if *Chriſt* himſelf were upon the earth, they "muſt condemn him for an heretic, if they condemned "him for following his doctrines." He maintained, that the ſubſtance of bread continued in the ſacrament, but did not deny that *Chriſt*'s body was there, after a manner; That no profeſſion of religion can ſave a man, but only the grace of GOD; That the merits of the ſaints could not be diſpoſed of on earth at market by the pope and his prieſts, if even the works of the ſaints *had* any merit, becauſe it is written, that *their works do follow them*; That pardons and indulgences were nothing better than *piæ fraudes*, holy cheats, to impoſe upon the ignorant;* That holy

* See an entertaining expoſure of theſe deluſions in a late pamphlet, entitled, *A new Defence of the holy Roman Church againſt Heretics*: Where,

holy water had no more virtue than common water; That GOD gives his grace without the motion of our free-will; and that St. *Paul* in particular did nothing of his own free-will in his converſion; That nothing is to be believed, which cannot be proved by ſcripture; That GOD hath from everlaſting written a book, where he hath inſcribed *all his elect*, and that whoſoever is not already written there, will never be written there at all; but that he, who is written therein, will never be blotted out of it; That the elect are ſaved by the alone grace of GOD; and that what man ſoever GOD willeth to ſave, by enduing him with grace, if all the prieſts in the world were deſirous to damn and excommunicate that man, he would ſtill be ſaved; That he deſpiſed the pope, his church, and his councils; but that he loved *Chriſt*, and deſired that his word might dwell in him abundantly.

Doctor *Weſalia* was bowed down with years and infirmities, when he underwent the above examination, which produced, in that dark age [*viz.* A. D. 1479] this noble teſtimony for the truth. Thus broken by age, and inſulted with menaces, he was prevailed upon to ſign a retractation, into which he was trepanned. It is plain, that this retractation was not conſidered as ſincere, from his being condemned to perpetual confinement and penance in a monaſtery of the *Auguſtins*, where he died ſoon after, about the time of the birth of LUTHER.

PATRICK HAMILTON,

THE FIRST SCOTCH REFORMER.

PATRICK HAMILTON was a gentleman of *Scotland*, and, ſays Mr. *Hugh Spence*, of royal deſcent, being by his father nephew to *James Hamilton*, earl of *Arran*; and by his mother nephew to *John Stewart*, duke of *Albany*; a circumſtance in Providence, that was ſubſervient to raiſe more attention to his excellent doctrine, holy life, and patient ſufferings. He had an amiable

Where, in a vein of irony, the author has ſhewn the moſt palpable abſurdities and blaſphemies of popery. Printed for *Mathews*, in the *Strand*.

diſpoſition, and was well educated; he was very early made abbot of *Ferme*, with a view to his being one day more highly preferred. At the age of twenty-three, he with three companions travelled into *Germany*, in purſuit of religious knowledge, and coming to *Wittenberg* he met with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, with whom he held frequent and cloſe conferences, and by whom he was well inſtructed in the doctrines of the goſpel. From thence he went to *Marpurg*, an univerſity newly erected by *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſe*; he became intimately acquainted with *Lambert*, our *Engliſh* martyr, at whoſe inſtance he was the firſt in that univerſity who ſet up public diſputations concerning faith and works; the propoſitions and concluſions of which, are in what is entitled *Patrick's Places*, of which excellent tract we ſhall ſubjoin a ſpecimen at the end of this article.

He grew daily in grace and in the knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and being well eſtabliſhed in the faith, and much improved in all uſeful learning, he returned with one of his companions to *Scotland*, deſirous to impart the knowledge of the true religion to his countrymen. With a view to this, he began to preach the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* with great fervency and boldneſs, and to lay open the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. This ſoon alarmed the whole body of the clergy, and particularly *James Beaton*, archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, who labored to get Mr. *Hamilton* to come to him at St. *Andrew*'s; where, after ſeveral days conference, he was diſmiſſed, the archbiſhop ſeeming to approve of his doctrine, acknowledging that many things wanted reformation in the church. But, at the ſame time, the archbiſhop conſulted with other biſhops, to put the king, (who was young and much led by them) upon going on a pilgrimage to St. *Dotheſſe* in *Roſs*; ſo that, during his abſence, they might condemn Mr. *Hamilton*, as no intereſt could then be made with the king to ſave his life. Mr. *Hamilton*, not ſuſpecting their malice and treachery, remained at St. *Andrew*'s; and the king being gone on his pilgrimage, he was cited to appear before the archbiſhop and his colleagues on the firſt day of *March*, 1527. The articles of accuſation brought againſt him, which he was found guilty in holding and maintaining, and for which he was condemned to death, are the following. "That "man hath no free-will.—That there is no purgatory.— "That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before *Chriſt*'s "paſſion.—That the pope hath no power to looſe and "bind;

" bind: Neither any pope had that power ſince St. *Pe-*
" *ter.*—That the pope is *antichriſt*, and that every prieſt
" hath the power, that the pope hath.—That Mr. *Pa-*
" *trick Hamilton* was a biſhop.—That it is not neceſſary
" to obtain any bulls from any biſhop.—That the vow
" of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedneſs.—That
" the pope's laws be of no ſtrength.—That all Chriſ-
" tians, worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that
" they be in the ſtate of grace.—That none be ſaved, but
" thoſe that are before predeſtinate.—Whoſoever is in
" deadly ſin, is unfaithful.—That God is the cauſe of
" ſin, in this ſenſe; that is, that he withdraweth his
" grace from men, whereby they ſin.—That it is deviliſh
" doctrine, to enjoin to any ſinner actual penance for ſin.
" —That the ſaid Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* himſelf doubteth
" whether all children, departing incontinent after their
" baptiſm, are ſaved or condemned.—That auricular con-
" feſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation."

Though theſe articles are inſerted in their regiſters, 'nevertheleſs,' ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'other learned men, who 'communed and reaſoned with him, do teſtify, that theſe 'articles following were the very articles, for which he 'ſuffered.'

" 1. Man hath no free-will. 2. A man is only juſti-
" fied by faith in *Chriſt*. 3. A man, ſo long as he liveth,
" is not without ſin. 4. He is not worthy to be called
" a Chriſtian, who believeth not that he is in grace.
" 5. A good man doeth good works: But good works do
" not make a good man. 6. An evil man bringeth forth
" evil works: Evil works, being faithfully repented, do
" not make an evil man. 7. Faith, hope, and charity,
" be ſo linked together, that one of them cannot be with-
" out another in one man in this life."

'And as touching the other articles,' adds Mr. *Fox*, 'whereupon the doctors gave their judgements, as divers 'do report, he was not accuſed of them before the arch-'biſhop. Albeit in private diſputation he affirmed and 'defended the moſt of them.' That he did not hold the whole of them, at leaſt as they are expreſſed in their regiſter, may eaſily be learnt from his writings, where he treats of the ſame doctrines, and eſpecially in his treatiſe entitled *Patrick's Places*. A performance ſo very judicious and truly evangelical, that it is ſome concern to us, that we cannot oblige the reader with the whole of it.

Having gone through the farce of a trial, they proceeded to pronounce ſentence upon him, which, becauſe

it

it ſhews his underſtanding, orthodoxy and innocence, as well as the ignorance and cruelty of the papiſts, we will lay it before the reader in their own words.

His ſentence, as it ſtands in the regiſter of the archbiſhop's court, was as follows:

'CHRISTI *nomine invocato:* We *James*, by the mercy 'of God, archbiſhop of Saint *Andrew*'s, primate of *Scot-* 'land, with the council, decree, and authority of the 'moſt reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doc- 'tors of theology, profeſſors of the holy ſcripture, and 'maſters of the univerſity, aſſiſting us for the time, ſit- 'ting in judgement within our metropolitan church of 'Saint *Andrew*'s, in the cauſe of heretical pravity, againſt 'Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, abbot or penſionary of *Ferme*, 'being ſummoned to appear before us, to anſwer to cer- 'tain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and 'ſo appearing before us, and accuſed, the merits of the 'cauſe being ripely weighed, diſcuſſed, and underſtood 'by faithful inquiſition made in *Lent* laſt paſt: We have 'found the ſame Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* many ways in- 'flamed with hereſy, diſputing, holding, and maintaining 'divers hereſies of *Martin Luther*, and his followers, re- 'pugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned 'by general councils, and moſt famous univerſities.* 'And he being under the ſame infamy, we decerning be- 'fore him to be ſummoned and accuſed upon the pre- 'miſes, he of evil mind (as may be preſumed) paſſed to 'other parts forth of the realm, ſuſpected and noted of 'hereſy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, 'but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath 'preſumed to preach wicked hereſy.

'We have found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed 'and taught divers opinions of *Luther*, and wicked he- 'reſies, after that he was ſummoned to appear before us, 'and our council: "That man hath no free-will: That "man is in ſin ſo long as he liveth: That children, in- "continent after their baptiſm, are ſinners†: All Chriſ- "tians, that be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know "that they are in grace: No man is juſtified by works, but "by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but "a good man doth make good works: That faith, hope, "and charity, are ſo knit, that he, that hath the one, hath

* They do not pretend ſo much as to ſay they were condemned by the ſcriptures.

† It may be obſerved, that theſe articles do not agree with thoſe in their regiſter.

"the

"the reſt, and he, that wanteth the one of them, wanteth "the reſt, &c." with divers other hereſies and deteſtable 'opinions: and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, 'that by no counſel nor perſuaſion he may be drawn 'therefrom to the way of our right faith.

'All theſe premiſes being conſidered, we, having God 'and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and fol- 'lowing the council and advice of the profeſſors of the 'holy ſcripture, men of law, and other aſſiſting us for the 'time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the ſaid 'Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, for his affirming, confeſſing, and 'maintaining of the aforeſaid hereſies, and his pertinacity '(they being condemned already by the church, general 'councils, and moſt famous univerſities) to be an here- 'tic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and 'therefore to be condemned and puniſhed, like as we 'condemn, and define him to be puniſhed, by this our 'ſentence definitive, depriving and ſentencing him to be 'deprived of all dignities, orders, offices, and benefices 'of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce 'him to be delivered over unto the ſecular power, to be 'puniſhed, and his goods to be confiſcate.

'This our ſentence definitive was given and read at 'our metropolitan church of St. *Andrew*'s, the laſt day 'of the month of *February*, Anno 1527, being preſent the 'moſt reverend fathers in *Chriſt*, and lords, *Gawand*, bi- 'ſhop of *Glaſgow*; *George*, biſhop of *Dunkeldon*; *John*, 'biſhop of *Brecham*; *William*, biſhop of *Dunblane*; *Pa- 'trick*, prior of St. *Andrew's*; *David*, abbot of *Abirbro- 'thoke*; *George*, abbot of *Dumfermling*; *Alexander*, abbot 'of *Gaunbuſkineth*; *Henry*, abbot of *Lendors*; *John*, prior 'of *Peterweme*; the dean and ſubdean of *Glaſgow*; Mr. '*Hugh Spence*, *Thomas Ramſay*, *Allane Meldrum*, &c. In 'the preſence of the clergy and the people.'

That this ſentence might have the greater authority, they cauſed it to be ſigned by all preſent, of any account, whether clergy or laity; and, in order to make their num- ber appear great, they took the ſubſcription of the very children of the nobility. Being thus condemned as an obſtinate heretic, he was delivered over to the ſecular power, and after dinner, on the ſame day, the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution; whilſt moſt peo- ple thought it was only to terrify him, and to make him recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of the elect, and for the manifeſtation of their brutal tyranny, had decreed it otherwiſe; and ſo ſtrengthened him, that

neither the love of life, though young, nor fear of this cruel death, could in the leaſt move him from the truth he had boldly profeſſed.

At the place of execution, he gave his ſervant, that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, ſaying, "Theſe are the laſt things you can "receive of me, nor have I any thing now to leave you, "but the example of my death, which I pray you to bear "in mind; for, though it be bitter to the fleſh, and fear-"ful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, "which none ſhall inherit, who deny *Jeſus Chriſt* before "this wicked generation." He was then bound to the ſtake in the midſt of wood and coal, which they attempted to ſet on fire with gun-powder; but it neither killed him nor kindled the fire, only exceedingly ſcorched one ſide of his body and his face. During the painful interval of their going to the caſtle for more powder and combuſtibles, the friars called frequently upon him to recant; and when the fire was kindled, it burnt ſo ſlowly, that he endured great torment; which the friars endeavored to increaſe by ſetting ſome of their own creatures to cry out in a clamorous manner, 'Turn, thou heretic, pray 'to the virgin, ſay, *ſalve regina, &c.*' to whom he anſwered, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, you "meſſengers of *Satan*." One friar *Campbell*, who had viſited him often in priſon, was particularly officious, and continued to bellow out, 'Turn, thou heretic; 'turn, thou heretic;' whom Mr. *Hamilton* thus addreſſed, "Wicked man! you know I am not a heretic, and have "confeſſed the ſame to me in private; but I appeal to "the juſt tribunal ſeat of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and cite you to "appear there to anſwer for it to almighty GOD." And then ſaid, "How long, O Lord, ſhall darkneſs "overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt Thou ſuffer "the tyranny of theſe wicked men?" And at length with a loud voice he cried, as he had frequently done, "Lord *Jeſus*, receive my ſpirit!" and died.

It is recorded, that friar *Campbell* died not long after in a phrenſy, and ſeemingly in deſpair. Which, conſidered with the circumſtance of his being cited by Mr. *Hamilton*, made a great impreſſion on the minds of the people, and cauſed them to inquire more particularly into the nature and meaning of the articles, for which Mr. *Hamilton* was burnt; and ſo this event proved the means of many embracing the truth. Mr. *Knox*, in his hiſtory of *Scotland*, relates the amazing effects of this great man's death, and

and how wonderfully the Lord ſpread abroad the light of the goſpel, by a careful examination of the articles upon which he was condemned, and of his writings.

'When thoſe cruel wolves had, as they ſuppoſed, clean devoured the prey, they found themſelves in worſe caſe than before; for then, within St. *Andrew*'s, yea, almoſt within the whole realm, (who heard of that fact) there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* was burnt; and when his articles were rehearſed, queſtion was holden, if ſuch articles were neceſſary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And ſo, within a ſhort ſpace, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity; inſomuch that the univerſity of St. *Andrew*'s and St. *Leonard*'s college, principally by the labours of Mr. *Gavin Logy*, the novices of the abbey, and the ſub-prior, began to ſmell ſomewhat of the verity, and to eſpy the vanity of the received ſuperſtition; yea, within few years after, began both black and grey friars publickly to preach againſt the pride and idle life of biſhops, and againſt the abuſes of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Amongſt whom was one called *William Arithe*, who, in a ſermon preached in *Dundee*, ſpake ſomewhat more freely againſt the licentious life of the biſhops, than they could well bear. The biſhop of *Berchin* having his paraſites in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar paſſed to St. *Andrew*'s, and did communicate the heads of his ſermon to Mr. *John Mair*, whoſe word then was held as an oracle, in matters of religion; and being aſſured of him, that ſuch doctrine might well be defended, and that *he* would defend it, for it contained no hereſy; there was a day appointed to the ſaid friar, to make repetition of the ſame ſermon; and advertiſement was given to all ſuch, as were offended at the former, to be preſent. And ſo, in the pariſh church of St. *Andrew*'s, upon the day appointed, appeared the ſaid friar, and had, amongſt his auditors, Mr. *John Mair*, Mr. *George Lockhart*, the abbot of *Cambuſkeneth*, Mr. *Patrick Hepburn*, prior of St. *Andrew*'s, with all the doctors and maſters of the univerſities. Shortly after this, new conſultation was taken there, that ſome ſhould be burnt; for men began freely to ſpeak. A merry gentleman, called *John Lindſay*, familiar to archbiſhop *Beaton*, ſtanding by, when conſultation was had, ſaid, "My lord, if ye burn any more, "except ye follow my counſel, ye will utterly deſtroy

" yourſelves; if you will burn them, let them be burnt " in hollow cellars; for the ſmoke of Mr. *Patrick Hamil-* " *ton* hath infected as many as it blew upon."

The rulers and doctors of the univerſity of *Louvain*, hearing that the biſhops and doctors of *Scotland* had condemned and burnt this great and good man, exceedingly rejoiced and triumphed; and in a letter written to the archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s and the other doctors, they ' highly applaud the worthy and famous deſervings of ' their atchieved enterpriſe in that behalf.' Which letter *Fox* has given at large.

We may here obſerve, that the church of *Rome*, from the very beginning of her claiming *temporal* authority, *worldly* riches, and *earthly* government, has more and more departed from the purity of the goſpel, has imbibed a bloody and perſecuting ſpirit againſt all opponents, and at length has placed itſelf entirely upon a footing with the princes and kingdoms of this world, which come to nought. The love of temporal dominion and authority in the church, in which the paſſions of carnal men can be as fully ſatisfied as in any other ſyſtem of human polity, has been the chief ground of diſſention, error, and perſecution. Nor is this love of rule to be confined to the church of *Rome*; the ſmalleſt ſect and party, acting upon the ſame principles, and founded upon the bottom of human aims and human authority, either exerciſing dominion or deſpiſing dominion from worldly motives, is guilty of the ſame ſpirit, and would exerciſe the ſame conduct, but for the prevention of ſuperior force. While men act *from* the world, their end will be *the world*; be their outward profeſſions what they may. Theſe profeſſions, in no ſenſe, make a Chriſtian, whoſe definition it is, to be *crucified to the world* and to the *fleſh*, *to put on Chriſt* and to be *one with him*, and to be a *ſtranger and pilgrim upon earth*, ſeeking *a better country and a heavenly*.

In the interval between this holy man's death, and the public miniſtrations of the excellent Mr. *George Wiſhart*; ſeveral perſons ſuffered for the truth in *Scotland*, and, among the reſt, Mr. *John Rogers*, a gracious and learned miniſter, who was murdered in priſon, by the order of cardinal *Beaton*, and thrown over the wall, with a report, that in attempting to eſcape he had broken his neck. Mr. *Thomas Forreſt*, another miniſter, was alſo burned, for an heretic, by the means of the popiſh biſhop of *Dunkelden*. By the writings and ſermons of theſe bleſſed men, a ſeed of Reformation was ſown in *Scotland*, which, being watered

and witneſſed by their blood, ſoon ſprung up into a flouriſhing tree, and glorioufly overſpread that whole country.

WE promiſed to give our readers a ſpecimen of this excellent man's tract, called *Patrick's Places*, which have ever been eſteemed by the moſt able and ſerious Chriſtians (eſpecially conſidering the time when they were written) as an admirable and invaluable performance. They were prefaced by Mr. *John Frith*, the martyr, in the following manner:

'JOHN FRITH unto the *Chriſtian Reader*.

'Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, which, in theſe laſt days and perilous times, hath ſtirred up in all countries witneſſes unto his Son, to teſtifie the truth unto the unfaithful, to ſave at the leaſt ſome from the ſnares of antichriſt, which lead to perdition; as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, *Patrick Hamilton*, born in *Scotland* of a noble progeny: Who to teſtifie the truth ſought all means, and took upon him prieſthood (even as *Paul* circumciſed *Timothy*, to win the weak *Jews*) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithſtanding, as ſoon as the chamberlain and other biſhops of *Scotland* had perceived, that the light began to ſhine, which diſcloſed their falſhood that they conveyed in darkneſs, they laid hands on him, and becauſe he would not deny his Saviour *Chriſt*, at their inſtance, they burnt him to aſhes. Nevertheleſs, God of his bounteous mercy (to publiſh to the whole world, what a man theſe monſters have murdered) hath reſerved a little treatiſe, made by this *Patrick*, which if ye liſt, ye may call PATRICK's PLACES: For it treateth exactly of certain common places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatiſe I have turned into the *Engliſh* tongue, to the profit of my nation: To whom I beſeech God to give light, that they may eſpie the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlaſting; Amen.'

The following are extracts from the treatiſe.

The doctrine of the LAW.

Propoſition.

" He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, " keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

" *He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all.*
" Ergo, *he that keepeth not all the commandments of God,*
" *keepeth not one of them.*

Propoſition.

" It is not in our power to keep any one of the com-
" mandments of God.

Argument.

Ba- " *It is impoſſible to keep any of the commandments of*
" *God, without grace.*
ro- " *It is not in our power to have grace.*
" Ergo; *it is not in our power to keep any of the com-*
ro. " *mandments of God.*

" And even ſo may you reaſon concerning the Holy
" Ghoſt and faith, foraſmuch as neither without them
" we are able to keep any of the commandments of God,
" neither yet be they in our power to have. *Non eſt*
" *volentis neque currentis, &c.* Rom. ix. 16.

Propoſition.

" The law was given us to ſhew our ſin.
" *By the law cometh the knowledge of ſin*; Rom. iii. 20.
" I knew not what ſin meant, but through the law:
" *For I had not known what luſt had meant, except the law*
" *had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt. Without the law, ſin was*
" *dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wiſt I that it was*
" *ſin, which notwithſtanding was ſin, and forbidden by the*
" *law.* Rom. vii.

Propoſition.

" The law biddeth us do that thing, which is impoſ-
" ſible for us.

Argument.

Da- " *The keeping of the commandments is to us impoſſible.*
" *The law commandeth to us the keeping of the com-*
vi- " *mandments.*
" Ergo; *the law commandeth unto us, what is impoſ-*
i. " *ſible.*

" *Objection.* But you will ſay, Wherefore doth God
" bid us do that, which is impoſſible for us?
" *Anſwer.* To make thee know, that thou art but evil,
" and that there is no remedy to ſave thee in thine own
" hand: And that thou mayeſt ſeek a remedy at ſome other:
" For the law doth nothing elſe, but condemn thee.

" *The doctrine of the* GOSPEL.

" The GOSPEL is, in other words, good tidings*; and
" may be expreſſed in the following manner.

* *Luke* ii.

" *Chriſt*

" *Chriſt* is the Saviour of the [elect] world[1]. *Chriſt* is " the Saviour[2]. *Chriſt* died for us[3]. *Chriſt* died for our " ſins[4]. *Chriſt* bought us with his blood[5]. *Chriſt* " waſhed us with his blood[6]. *Chriſt* offered himſelf for " us[7]. *Chriſt* bare our ſins on his own back[8]. *Chriſt* " came into this world to ſave ſinners[9]. *Chriſt* came into " this world to take away our ſins[10]. *Chriſt* was the " price that was given for us and our ſins[11]. *Chriſt* was " made debtor for us[12]. *Chriſt* hath payed our debt, for " he died for us[13]. *Chriſt* made ſatisfaction for us and " our ſins[14]. *Chriſt* is our righteouſneſs[15]. *Chriſt* is our " ſanctification[16]. *Chriſt* is our redemption[17]. *Chriſt* is " our peace[18]. *Chriſt* hath pacified the Father of heaven " for us[19]. *Chriſt* is ours, and all his[20]. *Chriſt* hath " delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from " hell[21]. The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our " ſins for *Chriſt*'s ſake. And many other ſimilar ex- " preſſions, equally ſcriptural, which declare unto us the " *mercy* of God.

" *The nature and office of the* LAW *and of the* GOSPEL.

" The law ſheweth us our ſin. *Rom.* iii.
" The goſpel ſheweth us a remedy for it. *John* i.
" The law ſheweth us our condemnation. *Rom.* vii.
" The goſpel ſheweth us our redemption. *Col.* i.
" The law is the word of ire [wrath] *Rom.* iv.
" The goſpel is the word of grace. *Acts* xiv. 20.
" The law is the word of deſpair. *Deut.* xxvii.
" The goſpel is the word of comfort. *Luke* ii.
" The law is the word of diſquietude. *Rom.* vii.
" The goſpel is the word of peace. *Eph.* vi.

" *A diſputation between the* LAW *and the* GOSPEL, *in which* " *is ſhewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*

" The law ſaith, *Pay the debt.*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath paid it.*
" The law ſaith, *Thou art a ſinner, deſpair, and thou* " *ſhalt be damned.*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Thy ſins are forgiven thee; be of good* " *comfort, for thou ſhalt be ſaved.*
" The law ſaith, *Make amends for thy ſins.*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath made it for thee.*

1 *John* iv. 2 *Luke* ii. 3 *Rom.* v. 4 ibid. iv. 5 1 *Pet.* ii.
6 *Rev.* i. v. 7 *Gal.* i. 8 *Iſa.* liii. 9 1 *Tim.* i. 10 1 *John* iii.
11 1 *Tim.* ii. 12 *Rom.* viii. 13 *Col.* ii. 14 1 *Cor.* vii. 15 1 *Cor.* i.
16 1 *Cor.* i. 17 *Eph.* ii. 18 *Rom.* v. 19 2 *Cor.* iii. 20 *Col.* iii.
21 *John* i.

" The

" The law ſaith, *The Father of heaven is angry with thee.*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath pacified him with his blood.*
" The law ſaith, *Where is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs, and* " *ſatisfaction?*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs,* " *and ſatisfaction.*
" The law ſaith, *Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the* " *devil, and to hell.*
" The goſpel ſaith, *Chriſt hath delivered thee from them* " *all.*

" *A compariſon between* FAITH *and* UNBELIEF.

" Faith is the root of all good.
" Unbelief is the root of all evil.
" Faith maketh God and man good friends.
" Unbelief maketh them foes.
" Faith bringeth God and man together.
" Unbelief ſeparates them.
" All that faith doth, pleaſeth God.
" All that unbelief doth, diſpleaſeth God.
" Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
" Unbelief maketh him unjuſt and evil.
" Faith maketh a man a member of *Chriſt.*
" Unbelief maketh him a member of the devil.
" Faith maketh him an inheritor of heaven.
" Unbelief maketh a man the inheritor of hell.
" Faith maketh a man the ſervant of God.
" Unbelief maketh him the ſervant of the devil.
" Faith ſheweth us God to be a tender Father.
" Unbelief ſheweth him to be a terrible judge.
" Faith holdeth faſt by the word of God.
" Unbelief wavereth here and there.
" Faith eſteemeth God to be true.
" Unbelief looketh upon him to be falſe and a liar.
" Faith knoweth God.
" Unbelief knoweth him not.
" Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.
" Unbelief loveth neither of them.
" Faith only ſaveth us.
" Unbelief only condemneth us.

" *A compariſon between* FAITH, HOPE, *and* CHARITY.

" *Faith* cometh of the word of God; *hope* cometh of " faith; and *charity* ſpringeth of them both.
" *Faith* believeth the word; *hope* truſteth to enjoy that, " which is promiſed in the word; *charity* doeth good unto " her

" her neighbour, through the love that it hath to God,
" and gladneſs that is within herſelf.

" *Faith* looketh to God and his word; *hope* looketh
" unto his gift and reward; *charity* looketh on her neigh-
" bour's profit.

" *Faith* receiveth God; *hope* receiveth his reward; *cha-
" rity* loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that
" without any reſpect of reward.

" *Faith* pertaineth to God only; *hope* to his reward,
" and *charity* to her neighbour."

This little treatiſe of Mr. *Hamilton*'s (continues his editor) though ſhort, is very comprehenſive, containing matter ſufficient for ſeveral volumes; and ſhews us the true doctrine of the law, of the goſpel, of faith, and of works, with their nature, properties and difference. Which difference is thus to be underſtood, that in the article of ſalvation, and in the office of juſtifying, they are diſtinct and to be kept aſunder, the law from the goſpel, and faith from works: Though in the perſon that is juſtified, and alſo in the order of doctrine, they ought and do go neceſſarily together.

Therefore, whereſoever any queſtion or doubt ariſeth reſpecting ſalvation, or our juſtification before God, there the law and all good works muſt be utterly excluded, that grace may appear to be ſovereign, the promiſe free and gratuitous, and that faith may ſtand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, confirms to every believer his own particular ſalvation. For as the grace of God is the *efficient* cauſe, and *Jeſus Chriſt* the *meritorious* cauſe, of our redemption; ſo faith is the *inſtrumental* cauſe by which the believer applieth the merits of *Chriſt* particularly to his own ſalvation. So that, in the act and office of juſtification, both the law and works are entirely out of the queſtion, as things that have nothing to do in the matter. The reaſon is this, that as all our ſalvation is by *Chriſt* alone, ſo nothing can ſavingly profit us, but that with which we can apprehend *Chriſt*. Now, as neither the law nor works, but faith alone is that by which we can apprehend *Chriſt* as an almighty and all-ſufficient Saviour, ſo faith alone juſtifieth the ſinner before God, through the object it doth apprehend; namely, *Jeſus Chriſt*. For the only object of our faith is *Chriſt*, juſt as the brazen ſerpent, lifted up in the wilderneſs, was the object only of the eyes of the *Iſraelites* looking, and not of their hands working; by virtue of which, through the promiſe of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders:

So

So *Chriſt*, being the object of our faith, becomes righteouſneſs and ſalvation to our ſouls, not by works, but by faith only.

Thus we ſee how faith, being the only eye of our ſoul, ſtandeth alone in apprehending or ſeeing *Chriſt* for juſtification to life; but yet, nevertheleſs, in the body it ſtandeth not alone: For beſides the eye, there are alſo hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members, every one convenient for the ſervice of the body; and yet of them all, the eye only can ſee. So in a Chriſtian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, repentance, hope, charity, and the deeds of charity; all which in life and in doctrine are joined, and neceſſarily do concur together, and yet in the act of juſtification there is nothing elſe in man, that hath any part or place but faith alone apprehending the object, which is *Chriſt* crucified, in whom is all the worthineſs and fulneſs of our ſalvation; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him by faith, as it is written, *Whoſoever received him, to them gave he power to become the ſons of God*, even *to them that believe on his name: Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God**. And alſo in *Iſaiah*†,—*By his knowledge, ſhall my righteous Servant juſtify many*; *&c.*

Argument.

Da-ti-ſi.
" Apprehending and receiving of *Chriſt* only maketh us juſtified before God. *John* i.
" *Chriſt* only is apprehended and received by faith.
" *Ergo*; faith only maketh us juſtified before God.

Argument.

Ba-ro-co.
" Juſtification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of *Chriſt*. *Iſa.* liii.
" The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of *Chriſt*.
" *Ergo*; the law and works pertain nothing to juſtification.

Argument.

Ce-la-rent.
" Nothing, which is unjuſt of itſelf, can juſtify us before God, or help any thing to our juſtifying.
" Every work we do is unjuſt before God. *Iſa.* lxiv.
" *Ergo*; no work, that we can do, can juſtify us before God, nor help any thing to our juſtifying.

* *John* i. 12, 13. † Chap. liii. 11.

Argument.

Argument.

Ca- "If works could any thing further our juſtification,
"then ſhould our works ſomething profit us be-
"fore God.
me- "No works, do the beſt we can, do profit us be-
"fore God. *Luke* xvii. *John* xv.
"*Ergo*; no works, that we do, can any thing fur-
ſtres. "ther our juſtification.

Argument.

Ba- "All that we can do with God, is only by *Chriſt*.
"*John* xv.
ro- "Our works and merits be not *Chriſt*, neither any
"part of him.
"*Ergo*; our works and merits can do nothing with
co. "God.

Argument.

Da- "That, which is the cauſe of condemnation, can-
"not be the cauſe of juſtification.
ri- "The law is the cauſe of condemnation. *Rom.* iv.
i. "*Ergo*; it is not the cauſe of juſtification.

A conſequent.

"We are quit and delivered *from* the law. *Rom.* vii.
"*Ergo*; we are not quit and delivered *by* the law.
"For as much, therefore, as the truth of the ſcripture,
"in expreſs words, hath thus included our ſalvation in
"faith only; we are inforced neceſſarily to exclude all
"other cauſes and means in our juſtification, and to
"make this difference between the law and the goſpel,
"between faith and works; affirming, with ſcripture,
"that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us,
"and that faith in *Chriſt* only juſtifieth us. And this
"difference and diſtinction ought diligently to be learned
"and retained of all Chriſtians, eſpecially in conflicts of
"conſcience between the law and goſpel, between faith
"and works, grace and merits, promiſe and condition,
"God's free election and man's free-will: So that the
"light of the free grace of God in our ſalvation may ap-
"pear to all conſciences, to the immortal glory of God's
"holy name. *Amen.*

"*The order and difference of places.*

"The GOSPEL.	Faith.	Promiſe.	
		God's free election.	
	Grace.		
"The LAW.	Works.	Condition.	
	Merits.	Man's free-will.	

" The difference and repugnance of these foresaid " places being well noted and expended, it shall give no " small light to every faithful Christian, both to under- " stand the scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, " and to reconcile such places in the *Old and New Testa-* " *ment*, as seem to contradict each other, according to " St. *Augustine*'s rule, which is, *Distingue tempora, &* " *conciliabis scripturas*, &c. 'Make distinction of times, ' and thou shalt reconcile the scriptures, &c.' On the " other hand, where men are not perfectly instructed in " these places, to discern between the law and the gospel, " between faith and works, &c: So long they can never " rightly establish their minds in the free promises of " God's grace; but walk confidently without order, in " all matters of religion. Example of which we have " too much in the *Romish* church, who confounding these " places together without distinction, following no me- " thod, have perverted the true order of Christian doc- " trine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit " of the gospel of *Christ*, not knowing the true use either " of the law or gospel.

" *In the doctrine of the* LAW *three things are to be noted.*

" In the *law*, three things are to be considered. *First*, " what is the true vigour and strength of the law, which " is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole " man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also " his inward motions, and inclinations of will and af- " fection from the appetite of sin. And therefore saith " St. *Paul*, *The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c.* " Rom. vii. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That " it is not in our nature and power to fulfill the law. " *Item*; The law commandeth that which is to us im- " possible, &c.

" The *second* thing to be noted in the doctrine of the " law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what " they be, and how far they extend. For as the surging " seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; so the " law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to " pass. If *Christ* had not come and suffered, the time and " dominion of the law had been everlasting. But now " seeing *Christ* hath come, and hath died in his righteous " flesh; the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth " cease. *For the end of the Law is Christ.* Rom. x. that is, " the death of *Christ*'s body is the death of the law to all " that believe in him: So that whosoever repent of their " sins, and flee to the death and passion of *Christ*; the

" condemnation

" condemnation and time of the law to them is expired. " Wherefore, this is to be underſtood as a perpetual rule " in the ſcripture, that the law, with all his ſentences " and judgements, whereſoever they are written, either " in the *Old* or *New Teſtament*, do ever include a privy " exception of repentance and faith in *Chriſt*, to the " which always it giveth place, having there his end, and " can proceed no further; according as St. *Paul* ſaith, " *The law is our ſchoolmaſter* until *Chriſt*, *that we might be* " *juſtified by faith**.

" Moreover, as the law hath its time, *how long* to reign, " ſo alſo it hath his proper place, *where* to reign. By " the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of " the law: For as the time of the law ceaſeth, when the " faith of *Chriſt* in a true repenting heart beginneth; ſo " hath the law no place in ſuch, as be good and faithful; " that is, in ſinners repenting and amending, but only " in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men are ſuch, " as walking in ſinful fleſh are not yet driven by earneſt " repentance to flee to *Chriſt* for ſuccour. And therefore " ſaith St. *Paul*, *The law is not made for a righteous man*, " *but for the lawleſs and diſobedient*, *for the ungodly and for* " *ſinners*, &c†. By the *juſt* man here is meant, not he " which never had diſeaſe, but he, who knowing his diſ- " eaſe, ſeeketh out the phyſician, and being cured, keepeth " himſelf in health, as much as he may, from any more " ſurfeits. Notwithſtanding, he ſhall never ſo keep " himſelf, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) " ſhall always remain frail and imperfect, and ſhall con- " tinually need the phyſician. Where, by the way, theſe " three things are to be noted; firſt, the ſickneſs itſelf: " Secondly, the knowing of the ſickneſs: Thirdly, the " phyſician. The ſickneſs is ſin. The knowing of the " ſickneſs is repentance, which the law worketh. The " phyſician is *Chriſt*. And therefore although in remiſ- " ſion of our ſins repentance is joined with faith, yet it " is not the dignity or worthineſs of repentance that " cauſeth remiſſion of ſins, but only the worthineſs of " *Chriſt*, whom faith only apprehendeth; no more than " the feeling of the diſeaſe is the cauſe of health, but " only the phyſician. For elſe, when a man is caſt and " condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can " ſave or deſerve life; but if his pardon come, then is it " the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that " ſaveth.

* Gal. iii. 24. † 1 Tim. i. 9.

"The third point to be conſidered in the doctrine of "the law, is this, that we mark well the end and purpoſe "why the law is given, which is not to bring us to ſal-"vation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us "good: But rather to declare and convict our wicked-"neſs, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this "end and purpoſe, that we, ſeeing our condemnation, "and being in ourſelves confounded, may be driven "thereby to have our refuge in *Chriſt* the Son of God, "and ſubmit ourſelves to him, in whom only is to be "found our remedy, and in none other. And this end "of the law ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered by all Chriſ-"tians: That they do not fall into manifold errors and "inconveniences. 1. They pervert all order of doc-"trine. 2. They ſeek that in the law, which the law "cannot give. 3. They are not able to comfort them-"ſelves nor any other. 4. They keep men's ſouls in an "uncertain doubt of their ſalvation. 5. They obſcure "the light of God's grace. 6. They are unkind to "God's benefits. 7. They are injurious to *Chriſt*'s paſ-"ſion, and enemies to his croſs. 8. They ſtop Chriſ-"tians' liberty. 9. They bereave the church, the ſpouſe "of *Chriſt*, of her due comfort, as taking away the ſun "out of the world. 10. In all their doings, they ſhoot "at a wrong mark: For where *Chriſt* only is to be ſet "up to be apprehended by our faith, and ſo freely to juſ-"tify us; they, leaving this juſtification by faith, ſet up "other marks, partly by the law, partly of their own "deviſing, for men to ſhoot at. And here cometh in "the manifeſt and manifold abſurdities of the biſhop of "*Rome*'s doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will re-"hearſe, as in a catalogue here following."

Errors and abſurdities of the Papiſts, *touching the doctrine of the* LAW *and of the* GOSPEL.

"1. They erroneouſly conceive an opinion of ſalva-"tion in the law, which only is to be ſought in the faith "of *Chriſt*, and in no other.

"2. They erroneouſly ſeek God's favour by works of "the law: Not knowing that the law, in this our cor-"rupt nature, worketh only the anger of God. *Rom.* iii.

"3. They err alſo in this, that where the office of the "law is diverſe and contrary from the goſpel, they, "without any difference, confound the one with the "other, making the goſpel to be a law, and *Chriſt* to be "a *Moſes*.

"4. They

"4. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into "three parts, into the law-natural, the law-moral, and "the law-evangelical.

"5. They err again in dividing the law-evangelical "into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to "serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them "that be perfect.

"6. The chief substance of all their teaching and "preaching resteth upon the works of the law; as ap- "pears by their religion, which wholly consisteth in "men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and "ceremonies.

"7. In the doctrine of salvation, of remission, and "justification, either they admit the law equally with "the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they "teach and preach the law; so that little mention is "made of the faith of *Christ*, or none at all.

"8. They err in thinking, that the law of God re- "quireth nothing in us under pain of damnation; but "only our obedience in external actions: As for the in- "ward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but "light matters.

"9. They, not knowing the true nature and strength "of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's "power to fulfil it.

"10. They err in thinking, that it is in man's power "not only to keep the law of God, but also to perform "more perfect works than be in God's law commanded, "and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof "rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of con- "gruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of "the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.

"11. They err in saying, that the state monastical is "more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, "than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.

"12. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of "their religious men; as profound humility, perfect chas- "tity, and wilful poverty.

"13. They err abominably, in equalling their laws "and constitutions with God's law, and in saying, that "man's law bindeth under pain of damnation, no less "than God's law.

"14. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors "of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the "law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and "their canon-law, &c.

"15. Finally

" 15. Finally, they err moſt horribly in this, that where " the free promiſe of God aſcribeth our ſalvation only to " our faith in *Chriſt*, excluding works; they, on the con- " trary, aſcribe ſalvation only, or principally, to works " and merits, excluding faith. Whereupon ariſeth the " application of the ſacrifice of the maſs, *ex opere operato*, " for the quick and dead, application of the merits of " *Chriſt*'s paſſion, in bulls, application of the merits of " all religious orders, and other ſuch like trumpery, as " above mentioned.

" THREE *cautions to be obſerved and avoided in the true underſtanding of the* LAW.

" *Firſt*, that we, through the miſunderſtanding of the " ſcriptures, do not take the law for the goſpel, nor the " goſpel for the law; but ſkilfully diſcern and diſtinguiſh " the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many " there be, who reading the book of the *New Teſtament*, " imagine that whatever they find contained in it, to be " only and merely the voice of the goſpel. And, on the " other hand, whatever is contained in the *Old Teſtament*, " that is, within the *law*, *ſtories*, *pſalms*, and *prophets*, " to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. " In which they are deceived; for the preaching of the " law and of the goſpel are mixed together in both the " *Teſtaments*, as well in the *Old* as in the *New*. Neither " is the order of theſe two doctrines to be diſtinguiſhed " by books and leaves, but by the diverſity of God's ſpi- " rit ſpeaking unto us. For ſometimes in the *Old Teſ- " tament* God doth comfort, as he comforted *Adam*, with " the voice of the goſpel. Sometimes alſo in the *New*, " he doth threaten and terrify; as when *Chriſt* threatened " the *Phariſees*. In ſome places, again, *Moſes* and the " *prophets* play the *evangeliſts*: Inſomuch that *Jerom* " doubted whether he ſhould call *Iſaiah* a *prophet* or an " *evangeliſt*. In ſome places, likewiſe, *Chriſt* and the " *apoſtles* ſupply the part of *Moſes*: And as *Chriſt* him- " ſelf, until his death, was under the law (which law he " came not to break, but to fulfil), ſo his ſermons made to " the *Jews*, run all for the moſt part upon the perfect doc- " trine and works of the law, ſhewing and teaching what " we ought to do by the right law of juſtice, and what " danger enſueth in not performing the ſame. All which " places, though they be contained in the book of the " *New Teſtament*, yet they are to be referred to the doc- " trine of the law, ever having in them included a privy

" exception

" exception of repentance and faith in *Chriſt Jeſus*. As " for example; where *Chriſt* thus preacheth, *Bleſſed are* " *the pure in heart; for they ſhall ſee God**. *Except ye be* " *converted, and become as little children, ye ſhall not enter* " *into the kingdom of heaven*†. *But he, that doeth the will* " *of my Father, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven*‡. " Likewiſe the parable of the unkind ſervant, juſtly caſt " into priſon for not forgiving his fellow-ſervant, &c.§ " The caſting the rich glutton into hell, &c.‖ *He, that* " *denieth me before men, ſhall be denied before the angels of* " *God.*¶ With other ſuch like places of ſcripture. All " theſe, I ſay, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do " ever include in them a ſecret exception of earneſt re- " pentance and faith in *Chriſt*'s precious blood. For " elſe, *Peter* denied, and yet repented. Many publicans " and ſinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted " to their fellow-ſervants; and yet many of them re- " pented, and by faith were ſaved, &c. The grace of " *Chriſt Jeſus* works in us repentance towards God, and " faith in himſelf unfeigned.

" Briefly, to know when the law ſpeaketh, and when " the goſpel ſpeaketh, and to diſcern the voice of the one " from the voice of the other, we may learn from the " following remark. That when there is any moral " work commanded to be done, either to avoid puniſh- " ment, or upon promiſe of any reward temporal or eter- " nal, or elſe when any promiſe is made with condition " of any work commanded in the law; there is to be un- " derſtood the voice of the law. On the other hand, " where the promiſe of life and ſalvation is offered unto " us freely, without any merits or doings of ours, and " ſimply without any condition annexed, of any law, " either natural, ceremonial, or moral: All ſuch places, " whether they be read in the *Old Teſtament* or in the " *New*, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of " the goſpel. And this promiſe of God, freely made to " us by the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſo long before pro- " phefied to us in the *Old Teſtament*, and afterward ex- " hibited in the *New Teſtament*, and now requiring no- " thing but our faith in the Son of God, is called pro- " perly the voice of the goſpel, and differeth from the " voice of the law in this, that it hath *no condition* ad- " joined of our meriting, but only reſpecteth the merits " of *Chriſt* the Son of God; by faith in whom alone we

* Matth. v. 8. † Ibid. xviii. 3. ‡ Ibid. vii. 21.
§ Ibid. xviii. 23, &c. ‖ Luke xvi. 19, &c. ¶ Ibid. xii. 9.

" are

" are promiſed of God to be ſaved and juſtified, accord-
" ing as we read, *The righteouſneſs of God*, which is *by*
" *faith of Jeſus Chriſt unto all, and upon all them that be-*
" *lieve, &c.* Rom. iii. 22.

" The ſecond caution or danger to be avoided is, that
" we now knowing how to diſcern rightly between the
" law and the goſpel, and having intelligence not to
" miſtake one for the other, muſt take heed again that
" we break not the order between theſe two, taking and
" applying the law where the goſpel is to be applied,
" either to ourſelves or toward others. For notwith-
" ſtanding the law and the goſpel many times are to be
" joined together in order of doctrine; yet it may ſome-
" times fall out, that the law muſt be utterly ſequeſtered
" from the goſpel. As when any perſon or perſons do
" feel themſelves with the majeſty of the law and judge-
" ment of God ſo terrified and oppreſſed, and with the
" burden of their ſins overweighed and thrown down in-
" to utter diſcomfort, and almoſt even to the pit of hell,
" as happeneth many times to ſoft and timorous con-
" ſciences of God's good ſervants: When ſuch mortified
" hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any
" ſuch example or place of the ſcripture which per-
" taineth to the law; let them think, that they do not in
" the leaſt belong to them, no more than a mourning-
" weed belongeth to a marriage-feaſt; and therefore re-
" moving out of their minds all thoughts of the law, of
" fear, of judgement, and condemnation, let them only
" ſet before their eyes the goſpel, the ſweet comfort of
" God's promiſe, free forgiveneſs of ſins in *Chriſt*, grace,
" redemption, liberty, rejoicing, pſalms, thanks, ſinging,
" and a paradiſe of ſpiritual jocundity, and nothing elſe;
" thinking thus with themſelves, that the law hath done
" his office in them already, and now muſt needs give
" place to his better; that is, muſt needs give room to
" *Chriſt* the Son of God, who is the Lord and Maſter,
" the Fulfiller and Finiſher of the law; *for* Chriſt *is the*
" *end of the law for righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.*
" Rom. x. 4.

" The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not,
" on the other hand, uſe or apply the goſpel, inſtead of
" the law. For, as applying the law inſtead of the goſ-
" pel, is like going to a marriage-feaſt in a mourning
" gown; ſo to apply the goſpel inſtead of the law, is to
" caſt pearls before ſwine: In which there is great abuſe
" among many. For commonly it is ſeen, that theſe
" worldly epicures and ſecure mammoniſts, to whom the

" doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive " and apply to themſelves moſt principally the ſweet " promiſes of the goſpel: So likewiſe it is too often the " caſe, for thoſe broken and contrite in heart, to whom " only belong the joyful tidings of the goſpel and not " the law, to receive and retain to themſelves the terrible " voice and ſentences of the law. Whereby it cometh " to paſs, that many do rejoice, that ſhould mourn; and " many fear and mourn, that ſhould rejoice. Where- " fore, to conclude; in private uſe of life, let every per- " ſon wiſely diſcern between the law and the goſpel, " and aptly apply to himſelf, that which he ſeeth con- " venient.

" And again, in public order of doctrine, let every " diſcreet preacher put a difference between the broken " heart of the mourning ſinner, and the impenitent " worldling, and ſo join both the law with the goſpel, " and the goſpel with the law; that in throwing down " the wicked he ever ſpare the weak-hearted; and again, ſo " ſpare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly."

The Chriſtian Reader will excuſe the length of theſe extracts, which we will conclude with remarking; that this excellent man *Hamilton*, and his bleſſed commentator *Frith*, lived before the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in their reſpective countries of *Scotland* and *England*; and that it is comfortable to reflect, that the ſame Spirit teaches the ſame truth in all places and times; as appears in the inſtance before us, which contains the goſpel with as much clearneſs (and would to GOD, it might not be ſaid, with *more* clearneſs) as among the profeſſors of a later day.

GERARD GELDENHAUR,

SOMETIMES CALLED,

GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS.

GERARD GELDENHAUR, a very learned *German*, was born at *Nimeguen*, in the year 1482. From his earlieſt youth, he was diſtinguiſhed by his love

of learning, eſpecially of hiſtory and poetry. He ſtudied claſſical learning at *Daventer*, and went through his courſe of philoſophy at *Louvain* with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was choſen to teach that ſcience there. It was in this famous univerſity, that he contracted a very ſtrict friendſhip with ſeveral learned men, and in particular with *Eraſmus*, as appears from the epiſtles of the latter. He made ſome ſtay at *Antwerp*, from whence he was invited to the court of *Charles* of *Auſtria*, to be reader and hiſtorian to that prince: But not loving to change his abode often, he did not think proper to attend him into *Spain*, but diſengaged himſelf from his ſervice, and entered into that of *Philip* of *Burgundy*, biſhop of *Utrecht*. He was his reader and ſecretary twelve years, namely, to the year 1524; after which, he executed the ſame functions in the court of *Maximilian* of *Burgundy*. He was ſent to *Wittenberg* in the year 1526, in order to enquire into the ſtate of the ſchools, and of the church there. He faithfully reported what he had obſerved in that city, and confeſſed, he could not diſapprove of a doctrine ſo conformable to the ſcriptures, as that which he heard there: And upon this he forſook the popiſh religion, and retired towards the *Upper Rhine*. He married at *Worms*, and taught youth for ſome time. Afterwards, about the year 1531, he was invited to *Augſburg*, to undertake the ſame employment; and at length, in the year 1534, he went from thence to *Marpurg*, where he taught hiſtory for two years, and then divinity to his death. He died of the plague on the 10th of *January*, A. D. 1542. He was a man well ſkilled in poetry, rhetoric, and hiſtory. The moſt conſiderable of his works are—*Hiſtoria Batavica*; *Straſburg*, 1533; but *Voſſius* mentions an edition of the year 1520.—*De Batavorum Inſulâ.—Germaniæ Inferioris Hiſtoria*; *Straſburg*, 1532.—*Epiſtola de Zelandiâ.—Satyræ Octo*, printed at *Louvain*, in 1515.—*Hiſtoriæ et Catalogus epiſcoporum Ultrajectinorum, &c.*

His changing his religion, and ſome writings which he publiſhed againſt the church of *Rome*, occaſioned a quarrel between him and *Eraſmus*. *Eraſmus* called him a ſeditious fellow, and blamed him for publiſhing ſcoffing books, which only irritated princes againſt *Luther*'s followers. He blamed him alſo for prefixing the name, and ſome notes, of *Eraſmus* to certain letters, the intent of which was to ſhew, that the heretics ought not to be puniſhed. This was expoſing *Eraſmus* to the court of *Rome*, and to the popiſh powers: For it was ſaying in

effect, that *Eraſmus* had furniſhed the innovators with weapons to attack their enemies. Nothing could be more true; but *Eraſmus* did not like to have ſuch offices done him. Age had made him a coward, if he was not one naturally; and he was afraid to avow principles, which he ſecretly maintained. He abuſed *Geldenhaur*, therefore, in very ſevere terms; compared him to the traitor *Judas*; and, inſtead of aſſiſting him in his neceſſity, put him off with raillery. 'But, my dear *Vultu-*
'*rius*,' for ſo he nick-named him, 'ſince you have taken
'the reſolution to profeſs an evangelical life, I wonder
'you find poverty uneaſy; when St. *Hilarion*, not having
'money enough to pay his boat-hire, thought it cauſe of
'glory, that he had undeſignedly arrived at ſuch goſpel-
'perfection. St. *Paul* alſo glories, that he knew how
'to abound, and how to ſuffer need; and that, having
'nothing, he poſſeſſed all things. The ſame apoſtle
'commends certain *Hebrews*, who had received the goſ-
'pel, that they took the ſpoiling of their goods joyfully.
'Add that, if the *Jews* ſuffer none to be poor among
'them, how much more does it become thoſe, who boaſt
'of the goſpel, to relieve the wants of their brethren by
'mutual charity: Eſpecially, ſince evangelical frugality
'is content with very little? Thoſe, who live by the
'ſpirit, want no delicacies, if they have but bread and
'water: They are ſtrangers to luxury, and feed on faſt-
'ing. We read, that the apoſtles themſelves ſatisfied
'their hunger with ears of corn rubbed in their hands.
'Perhaps, you may imagine, I am jeſting all this while;
'—very likely—but others will not think ſo.'——Theſe taunts of *Eraſmus* give us another trace of his true character. He had not grace to dare the frowns of the world, and particularly of the great, among whom were moſt of his conſiderable friends; and theſe were of the *Roman* communion. Whatever he ſaid in favor of Proteſtantiſm, was by pure conſtraint of the truth. He had very little court to make in that quarter. Hence, as he was a man of great wit as well as learning, he was free in his jeſts upon the foibles of many excellent men among the Proteſtants, which ſerved his purpoſe, with many of the popiſh party, of concealing his real ſentiments, or of enjoying them without moleſtation. He had, in ſhort, too much of that wiſdom, which ſtrives to reconcile GOD and mammon.

Under this life, *Melchior Adam* relates an anecdote of *John Weſelus*, a phyſician, as well as divine, who can-

vaſſed the doctrine of the ſacrament full thirty years before the ventilation of that ſubject by *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and wrote notes upon thoſe paſſages of the New Teſtament, in which it occurs. *Weſelus* was alſo ſirnamed *Baſil* and *Gansfort*. He was eſteemed of ſuch uncommon learning, piety, and judgement, that he was uſually called *lux mundi*, 'The light of the world;' and, in reſpect to any controverted matter (like another *Pythagoras*) it was ſufficient for determination to prove, *hoc dixit*, *hoc docuit*, *hoc ſcripſit*; that *Weſelus* had ſaid, taught, and wrote it. He viſited moſt of the univerſities of note in the Chriſtian world, and was an intimate friend of *John de Weſaliâ*, whom we mentioned before, and whom the younger *Spanheim* has miſtaken for the ſame perſon in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He expected to have ſhared perſecution with his learned friend; and probably would, but for the interpoſition of *David à Burgundiâ*, then biſhop of *Utrecht*, whom he had greatly ſerved in his medical capacity. He wrote many tracts, which were printed at *Leipſig*, *Antwerp*, &c. and which have been honored by being placed in the firſt claſs of thoſe books, prohibited by the church of *Rome*. He died in his 70th year. By the writings of this excellent perſon, were the eyes of *Geldenhaur* opened, to the acknowledgement of the truth. And he relates this remarkable circumſtance, that in the church of St. *Levinus*, in *March* 1520, he [*Geldenhaur*] was informed by *John Oſtendorp*, a man advanced in years, that *Weſelus*, long before, had, in converſation with him, when he was but a youth, addreſſed him [the ſaid *Oſtendorp*,] in theſe words: "My "ſtudious young friend, you will live to ſee the day, "when the doctrine of our late contentious ſchool-di-"vines, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Bonaventure*, and others of the "ſame leaven, ſhall be exploded by all true teachers of "the Chriſtian religion."—How true a prophet he was, the event amply ſhewed; for, ſoon after that time, the Reformation began in *Germany*.—The learned Reader may ſee more of this *Weſelus*, in *Baſelius*'s "Sulpitius "Belgicus," and in the writings of *Flaccus Illyricus*, *Wolfius*, and others.

It is proper to obſerve, that *Gerard Geldenhaur* was better known by the name of his country, than by that of his family; for he was uſually called *Gerardus Noviomagus*: And *Eraſmus*, in his letters to him, gives him no other name.

JOHN

JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

THIS *German* Reformer was born at *Winſperg* in *Franconia*, in the year 1482, according to *Bayle: Dupin* ſays he was born at *Auſchein* in *Switzerland*; but it is certain he was of *Franconia*. His parents were of a good family and in very competent circumſtances. It appears, in the preface to his annotations upon the prophecy of *Iſaiah*, that his grand-father was of *Baſil*, and that his mother was remarkable for the great ſanctity of her life, and liberality to the poor. His father, being (it is ſaid) a merchant, deſigned him for his own profeſſion; but his mother was deſirous of making him a ſcholar, and prevailed on her huſband to ſend him to the college of *Heilbrun*. He was ſoon removed to the univerſity of *Heidelberg*, where he received the degree of batchelor at fourteen years of age. From *Heidelberg*, he was ſent to *Boulogne*, where he ſtudied the civil law ſix months; and then returned to *Heidelberg*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity. He aſſiduouſly read the works of *Thomas Aquinas*, *Richard*, and *Gerſon*; but he deſpiſed the ſubtilties of *Scotus*, and ſcorned to follow the humour which prevailed in the univerſities. He diſregarded the honorary diſtinctions in the public exerciſes; and only endeavored to obtain the character of a learned man. He furniſhed his mind with uſeful knowledge, and abſtained from the diſputations of the ſchoolmen. All his converſation was remarkably ſerious and exemplary, grounded upon the maxim, *Eum, qui proficiat in literis & deficiat in moribus, non proficere, ſed deficere:* That he, who increaſes in knowledge without virtue, does not increaſe, but decreaſe. 'Not long after (ſays Dr. *Fuller* in his *Abel Redivivus*) he was honored with the title of maſter of arts, in the ſame academy; after which, by the advice of his parents, he went to *Bononia*, with an intent to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law; but after ſtaying half a year, and finding the air very prejudicial to his health, he returned again to his father, and remained with him till he had recovered his former ſtrength. He then went again to *Heidelberg*; where, contrary to the will of his father, he quitted the ſtudy of the civil law, and gave himſelf

himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of divinity; being led and guided thereto by the love of truth. In the performance of which act he imitated the example of that burning lamp of the church *John Chryſoſtom*, the ſame act being alſo approved and embraced by *Martin Luther*, *John Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*, *Theodore Beza*, *Lambertus Danæus*, and others.

Here he began to make himſelf acquainted with ſuch ſchoolmen, whoſe judgement in points of controverſy were moſt approved of in that academy; as *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gerſon*, and others; which he ſtudied with the utmoſt labor day and night, deſiring an explanation of ſuch diſtinctions, as he could not underſtand.

This more than ordinary induſtry procured him a general approbation, together with a certain demonſtration of his future worth, not only in *Heidelberg*, but in the adjacent places; inſomuch, that he was recommended to that illuſtrious prince *Philip*, *Elector Palatine*, who ſent for him, and committed his youngeſt ſons to his tuition; bearing always a reverend reſpect to him, for the excellency of thoſe parts with which he ſaw he was endowed. After he had been a while in this new employment, he perceived that a courtly life did not ſuit his natural inclination; therefore he left it, and returned again (as one that had been long captivated) to the ſtudy of divinity.

His parents perceiving that his mind was altogether ſet on that ſtudy, and having no other child but him, they made uſe of thoſe means that God had bleſſed them with, in order to procure a prieſthood for him, in the town where he was born, to which alſo was added the authority of preaching: Unto this place he was called; but finding himſelf, after a fortnight's trial, unable to undergo ſo laborious an office; he deſired leave to return again to *Heidelberg*, that he might acquire a greater meaſure of knowledge, and return from thence better qualified to diſcharge the important duties of that ſacred function.

Having obtained leave, he changed his reſolution and ſteered his courſe towards *Tubingen*; and from thence to *Stutgard*; where *Reuchlin* lived; a man famous for his excellent knowledge in the languages. Here he ſtayed for a ſhort ſpace, during which time, he received from *Reuchlin* ſome light concerning the *Greek*; in which, by daily ſtudy and practice, he ſo profited, that, upon his return to *Heidelberg*, he publiſhed a *Greek* grammar; where he alſo learned the *Hebrew* by a *Spaniſh* teacher.

Finding

Finding himſelf better qualified by the addition of the languages, he returned to his native place, and chearfully labored in his paſtoral office; preaching *Chriſt* ſo powerfully to them, that he was greatly admired of his auditors; nor did he ſhine only in ſound excellent doctrine, but alſo in a correſponding life and converſation; ſetting a good example before thoſe to whom he preached; and always aſſociating with ſuch as were famous for religion or learning, eſpecially *Wolfgang Capito*, with whom he was acquainted at *Heidelberg:* Their friendſhip being here renewed, it continued firm till death.

During the diſcharge of his holy calling in the place of his nativity, *Wolfgang Capito* was called to *Baſil*, to be their public lecturer; which advancement did not cauſe him at all to forget his old friend *Oecolampadius*, but rather put him upon thinking, how he might be of ſervice in promoting him to ſome more eminent place; ſhewing great concern, that ſo bright a lamp of piety ſhould be ſhut up in ſo narrow and unregarded a part of the country; wherefore he uſed all means to perſuade the inhabitants of *Baſil*, ſignifying his worth, to invite him to this city, and to confer that dignity upon him, which ſhould correſpond with his merit. *Capito* herein ſucceeded according to his wiſhes, for they readily agreed, and ſent *Oecolampadius* a call to the paſtoral office in that city, in 1515. Where, after he had preached, with great applauſe, for about a twelve-month, he was honored, in the ſame academy, with the title of doctor in divinity. About the ſame time *Eraſmus Rotterodamus* came to *Baſil*, to publiſh his annotations on the New Teſtament; for the perfecting of which, he uſed the aſſiſtance of our *Oecolampadius*, on account of the eminency of his parts, as he himſelf freely confeſſeth.

When *Eraſmus*'s work was finiſhed, *Oecolampadius* left *Baſil* and went to *Augſburg*, being called by the commons of the cathedral church to preach in that place unto the people: But he remained not long here; partly becauſe of the humble opinion he had of his own abilities, thinking himſelf inſufficient for ſo important and eminent a ſtation; and, partly becauſe of a degree of melancholy which predominated in his conſtitution, that diſpoſed him to retirement and ſolitude. He therefore departed, and entered into the monaſtry of St. *Bridget*, ſituated without the city of *Augſburg*; but uſed ſuch caution in making his covenant with the monks, as that he was to have liberty to ſtudy, and to believe what he would, and to depart from them

them when he pleaſed; for, ſaid he, "*Etiamſi ſexcentis "juramentis me obſtrixero, nequaquam ea ſervare potero, ſi "quando utilis miniſterio verbi ſum futurus.*" Although I ſhould bind myſelf by innumerable oaths, I ſhall not by any means be able to keep them, if at any time I ſhall perceive that any profit will accrue to the church by my miniſtry.

The monks, ſenſible of their acquiſition, received him joyfully into their ſociety, beſtowing all things on him that he deſired moſt liberally, and particularly acquainted him with all their privileges. After a few months he was ſo well pleaſed, that he purpoſed to ſpend the reſt of his days in this lazy manner of life: But it pleaſed God to call him out again, and for that end ſtirred up his friends, and eſpecially *Capito*, who ſeriouſly perſuaded and earneſtly exhorted him to give over that monaſtical life; to whoſe entreaties he yielded, and purpoſed to betake himſelf again to the labors of his calling; but, by way of preparation to his leaving the monaſtry, he firſt prepared and publiſhed a book of confeſſion, in which, in many particulars, he oppoſed the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, and thereby rendered his life in danger. The monks alſo were greatly afraid, leſt any inconvenience ſhould happen to them on account of his proceedings, and therefore endeavored to free their monaſtry of him. In the mean time, he ſharply reprehended them for their errors, perſuading them to embrace the truth, which ſo exceedingly incenſed them againſt him, that they labored privately with his friends to be more earneſt with him to leave the monaſtry.' Thus far *Fuller*.

Oecolampadius, in 1517, wrote a letter to *Eraſmus*, full of friendſhip and reſpect. He had ſeen *Eraſmus* at *Baſil*, and informed him, of his own occupations at this time; for he was collating the *Vulgate* with the *Hebrew*; and of his connections with *Melancthon*. In 1518, *Eraſmus* wrote a friendly letter to *Oecolampadius*, in which he highly commends *Melancthon*; though, at that time, he was diſpleaſed with him, for having ſpoken ſlightly of his New Teſtament.

Oecolampadius had acquired a great reputation for his ſkill in the learned languages, and was held in great eſteem for his preaching. He was ſo far from admitting any change in religion, that he wrote a book againſt *Luther* to prove that the maſs might be called a ſacrifice. It was in 1520, when he was thirty-eight years old, that he withdrew himſelf from the world, and became a monk of the order of St. *Bridget*, in the monaſtry of St. *Laurence*, near *Augſburg*.

Augſburg. 'I hear, ſays *Eraſmus*, that *Oecolampadius* is 'turned monk: I wiſh he had thought better upon it.' *Eraſmus* approved this ſtep of *Oecolampadius* as little as his friend *Bilibaldus*; and obſerves, that a man's diſcontented and reſtleſs temper will purſue him even into the retirement of a monaſtry. *Oecolampadius* informed *Eraſmus* of his change of life; to which the latter replied, and wiſhed, that this learned man might find his new ſituation anſwerable to his hopes. 'If I thought, ſays 'Eraſmus, it would prove ſo, I could be content to bear 'you company: But I fear you will find your expec-'tations diſappointed.' *Oecolampadius* ſuſpected, that *Eraſmus* diſapproved of his entering into a monaſtic life. *Eraſmus* tells him, it was not ſo; and that, when he treated the monks as *Phariſees*, he only meant his own perſecutors; and thoſe, who, under a pretence of religion, were real foes to it. He was willing to ſuppoſe, that *Oecolampadius* had choſen a ſociety leſs infected than ſome others.

Eraſmus was not deceived in his conjecture; for, in 1521, *Oecolampadius* began to go over to the reformers. He had corrected the firſt edition of the New Teſtament publiſhed by *Eraſmus*, who deſcribes him as a perſon that approved the ſtate of life into which he had entered, and performed his duty: However, *Oecolampadius* ſoon altered his judgement, and left his monaſtery in 1522. He retired to *Baſil*, in *Switzerland*, where he was made curate, and preacher of the church of St. *Martin*; and he ſoon introduced the doctrine of *Luther*. Here he was again advanced by the ſenate to a paſtoral office, with a yearly ſtipend, which he performed with great zeal and conſtancy to the glory of God and the good of his church; here he boldly diſcovered to his auditors thoſe errors, which by continuance had got firm footing in the church—he opened up to them the perfection and ſufficiency of the merits of *Chriſt*—he declared to them the true nature of faith—and explained to them the true doctrine of charity; inſomuch that they began to waver in their minds about the authority of the popiſh religion. Whilſt he was thus zealouſly occupied in theſe things, there were ſome who labored to draw him again to the *Pſeudo-Catholick* religion, eſpecially *Johannes Cochlæus*, who, in 1524, wrote letters to him, in which he declared himſelf deeply afflicted, to hear that a man, ſo excellently learned, ſhould lay aſide his coul, and adhere to ſuch heretical opinions; and at the ſame time exhorted him to revoke his opinion

and return to the monaſtry, promiſing him a diſpenſation from the *Pope*, and the favor of the *Prior*, which he had formerly enjoyed: But theſe and ſuch like things were ſlighted by *Oecolampadius*, who, bringing them to the word of God, found they would not endure the trial.

In the performance of his paſtoral charge, an aſſiſtant was appointed him by public authority; and now he began to ſettle a more excellent Reformation in the church, commanding the ſacrament of baptiſm to be adminiſtred in the mother tongue, and the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper to be received in both kinds; he taught that the maſs was not a ſacrifice for the living and the dead, or for thoſe who were tormented in their feigned purgatory; but that perfect ſatisfaction was made for all believers by the paſſion and merits of *Chriſt*. He diſſuaded them from ſprinkling themſelves with holy-water, and from the conſecration of palms, and the like; declaring, that they, who attributed virtue to ſuch things, did exceedingly detract from the glory and power of God. His preachings of the doctrines of *Chriſt* took ſuch deep root in the hearts of his auditors, that they gave a period to many ſuperſtitious actions among them.

The foundation of future Reformation was no ſooner laid, than the old dragon began to play his part, and to diſcover his malicious envy and hatred againſt ſuch things as make for the glory of God; either by hindering their proceedings, or by laying ſome foul aſperſion on them: For at that time brake forth that, yet continued, ſacramentary diſſenſion between *Martin Luther* and *Huldericus Zuinglius*, paſtor of the church at *Zurich*, concerning the euchariſt, which cauſed a great diſſenſion between the churches of *Switzerland* and *Saxony*. *Oecolampadius* endeavored, but with little ſucceſs, to heal theſe diſſenſions by publiſhing a book upon the true meaning of theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*; and by many ſtrong arguments affirmed, that it was a *tropial* phraſe.

This intended Reformation was again hindered by *Eckius* and his followers, who taught, 1. That the ſubſtantial body and blood of *Chriſt* was in the ſacrament of the altar. 2. That they were truly offered up in the maſs, both for the living and the dead. 3. That the virgin *Mary* and the *Saints* were to be worſhipped as interceſſors. 4. That the images of *Jeſus* and the *Saints* were not to be aboliſhed. 5. That after this life there was a purgatory.

Theſe poſitions were vehemently oppoſed by *Oecolampadius* at the public diſputation held at *Baden*: The conſequence

conſequence of which was, that ſome of the *Helvetians* or *Switzers*, ſubſcribed the arguments of *Eckius*, and others thoſe of *Oecolampadius*; ſo that their diſſenſion ſtill remained; nor could it be removed by any means, although attempted by many worthy inſtruments of *Chriſt*, who encountered many dangers, in order to accompliſh an end ſo deſirable. However *Oecolampadius* wrought ſo with the people, that liberty of conſcience was granted to the citizens in matters of religion.

Luther was introducing the Reformation in *Germany*; while *Zuinglius* began to introduce it in *Switzerland*, by publicly preaching againſt the corruptions of the *Roman* church. *Oecolampadius* aſſiſted *Zuinglius*; which made *Eraſmus* ſpeak ill of them both, in 1524, and inveigh violently againſt the morals both of the reformed, who then began to make a party, and of the Lutherans. 'Shall we, ſays *Eraſmus*, ſhake off the domination of 'popes and prelates, to ſubmit to worſe tyrants than 'they, to ſcabby madmen, to the ſcum of the earth?' He had in view *Otho Brunfield*, and *Farellus*, whom he could not bear, becauſe they had declared him as a political time-ſerver, who durſt not act according to his true ſentiments. They had their faults: But they applied themſelves cloſely to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures; and, as far as they underſtood the goſpel, they preached it with great fervor, and with no leſs danger. If there was ſomething in their behavior which *Eraſmus* could juſtly cenſure, there was alſo ſomething which he might have commended.

Oecolampadius and *Zuinglius* had declared openly enough, that they followed not the ſentiments of *Luther* in all things: Yet they ſpoke of *Luther* with reſpect; and theſe differences were not concerning things eſſential and fundamental. *Eraſmus*, who was ſo well verſed in eccleſiaſtical antiquities, knew that the antient fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the ſame favor to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the ſame defects, and equally worthy of the ſame regard and reſpect.

Eraſmus, in 1525, appeared angry with *Oecolampadius*; becauſe, in the preface to his commentary on *Iſaiah*, he had ſaid of *Eraſmus*, *Magnus* Eraſmus *noſter*, "*Our* great "*Eraſmus*," which might give occaſion to the enemies of the latter to ſay, that he and *Oecolampadius* were of a mind. The beginning of this epiſtle is not worthy of *Eraſmus*.

'I judge not, says he, I leave that to the Lord, who will 'absolve, or condemn you: But I consider what several 'great men think of you, the emperor, the pope, *Ferdi-* '*nand*, the king of *England*, the bishop of *Rochester*, car- 'dinal *Wolsey*, and many others, whose authority it is 'not safe for me to despise, and whose favour it is not 'prudent for me to throw away.' What reply this learned and worthy Reformer made to this strange complaint, we know not: But he might very justly have told *Erasmus*, that he had done him more honor than he deserved; and that, for the future, he would throw away no more civilities upon him.

Whilst Lutheranism was settling in *Germany*, the doctrine of the new sect, founded in *Switzerland* by *Zuinglius*, was called, 'Evangelical Truth;' and *Zuinglius* boldly opposed the errors of the church of *Rome*. Upon this foundation he continued preaching from the beginning of the year 1519, not only against indulgences, but also against the intercession and invocation of saints, the sacrifice of the mass, the ecclesiastical vows, the celebacy of priests, and the abstinence from meats. However, he attempted no alteration in the outward and public worship of God till 1523, when he found the magistrates and citizens of *Zurich* disposed to cast off the *Romish* doctrine, and receive the reformed.

About this time, the sect of Anabaptists sprung up in *Germany*, under *Nicholas Stork* and *Thomas Muncer*, who had been followers of *Luther*. They taught, that the goods of all men ought to be common: That all men should be free, and independent: That God would no longer permit the oppressions of kings, and the injustice of magistrates: That the time was come for them to be deposed, and men of honesty and religion set up in their places. This seditious doctrine was dispersed in *Germany*, and caused a rebellion among the peasants in all places. The first commotions began in *Swabia*, which soon spread throughout all the ten circles of the empire, where vast multitudes of peasants plundered the country; robbed and burnt the churches, monastries, and castles; slew the priests, monks, and nobility; and made a strange desolation in all the states. The princes of the empire sent a confederate army against the rebels, who were defeated in three battles by *George Truchses*, count of *Walburg*, and the elector Palatine. *Muncer* still kept some bands of peasants in *Thuringia*, and made *Mulhausen* the chief residence of his *Utopian* kingdom. But *John* elector of

Saxony,

Saxony, *Frederic* prince of *Heſſe*, and the duke of *Brunſwick*, attacked *Muncer* at *Franckhuſen*, where he was defeated, taken priſoner, and executed.

While the *German* princes were cruſhing this rebellion of the peaſants, there happened great diſputes in *Germany* and *Switzerland* between the *Romiſh* prieſts and the Reformers; as alſo between the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Anabaptiſts. *Luther* declared himſelf againſt the doctrine of *Zuinglius* concerning the Lord's Supper: But *Oecolampadius* concurred with *Zuinglius*, and taught the ſame doctrine at *Baſil*.

Eraſmus reſided at this time at *Baſil*, and ſpeaks of the ſlaughter of the peaſants in *Germany*: But commends the comparative moderation of the reformers of *Baſil*. He wrote to *Bedda*, to juſtify a letter which he had formerly ſent to the biſhop of *Baſil*. In it we find ſome remarkable things concerning the ſentiments of the reformed, as to the euchariſt. 'Carloſtad, ſays he, hath brought a moſt 'formidable tragedy upon the ſtage. He hath perſuaded 'the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper 'except bread and wine. *Zuinglius* hath written books 'to ſupport this opinion: And *Oecolampadius* hath de-'fended it with ſuch ſkill, and hath employed ſo many 'arguments, and ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, that, if God 'ſhould not interpoſe, even the elect may be ſeduced. 'This city of *Baſil* wavers; but it may ſtill be confirmed 'in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, 'to enter into this war, although I have not abilities 'equal to ſo difficult a taſk.' It appears not, that *Eraſmus* even undertook to confute *Oecolampadius*; and this was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out only to pleaſe the Romaniſts. He acted very prudently in leaving *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and diſgraced. He was ever ſuſpected of favoring this very ſentiment; and, in another letter, he beſtows the ſame praiſes upon this work of *Oecolampadius*.

Oecolampadius agreed with *Zuinglius* in the nature of the doctrine; but he gave a different ſenſe of our Lord's words. *Zuinglius* placed the figure of theſe words, 'This 'is my body,' in the verb, '*is*;' which he held to be taken for *ſignifies*. *Oecolampadius* laid it upon the noun, *body*; and affirmed that the bread is called, *the body*, by a metonymy, which allows the name of the thing ſignified to be given to the ſign.

The

The Lutherans, in *Swabia* and *Bavaria*, decried the doctrine of *Oecolampadius* in their ſermons, which obliged him to dedicate a treatiſe upon the words of the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper to them, printed at *Straſburg* in 1525, and afterwards in the *German* tongue at *Baſil*, where it was at firſt forbidden. As ſoon as this formidable book appeared, the magiſtrates of *Baſil* conſulted two divines and two lawyers, to know whether the public ſale of it might be permitted. The divines were *Eraſmus* and *Berus*; the lawyers were *Bonifacius Amerbachius* and *Claudius Canzonetta*. *Eraſmus* ſays, that, in giving his anſwer upon this point, he made no invectives againſt *Oecolampadius*; and ſo the book was allowed to be ſold. He adds, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Capito*, and *Pellican*, were alarmed at this procedure; and that *Capito* wrote from *Straſburg*, deſiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgement of theſe four arbitrators.

Brentius anſwered *Oecolampadius*, in the name of all the Lutheran miniſters of *Swabia*, in a book intitled, *Syngramma Suevicum ſuper verbis cœnæ*, in which he aſſerted, 'That *Jeſus Chriſt* is preſent in the ſacrament, and in 'the action of the ſupper: That his body and blood are 'received, although in an inviſible manner, by faith; as 'remiſſion of ſins is received by baptiſm.' Yet he intimated, that the body and blood of *Chriſt* are preſent only by faith, and are received only ſpiritually. The *Syngramma* was tranſlated by *John Agricola* into the *German* language; and it was approved by *Luther*, who wrote a preface to it, wherein he ſays, 'The ſacramentarians 'had already five or ſix leaders; the firſt, *Caroloſtadius*, 'who applies the pronoun *this*, to the viſible body of '*Jeſus Chriſt*; the ſecond *Zuinglius*, who expounds the 'word *is*, by *ſignifies*; the third *Oecolampadius*, who places 'the figure upon the word, *body*; a fourth perverts the 'order of the words; a fifth alters their places; the ſixth 'is not yet produced, who will chicane about the words; 'and, perhaps, we may ſoon ſee a ſeventh, who will 'overthrow all.'

Oecolampadius and *Zuinglius* were obliged to defend themſelves againſt *Luther*, who anſwered them, and wrote a book on purpoſe upon the euchariſt in the *German* tongue, in which he attempted to prove the ubiquity of the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* by this argument: 'That in all 'places where the divinity of our Saviour is, there his 'humanity ought alſo to be preſent.' *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* immediately replied: And *Oecolampadius* and

Bucer

Bucer confuted the large confeſſion of *Luther*. *Brentius* oppoſed their opinions in his expoſition upon the goſpel of St. *John*; and the other Lutherans perſiſted reſolutely in the condemnation of it.

Eraſmus, in 1526, paſſed a remarkable judgement upon the ſentiments of *Oecolampadius* touching the euchariſt, in a letter to *Pirckheimerus*, who had written a book on the ſubject againſt *Oecolampadius*. 'The opinion of *Oecolampadius*, ſays *Eraſmus*, would not diſpleaſe me, if the conſent of the church did not hinder me from adopting it: For I diſcern not what good an inviſible ſubſtance can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were diſcernable.' Here the good ſenſe of *Eraſmus* ſuggeſted to him plain and ſtrong arguments againſt either tranſubſtantiation, or the real and bodily preſence: He thought miracles ſhould be ſo wrought as to be ſeen, and that they ſhould never be wrought in vain. *Pirckheimerus* rallied *Eraſmus* for having ſaid, that he preferred the ſentiment of *Oecolampadius* upon the euchariſt to that of others. *Eraſmus* replied, 'I never ſaid that his ſentiment was the beſt: I only ſaid to ſome friends that I could adopt it, if the authority of the church had approved it; but that I could not quit the ſentiments of the church. I call the church, the conſent of the body of Chriſtian people.'

The conſequence of theſe diſputes was a diviſion among the reformers into two conſiderable ſects: The Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, or Sacramentarians. The *Saxons* continued firm to the doctrine of *Luther*; and that of *Zuinglius* was received by the *Switzers*, and ſome cities of the upper *Germany*.

All this time, the goſpel was preached in no other of the *Swiſs* cantons, than *Zurich*. The other twelve cantons, therefore, appointed among themſelves a diſputation to be held at *Baden*, at which place were aſſembled the famous *Eckius*, *John Faber*, *Murner*, &c. together with the biſhops' legates of *Lucern*, *Baſil*, *Lauſanne*, &c. The points diſputed were, tranſubſtantiation, the propitiation offered in the maſs, the invocation of ſaints, the worſhip of images, and purgatory. *Oecolampadius*, with others, diſputed againſt theſe theſes; but came to no other concluſion, than to refer the deciſion to the authority of the next general council, when it ſhould be convened.

A conference between the Zuinglians, Lutherans, and Papiſts, was held at *Bern*, on the ſeventh of *January*, 1528. This diſputation was particularly on the propoſition of the ſacrament; and *Oecolampadius*, together with

Zuinglius, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blauretus*, and ſeveral other Sacramentarians, maintained it againſt the Papiſts and Lutherans. It ended in the abolition of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the *Romiſh* church, throughout the canton of *Bern*. The cities of *Conſtance* and *Geneva* immediately followed the example: But it was not effected in the cities of *Baſil* and *Straſburgh* till 1529. *Oecolampadius* was married this year to the widow of *Cellarius*. It is remarkable, that, after the death of *Oecolampadius*, ſhe was married to *Wolfangus Capito*: And laſtly, to *Martin Bucer*. *Eraſmus* laughed at *Oecolampadius* for his marriage; and ſaid, 'He 'hath taken to himſelf a wife, a pretty girl; probably he 'deſigns to mortify the fleſh. Some call Lutheraniſm a 'tragedy: I call it a comedy, where the diſtreſs ends in 'matrimony.' Yet he afterwards commended him as a divine.

The troubles of *Germany* increaſed, and the emperor *Charles* V. was obliged to call a diet at *Spire*, in *March* 1529; in the firſt place, to require the aſſiſtance of the princes of the empire againſt *Solyman*, who had taken *Buda*, and threatened to conquer all *Hungary*: And in the next place, to find out ſome way to allay the diſputes about religion. The Anabaptiſts were not permitted to come to this diet: It was alſo intended to exclude the deputies of *Straſburgh*, and the other cities, who had, contrary to the edicts of the preceding diets, aboliſhed the maſs, and other ceremonies, by their own authority. The Catholics labored all they could to divide the Lutherans, and Sacramentarians; and had accompliſhed their deſign, if the landgrave of *Heſſe* had not prevented their diviſions from breaking out. The Lutheran princes *proteſted* againſt the edict publiſhed at the diet of *Spire*; and, for that reaſon, were called PROTESTANTS. In the following year they preſented to the emperor, at the diet of *Augſburg*, their confeſſion of faith; and entered into a defenſive league, at *Smalcald*, for their common ſecurity.

The article of the *proteſtation*, which concerned the doctrine of the Sacramentarians, was particularly worded, that the princes might take away the difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, without approving the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. *Oecolampadius* complained, in a letter wrote to *Melanchon*, that *Faber*, biſhop of *Vienna*, attempted to procure the condemnation of their opinions: And he deſired *Melanchon* to declare on his ſide. *Melanchon* anſwered him, that he could not approve their opinion, as he found no ſufficient reaſon to depart

depart from the literal ſenſe of the words. He deſired *Oecolampadius* to conſider the importance of the queſtion in debate: And adds, it would be convenient that ſome good men ſhould confer together upon that head. *Oecolampadius* replied to this letter of *Melancthon*, and yielded to the neceſſity of ſome conferences: But obſerved, that the perſons to be appointed ſhould be men free from paſſion, and not of contentious ſpirits; otherwiſe they would be unable to diſcover the truth, and only increaſe their enmity.

The landgrave of *Heſſe*, in purſuance of theſe propoſitions, invited *Zuinglius* and *Luther* to a friendly conference at *Marpurg*, in *October* following. Both parties were unwilling to accept the propoſal: But *Oecolampadius* prevailed on *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, and *Hedio*, to embrace it, and repair to *Marpurg*, where they were followed by *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Andreas Oſiander*, *Brentius*, and *Agricola*. Before they held their public conference, there was a private meeting between *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius*, *Luther* and *Melancthon*. They diſagreed upon the article of the Lord's Supper, and debated it before the landgrave himſelf. This conference held three days; wherein *Luther* kept cloſe to the words of the inſtitution, which he affirmed to be full and poſitive for the corporal manducation. *Oecolampadius* aſſerted, that they ought to be underſtood metaphorically, and of a ſpiritual preſence; but affirmed, that it did not exclude the corporal. Many authorities and arguments were produced on both ſides: Though neither was convinced.

Bucer endeavored to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians at the diet of *Augſburg*: But *Oecolampadius* diſapproved of his articles; and his labours to procure an union were ineffectual. In 1531, a civil war broke out between the popiſh and proteſtant cantons in *Switzerland*, in which *Zuinglius* was killed. The ſame year the book, publiſhed by *Servetus* about the errors concerning the Trinity, was brought into *Switzerland*, where it diſguſted ſeveral of the proteſtant divines, as it appears from a letter of *Oecolampadius* to *Bucer*, dated the fifth of *Auguſt*, 1531, wherein he ſays, "I have ſeen our friends of *Bern*, "who are very much offended with the book intitled *De* "*Trinitatis Erroribus*. I deſire you will acquaint *Luther*, "that this book was printed out of this country, and "without our knowledge. The author impudently af- "firms, that the Lutherans do not underſtand the doc- "trine of juſtification; and our church will be ill ſpoken

" of, unleſs our divines make it their buſineſs to explode " him. I beſeech you to make an apology for our church, " at leaſt in your confutation inſcribed to the emperor. " He wreſts all the paſſages of the ſcripture, to prove " that the Son is not co-eternal and conſubſtantial with " the Father; and that the man *Chriſt* is the Son of God."

The magiſtrates of *Baſil* deſired that *Oecolampadius* would give them his opinion concerning the book of *Servetus*; and the reformer made a ſhort diſcourſe in their preſence, wherein he ſhewed that it was a pernicious book; but he expreſſed himſelf with great moderation. *Oecolampadius* alſo wrote two letters to *Servetus* about his book, wherein he confuted him in a very civil manner, and intreated him to renounce his errors. He blamed *Servetus* for expreſſing a greater eſteem for *Tertullian*, than for all the other fathers of the church. *Servetus* continued an Anti-trinitarian; and ſome are of opinion, that the Reformation would have made a further progreſs, if it had not been for that ſect.

After the painful ſuſtaining (ſays Dr. *Fuller*) of ſo many labors, at home and abroad, he returned to *Baſil*, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in preaching, reading, writing, publiſhing, viſiting the ſick, and alſo the care of certain adjacent churches, till 1531, when it pleaſed God to viſit him with ſickneſs, that ſoon confined him to his bed, with the greateſt appearance of a ſpeedy diſſolution. He ſent for the paſtors of the place, and welcomed them with a ſhort, pithy oration; in which he exhorted them to remain conſtant and firm in the purity of the doctrine which they profeſſed, becauſe it was agreeable to the word of God: As to other things, he wiſhed them to be leſs careful; aſſuring them, that the all-ſufficient God would care for them, and would not be wanting to his church.

His children ſtanding before him, he took them by their right-hand, and gently ſtroking their heads, he adviſed them to love God, who would be to them in place of a father.

A little before his death, one of his intimate friends coming to him, he aſked him, "*What news?*" his friend anſwered, '*None.*' But (ſaid he) "*I will tell thee news*;" being aſked, what it was? he anſwered, "*Brevi ero apud* CHRISTUM DOMINUM:" I ſhall in a *ſhort* time be with CHRIST my LORD. And laying his hand upon his breaſt, he ſaid, "*Here is abundance of light.*" In the morning before he died, he repeated the fifty-firſt pſalm; at the end of which he added, "*Salva me, Chriſte Jeſu*;" ſave me, O *Chriſt Jeſus*;

BRITISH MUSEUM


ZUINGLIUS.

Jeſus; being the laſt words he was heard to ſpeak: Thoſe preſent in the room praying, continued to pray till he had ſurrendered his ſpirit to his Creator; which he did moſt willingly and chearfully, on the firſt day of *December*, 1531, and in the forty-ninth year of his age; and was buried, with every mark of reſpect and concern, in the ſame city.

He was of a meek and quiet diſpoſition, in the undertaking of any buſineſs; he was very circumſpect; nor was any thing more pleaſing to him, than to ſpend his time in reading and commenting. He left the following works behind him.

1. Annotations on *Geneſis*. 2. On *Job*. 3. On *Iſaiah*. 4. *Jeremiah*. 5. *Ezekiel*. 6. *Daniel*. 7. *Hoſea*. 8. *Amos*. 9. *Jonah*. 10. *Micah*, chap. ii. 11. On the three laſt prophets. 12. On the Pſalms. 13. *Matthew*. 14. *Romans*. 15. *Hebrews*. 16. 1 Epiſtle of *John*. 17. Of the genuine ſenſe of theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. 18. An exhortation to the reading of God's word. 19. Of the dignity of the euchariſt. 20. Of the joy of the reſurrection. 21. A ſpeech to the ſenate of *Baſil*. 22. A catechiſm. 23. Annotations on *Chryſoſtom*. 24. Enchiridion to the Greek tongue. 25. Againſt Anabaptiſts. 26. Annotations on the *Acts* of the apoſtles, and epiſtles to the *Corinthians*. 27. Of alms-deeds. 28. Againſt *Julian* the apoſtate. 29. Of true faith in *Chriſt*. 30. Of the praiſes of *Cyprian*. 31. Of the life of *Moſes*. 32. Againſt uſury.

His learning and doctrine were ſuch, that even cardinal *Sadolet*, on hearing the news of his death, wiſhed that he could lawfully grieve for the loſs of him. He was ſucceeded by *Oſwaldus Myconius*. *Sleidan* ſays, that his grief upon the death of *Zuinglius*, whom he loved extremely, heightened his diſorder, and haſtened his end. *Verheiden* ſays, that there was ſcarce ever ſuch an inſtance of cordial friendſhip, as ſubſiſted between theſe two great men.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS,

THE REFORMER OF SWITZERLAND.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS, the famous Reformer of this country, was of a good parentage, and born on the firſt of *January*, 1487, at *Wildehauſen* in the county

of *Tockenburg*, which is a diſtinct republic, in alliance with the *Switzers*, or *Helvetic* body. He was ſent to *Baſil*, when he was ten years of age, to receive the firſt rudiments of his learning; and from thence he went to *Bern*, where he was taught Greek and Hebrew under *Henry Lupulus*. He ſtudied philoſophy at *Vienna*, and divinity at *Baſil*, where he was made doctor in 1505, about which time he heard *Thomas Wittenbach* preach, that the death of *Chriſt* is the only price of our redemption, and that indulgences were but a device of the pope: And the next year he began to preach with ſuch good ſucceſs, that he was elected paſtor of *Glaris*, the chief town in the canton of that name. He continued there till 1516, when the reputation which he had acquired by his ſermons occaſioned him to be called to the *Hermitage*, a place famous for pilgrimages to the virgin *Mary*.

It is reported, that *Zuinglius*, about this time, had a remarkable conference with cardinal *Matthew*, biſhop of *Syon*, in the allied country of *Valais*, concerning the abuſes which had crept into the church, and the way to work a Reformation. He had before read the concluſions of the famous *Picus* of *Mirandula*, which had gone far to determine his judgement. He then had heard nothing of *Luther*.

He was ſoon after invited to *Zurick*, the capital of that canton, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the inhabitants. The method which he followed in his ſermons, was to explain a text of holy ſcripture; and he began with the goſpel of St. *Matthew*.

About the year 1517, *Martin Luther*, profeſſor of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, had entered into a diſpute againſt the cuſtom of ſelling indulgences by the pope, who condemned *Luther*: But he appealed to a council, and went on writing againſt the errors of the church of *Rome*.

Zuinglius ſhewed himſelf at firſt very favorable to *Luther*, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himſelf. *Samſon*, a franciſcan of *Milan*, was ſent by the pope, as general viſitor of his order, to publiſh indulgences at *Zurick*. He preached, according to the uſual manner, that the pope had granted an abſolute pardon of ſins to ſuch as purchaſed thoſe indulgences, and that they might thereby infallibly deliver ſouls out of purgatory. *Zuinglius* followed the example of *Luther*, by declaiming powerfully againſt this franciſcan, and againſt the indulgences. *Hugh* biſhop of *Conſtance*

ſtance believed, that *Zuinglius* was diſpleaſed only with the abuſe, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage: But *Zuinglius* went farther, and ſolicited that prelate, as alſo the papal legate in *Switzerland*, to favor the doctrine that he intended to ſettle, which he called *evangelical truth*. They refuſed his propoſals; and he oppoſed the popiſh ceremonies from the year 1519, to 1523, when he found an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his own doctrine, and of aboliſhing the ſuperſtition of *Rome*.

Eraſmus was diſpleaſed at the violent quarrels which aroſe about the Lord's Supper among the Reformers, the Zuinglians, and the Lutherans; for, in thoſe days, *Zuinglius* and his adherents were the only men who talked reaſonably upon that ſubject. He informed the preſident of the court at *Mechlin*, in 1522, that the ſpirit of Reformation increaſed in *Switzerland*, where there were two hundred thouſand who abhorred the ſee of *Rome*. *Eraſmus* was not miſtaken in this, as the Reformation in *Switzerland* ſoon afterwards ſhewed.

The *Switzers* had rendered themſelves a very formidable nation, and their bravery was admired in all the *European* ſtates. *Francis* I. king of *France* purchaſed their friendſhip with a great ſum of money in 1515: And, in 1521, concluded a treaty with the *Switzers*, by which he was at liberty to levy any number of *Swiſs* troops, from ſix to ſixteen thouſand, without aſking the conſent of the magiſtrates. The canton of *Zurick* refuſed to enter into this treaty; becauſe *Zuinglius*, who was in great eſteem there, repreſented that the ſuffering a foreign prince to raiſe troops in this manner, was, in effect, ſelling the blood of their allies and children.

Zuinglius conducted the Reformation in *Switzerland* with as much progreſs as *Luther* conducted that in *Saxony*; though he carried himſelf with more moderation and prudence. He propounded his doctrine in his ſermons, which he preached four years ſucceſſively in *Zurick*, and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: But he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worſhip without the concurrence of the magiſtrates, and he cauſed an aſſembly to be called for that purpoſe by the ſenate of *Zurick*, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, 1523, that the differences among preachers in matters of religion might be compoſed.

The aſſembly met upon the day appointed, when a great number of the clergy appeared, and the biſhop of *Conſtance* ſent three deputies, among whom was *John Faber*,

ber, his chief vicar. The conſul opened the conference by declaring, that the ſermons of *Zuinglius* had raiſed ſo many diſputes in their city, that the ſenate thought it the beſt way to allay theſe differences by appointing a conference before the council of two hundred, to which all the clergy both of the city and country had been ſummoned. *Zuinglius* replied, "That the light of the goſpel "had been obſcured, and almoſt extinguiſhed, by human "traditions: But that ſeveral eminent men had lately "endeavoured to reſtore it, by preaching the word of "God to the people in its purity. That he was one of "that number; and, like them, had been treated as an "heretic and ſeducer; though he had, for five years paſt, "taught only what was contained in the holy ſcripture. "That it was for this reaſon he had deſired to give an "account of his doctrine before the ſenate of *Zurick*, and "the biſhop of *Conſtance*. That he thanked the ſenate "for granting him this favor; and that he had drawn his "doctrines into ſixty-ſeven propoſitions, which he was "fully perſuaded were agreeable to the goſpel: And he "was ready to anſwer for himſelf, if any perſon would "accuſe him of error or hereſy."

The doctrines contained in thoſe ſixty-ſeven propoſitions, may be reduced to theſe following articles. That the goſpel is the only rule of faith. The church is the communion of ſaints. We ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but *Jeſus Chriſt*. All traditions ſhould be rejected. There is no other ſacrifice but that of *Jeſus Chriſt* upon the croſs: And the maſs is no ſacrifice, but a commemoration of the ſacrifice of *Chriſt*. We have need of no other interceſſor with God than *Jeſus Chriſt*. All ſorts of meat may be eaten at all times. The habits of monks ſmell of hypocriſy. Marriage is allowed to all men, and no man is obliged to make a vow of chaſtity, nor are prieſts at all obliged to live unmarried. Excommunication ought not to be inflicted by the biſhop alone, but by the whole church; and notorious offenders only ought to be excommunicated. The power which the pope and biſhops aſſume to themſelves, is a piece of pride that has no foundation in the ſcripture. God alone can forgive ſins: For confeſſion of ſin to a prieſt, is only to beg his ghoſtly advice; and works of ſatisfaction proceed from human tradition. The ſcripture does not teach us, that there is ſuch a place as purgatory. The character which the ſacraments are ſaid to impreſs, is of a modern invention. The ſcripture acknowledges

none

none for prieſts, or biſhops, but ſuch as preach the word of God. Laſtly, he promiſed to deliver his judgement about tythes, the revenues of the church, the condition of infants not baptized, and about confirmation, if any perſon deſired to diſpute with him upon theſe points.

Zuinglius exhorted the magiſtrates of *Zurick* to leave their citizens no longer in doubt of what concerned their ſalvation. The council then declared, that if any perſon preſent had any thing to alledge againſt *Zuinglius*, he had free liberty to ſpeak. *Zuinglius* made a public challenge three times: But he met with no opponent, except *Faber*, who inadvertently mentioned the interceſſion of ſaints, which gave *Zuinglius* an opportunity of oppoſing that doctrine, and drawing his adverſary into a diſpute.

Faber made a very general diſcourſe about the authority of the church and councils, which had condemned the antient heretics, and lately *Wickliffe*, *Huſs*, and *Jerom of Prague*, whoſe doctrines were now revived. He ſaid, that the interceſſion of ſaints was a doctrine, which had been long ſettled in the church, and authorized by the practice of all nations: But concluded, that ſuch queſtions ought to be debated only among divines, as in the univerſities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, or *Louvain*.

Zuinglius replied, that he deſired of him only to reſolve, whether the ſcripture made any mention of the interceſſion of ſaints? If councils were infallible? Whether traditions and cuſtoms ought not to be rejected, when they are not grounded upon the authority of holy ſcripture? And whether it is not clearly expreſſed, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is our only Mediator?

From this queſtion, they paſſed to another concerning the celibacy of prieſts; and theſe two queſtions were the ſubject of a long conteſt, between the deputies of the biſhop of *Conſtance* on the one part, and *Zuinglius*, *Leo Judæ*, and ſome other miniſters on the other. The former ſupported their opinions by tradition, the authority of the church, and the canons of the councils: But the latter would abide only by the holy ſcripture.

The debates ended at noon, and the ſenate publiſhed an edict, whereby it was ordained, 'that *Zuinglius* ſhould 'continue to teach and preach the doctrine of the goſpel, 'and the word of God, in his uſual manner; and all 'paſtors and teachers, both in the city and country, were 'forbid to teach any thing that could not be proved by 'the goſpel, and holy ſcripture; and they were enjoined 'to forbear all accuſations of hereſy, or other crimes.'

Faber

Faber entered a proteſtation againſt this edict, and ſaid, he would demonſtrate, that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* was contrary to that of St. *Paul*. *Zuinglius* challenged him to do it; and promiſed him a cheeſe of *hare's milk*, if he could prove any of his doctrines erroneous, by the goſpel, or holy ſcripture.

It is eaſy to imagine, after the publication of this edict, that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* became general throughout all the canton of *Zurick*, under the name of '*evangelical truth*.' The external worſhip was contrary to the new doctrine; for images remained, and maſs was celebrated, in the churches, which could not be aboliſhed without authority. *Zuinglius* was determined to perfect his deſign, and engaged the ſenate to call a new aſſembly, to which they invited the biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Coire*, and *Baſil*, the univerſity of *Baſil*, and the other twelve cantons of *Switzerland*, to ſend their deputies, and make the aſſembly of greater authority.

The ſenate aſſembled again, on the twenty-ſixth of *October*, 1523, when *Joachim Vadianus*, *Sebaſtian Hoffman*, and *Chriſtopher Chapplerus*, were choſen arbitrators of the diſpute: *Zuinglius* and *Leo Judæ* were reſpondents: And all perſons preſent were allowed to object what they pleaſed. The firſt queſtion propounded was, 'What the 'church is, and where it is?' *Zuinglius* diſtinguiſhed, and ſaid, "That the church was taken in two ſenſes: "Firſt, For the congregation of all true Chriſtians, of "whom *Jeſus Chriſt* is the head: Secondly, For the par-"ticular congregation of Chriſtians in one place:" And he maintained, that the congregations of cardinals and biſhops were not the church. He declared, his diſregard of the councils, his contempt of the pope's decree, and his neglect of the emperor's edict. *Leo Judæ* oppoſed the uſe of images by texts of the Old Teſtament, whereby it was forbidden the Jews to make or worſhip any graven image; and by ſuch places of the New Teſtament, wherein the adoration of idols was prohibited. *Zuinglius* maintained, that images were not to be tolerated, and that the law of God forbad them abſolutely. The reſolution of this firſt conference was, that no images were to be allowed among Chriſtians.

In the ſecond conference, they diſcourſed about the maſs, which *Zuinglius* maintained was no ſacrifice. The three arbitrators, appointed by the ſenate, gave ſentence, that 'The abuſes of images and maſſes were ſufficiently 'proved by the word of God; therefore, they left it to

'the ſenate to enquire how they might be aboliſhed with-
'out offence.' This was the reſult of the conference, which was followed with an edict, whereby it was forbidden to the prieſts and monks to make any public proceſſions, to carry the holy ſacrament, or elevate it in the church to be worſhipped. Relics were taken out of churches: It was ordered, that organs ſhould not be played, or bells be rung; that palm-branches, ſalt, or tapers ſhould not be bleſſed; and that extreme unction ſhould not be adminiſtered to the ſick. Thus, part of the outward worſhip and ceremonies of the church of *Rome* were aboliſhed in the canton of *Zurick*.

The other twelve cantons were diſſatisfied with this edict, which was maintained by the canton of *Zurick*, whoſe ſenators ordered all the images to be pulled down.

Zuinglius himſelf relates in his book *Coronis de Euchariſtiâ*, *Oper. part.* II. *fol.* 249. that when one of his opponents, in the conference, challenged him to ſhew, in any place of ſcripture, where the verb *eſt* (is) ſtood for *ſignificat* (ſignifies) without an evident tropical alluſion; ſuch as where *Chriſt* ſays, *the ſeed* IS *the word of God*, in which place, *is*, evidently means *ſignifies*; or, *I* AM *the door*, *the vine*, &c. which are tropical expreſſions at firſt ſight; but that *hoc eſt corpus meum* did not neceſſarily and obviouſly imply, *this* SIGNIFIES *my body*, or that our Lord uſed in that caſe a figurative way of ſpeech: *Zuinglius* was puzzled at the time, and (as he ſays) for thirteen days afterwards, in which he was continually revolving the matter in his mind, and turning over his bible inceſſantly, but without the explicit ſatisfaction he deſired. At length, in his ſleep, he dreamed that he was in diſputation with his adverſary, who preſſed him very cloſe with this circumſtance, inſomuch that he ſeemed to have given up the point, and to be ſtruck dumb before the audience. While he was in this perplexity, he ſaw in his viſion a form approaching to him, and ſaying, 'O thou unwiſe 'one, why doſt not anſwer to him the word of the Lord 'in *Exod.* xii. 11. where it is expreſsly and poſitively 'ſaid of the *Lamb* that was eaten, IT IS *the Lord's* PASS-'OVER, or *paſſage out of* Egypt.'—He awoke from his ſleep, and with this proof, in the next day's diſcourſe, he refuted the objection of his adverſary, ſhewing that, in this text, the word *is* neceſſarily means *ſignifies*. The elder *Spanheim* could not but believe, from the occaſion, the matter, and the uſe, that this viſion was θεοπεμπτον, ſent from God; and the excellent *Witſius* inclines to the

ſame opinion, confirming it by the modeſt and ſober manner in which *Zuinglius* himſelf relates the ſtory. See WITSII *Miſcell. Sacr. Lib.* 1. *c.* 24.

About this time, *Zuinglius* wrote ſeveral books in defence of his doctrine. The firſt was a large explication of the propoſitions, which he had delivered in the firſt conference. The ſecond was a diſcourſe dedicated to all the cantons of *Switzerland*; exhorting them not to impede the progreſs of his doctrine, nor to be diſſatisfied with the marriages of prieſts. The third was an anſwer to the advice, which the biſhop of *Conſtance* had given to the ſenate of *Zurick*, to oppoſe innovations. He alſo wrote a book about the certainty and evidence of the word of God: Two treatiſes againſt the canon of the maſs: A letter concerning the grace of *Jeſus Chriſt:* And an anſwer to a book written by *Jerom Emſer.*

The biſhop of *Conſtance*, in 1524, publiſhed a book in vindication of images and the maſs. This was preſented to the ſenate of *Zurick*; and *Zuinglius* anſwered it in their name.

Zuinglius, *Leo Judæ*, *Engelhardus*, *Megander*, and *Myconius*, on the eleventh of *April*, 1525, petitioned the ſenate of *Zurick* to aboliſh the maſs, and the adoration of the elements in the ſacraments; in conſequence of which, the ſenate made a decree, whereby the maſs was aboliſhed for ever, and the ſacrament was ordered to be received after another manner.

The form of celebrating the Lord's Supper preſcribed by *Zuinglius*, differed more from the church of *Rome*, than the form preſcribed by *Luther*. He ordered, "that the "table ſhould be covered with a white cloth; on which "were to be ſet the patin full of leavened bread, and "veſſels filled with wine: That the miniſter and dea-"cons ſhould ſtand by the table, where they were to "exhort the people to approach with reverence; after "which, one of the deacons ſhould read the inſtitution "of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the epiſtle to the "*Corinthians*; and another ſhould repeat a part of the "ſixth chapter of St. *John:* That the miniſter ſhould "then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants "to examine their own conſciences, that they might not "be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord by re-"ceiving them unworthily: That the miniſter and peo-"ple ſhould then kneel, and ſay the Lord's Prayer; "after which, the miniſter ſhould take the bread in his "hands, and deliver the words of the inſtitution of the "Lord's

" Lord's Supper with an audible voice; then give the " bread and wine to the deacons, who ſhould diſtribute " them to the people, while the miniſter ſhould read the " diſcourſe which our Saviour had with his diſciples be- " fore his paſſion, as related in the goſpel of St. *John.*" This was the form of adminiſtering the ſacrament, which *Zuinglius* appointed to be uſed. He maintained, in his doctrine concerning the ſacrament, that theſe words of *Jeſus Chriſt*, " *This is my body, this is my blood*, are to be " underſtood thus: *This ſignifies my body and blood; this* " *bread and this wine are a figure of my body and blood;* " *this is a teſtimony and pledge, that my body ſhall be deli-* " *vered up, and broken for you upon the croſs, and my blood* " *ſhall be ſhed for you.*" From whence it follows, that not only the bread and wine exiſt after conſecration; but alſo, that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are not preſent in the Euchariſt; and that the bread and wine are only a figure of the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, communicated in a ſpiritual manner by faith.

In 1525, he publiſhed his book *De vera et falſa Religione*, which was dedicated, and preſented to *Francis* I. of *France*.

Luther declared againſt the doctrine of *Zuinglius*, which *Oecolampadius* embraced. *Zuinglius* was leſs concerned at the writings of the catholics than of *Luther*, who publiſhed a ſermon at *Wittenberg* about the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which he made againſt the giddy-headed ſpirits, *contra ſpiritus vertiginoſos*, as he called the Zuinglians. A confutation of this ſermon was wrote by *Zuinglius*, who ſent letters to *Nuremberg* upon that ſubject. He alſo anſwered the letters which *Pelicanus*, and *Urbanus Regius*, wrote againſt him: And he compoſed a work, entitled, The Lord's Supper. In 1527, he drew up an apology againſt a book written by *Jacobus Strauſſius*, wherein he explained the Lord's Supper at large, dedicated to *Luther*, and anſwered his ſermon at *Wittenberg* againſt the Sacramentarians.

Bucer wrote ſeveral tracts in defence of the Zuinglians, and aſſiſted *Oecolampadius* in confuting the large confeſſion of *Luther*. The papiſts found, that the Zuinglians were more to be feared than the Lutherans, and exerted their utmoſt endeavors to prevent the ſpreading of that ſect in the popiſh cantons of *Switzerland*.

The Reformation gained ground, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the emperor, the biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Lauſanne*, and *Sion*, and eight of the cantons.

Another general aſſembly was convened at *Bern* by *Zuinglius*, on the ſeventh of *January* 1528, when the doctrines of the church of *Rome* were condemned. The opinions of *Zuinglius* were then introduced all over *Bern*, which example was imitated by the cantons of *Baſil* and *Schaffhauſen*. This occaſioned ill blood: But the imprudence of the inhabitants of *Underwald*, who protected the revolters from *Bern*, conduced moſt to the embroiling the cantons. The Zurickeſe armed themſelves, and were on the point of attacking the five cantons of *Lucern*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Zug*, and *Underwald*: But, by an agreement made at *Caſſel*, it was determined, 'that there ſhould be 'liberty of conſcience throughout *Switzerland*: And that 'the five cantons ſhould renounce their alliance with 'the emperor *Ferdinand*.' *Henry* VIII. of *England* employed *Grynæus* to try what *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and *Bucer*, thought of his marriage with his queen *Catharine*. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* were of opinion, that the iſſue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received miſtake, ought not to be illegitimated.

There was great altercation between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, before the citizens of *Bern* aboliſhed popery. *Conſtance*, *Geneva*, *Baſil*, and *Straſburg*, alſo threw off the yoke, and pulled down the altars and images in all places. But *Bucer* was embarraſſed between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and endeavored to procure a good underſtanding between them in vain.

It muſt however be obſerved, that the only principal ground of difference was upon the ſubject of the ſacrament, and that, in this reſpect alſo, both parties were far enough from the *Romiſh* opinion. In the other material points, both Lutherans and Zuinglians were ſufficiently agreed, as appears by the acts of the ſynod held at *Marpurg*, under the auſpices of the landgrave of *Heſſe*, in the year 1529, where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were preſent, and formed an agreement upon the following articles: *viz.* 1. On the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead. 2. On the incarnation of the Word. 3. On the paſſion and reſurrection of *Chriſt*. 4. On the article of original ſin. 5. On the article of faith in *Chriſt*. 6. That this faith doth not ſpring from human merit, but only from the gift of God. 7. That, through this faith, believers have righteouſneſs. On ſeveral other articles, reſpecting the baptiſm of infants, on confeſſion, on good works, on the civil power, on traditions, &c. And, laſtly, concerning the Lord's Supper, they mutually agreed, that it ought to be

adminiſtered

adminiſtered in both kinds; that the maſs is no ſuch work or ſacrifice, as to obtain grace either for quick or dead; that the ſacrament is a true ſacrament of the body and blood of *Chriſt*; that the ſpiritual manducation of his body and blood is the true receiving of this ſacrament and neceſſary for all believers; and that the Spirit of GOD confers grace in the faithful uſe of it. In fine, as *Martin Bucer* obſerved, there was a greater difference in charity between both parties, than in the true ſtate of the doctrine. There were, indeed, warm men on both ſides, who, however ſincerely pious and meaning what was right, could not yield up their own formulary, though undeniably eſſential to the peace of the church and the ſpreading intereſt of the proteſtant religion.

The diet of *Augſburg* was held in 1530, to conſult about matters of religion, and the war againſt the *Turks*. The proteſtant princes publicly read their confeſſion of faith; and the catholic divines drew up a confutation of it. The proteſtants preſented an 'apology for their 'confeſſion to the emperor, who would not receive it, 'though it was drawn up by *Melancthon*, with his uſual 'moderation.'

The Zuinglians alſo preſented their confeſſion of faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of *Straſburg*, *Conſtance*, *Memmingen*, and *Landau*. It was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito*; but contained nothing about the Trinity, or Incarnation, that was contrary to the doctrine of the *Romiſh* church. They held, 'That men are juſtified 'only by the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and faith: That 'good works are neceſſary; and ſo is obedience to ma-'giſtrates: They commended faſting and prayer; but 'condemned the worſhip and interceſſion of ſaints, vows, 'and the monaſtic ſtate: They allowed of ſuch tradi-'tions as are not contrary to the word of God; and de-'fined the church to be a congregation of true believers. 'They allowed of only two ſacraments; baptiſm, and 'the Lord's Supper; and that God unites Chriſtians in 'an outward communion by thoſe ſacred ſymbols; not 'only becauſe they are viſible ſigns of inviſible grace, but 'alſo becauſe they are teſtimonies of our faith. They 'diſapproved of private maſſes, and confeſſion: And 'concluded with a long invective againſt the court of '*Rome*.'

This confeſſion of faith was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans; and the emperor ordered *Faber* and *Eckius* to draw up an anſwer to it, which was read in

a full diet; and the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their doctrine. *Zuinglius* ſoon after wrote a letter to the proteſtant princes in defence of his opinions againſt *Eckius*, and particularly concerning the ſacrament of the Euchariſt, wherein he expreſsly denied the real preſence, concerning which the Lutherans had not been ſo explicit; for *Bucer* drew up this article of the Supper in ſuch ambiguous terms, that the Lutherans might not be condemned. *Melancthon* and *Brentius* publiſhed a treatiſe, to ſhew, that the doctrine of the Zuinglians was entirely different from the Lutherans, whatever ambiguity there was in their words.

Zuinglius alſo ſent to the diet a particular confeſſion of faith, comprized in twelve articles, relating to the Trinity and incarnation; the fall of man, and neceſſity of grace; original ſin; baptiſm of infants; the church; the ſacraments; ceremonies; the miniſtry of the goſpel; the authority of magiſtrates; and purgatory.

The emperor publiſhed the decree of the diet againſt the proteſtants and ſacramentarians, which neither obeyed: But the proteſtant princes, and the reformed cantons of *Switzerland*, entered into a confederacy to defend themſelves and their religion, againſt the emperor and the *Roman* catholic powers. This was the league of *Smalkald*, concluded in 1531, upon the ſucceſs of which the proteſtant religion depended.

The ſame year a civil war began in *Switzerland*, between the five catholic cantons, and thoſe of *Zurick* and *Bern*. The Zurickeſe were defeated in their own territories, with the loſs of four hundred men. *Zuinglius*, who accompanied them, was killed in this action, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Great cruelty was ſhewn to his corpſe, and it was attempted to be burnt.

Much has been ſaid by the enemies of *Zuinglius*, reſpecting his appearance on the field of battle; but it may be obſerved, what *Oecolampadius* and *Sleidan* have urged in his defence, that it was the cuſtom of the Zurickeſe, from time immemorial, when they engaged in war, to have the chief miniſter of their church attendant upon them, both to preach to the people and to pray for a bleſſing upon their arms. And, it muſt be owned in this view, it could be no more improper for him, than for the chaplains who are now appointed to accompany regiments in their campaigns, or to ſail in ſhips of war. Perhaps, no order of men require inſtruction in religious duties more than ſoldiers, who have always, in actual ſervice, the

proſpect

proſpect of death before them, and who certainly cannot be the worſe, either in morality or courage, for being prepared for it. It may be added, that *Zuinglius* went not forth of his own accord: He was abſolutely enforced and commanded by the ſenate, in point of duty. He did not go forth 'as a captain or commander of the army, 'but as a good citizen and faithful paſtor, who would 'not forſake his friends in their greateſt peril; nay, he 'went (ſays *Melchior Adam*) as a perſuader to peace. About 'three hundred and eighty of his friends fell with him.' The action was on the 11th of *October*, in the year 1531.

'The compilers of the Biographical Dictionary (ſays a 'late able writer) in tranſlating ſome of *Zuinglius*'s dying 'words, have been guilty of an over-ſight, which does 'no more honour to their preciſion, than juſtice to the 'Chriſtian heroiſm of that great man. Upon receiving 'his death's wound, ſay they, and falling, he was heard 'to utter theſe words, *What a misfortune is this?* &c. 'Rather, what a *misfortune* is it, when fine ſentiments 'are murdered in the relating!—The fact was this. 'During the hurry of the fight, *Zuinglius*, overwhelmed 'by the preſs of the ruſhing enemy, was thrice thrown 'down, and recovered his feet as often. At laſt, a wea-'pon, doomed to extinguiſh one of the moſt valuable 'lives that ever added luſture to religion and learning, 'entering under his chin, transfixed his throat. The 'holy man, falling firſt on his knees, and then ſinking 'to the ground, uttered theſe noble ſentences: *Ecquid 'hoc infortunii?* CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED AS A CALA-'MITY? *Age, corpus quidem occidere poſſunt; animam non 'poſſunt:* WELL! THEY ARE ABLE, INDEED, TO SLAY 'THE BODY: BUT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO KILL THE 'SOUL. Could any thing be more truly Chriſtian, more 'divinely triumphant, more ſublimely philoſophic? His 'body being found by the papiſts, among the ſlain, they 'burned it to aſhes: Which occaſioned theſe elegant 'verſes, conſecrated to his memory by *Beza*.'

ZUINGLIUS *arderet gemino quum ſanctus amore,*
Nempe DEI *imprimis, deinde etiam* PATRIÆ;
Dicitur in ſolidum ſe devoviſſe duobus:
Nempe DEO *imprimis, deinde etiam* PATRIÆ.
Quàm benè perſolvit ſimul iſtis vota duobus!
Pro patriâ exanimis, pro pietate cinis!

After this battle, matters were accommodated: And it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, ſhould not

not moleſt each other on a religious account; and that the papiſts ſhould renounce their league with the emperor, and the Zuinglians the ſame with the landgrave of *Heſſe*. Their contentions were renewed in 1577, which ended in acknowledging *Geneva* to be a free ſtate by the duke of *Savoy*: And, by the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, in 1648, the emperors of *Germany* loſt all authority in *Switzerland*. The abbot of St. *Gall* renewed the diſpute in 1712, which was ended, after the battle of *Wilmerguen*, by the treaty of *Roſchau* in 1714.

Peace was ſettled in *Germany* by the treaty of *Nuremberg*, in 1532: But theſe religious diſputes broke out again in 1612. The proteſtants were aſſiſted by *Guſtavus Adolphus* king of *Sweden*, who loſt his life at *Lutzen* in 1632: And the proteſtant intereſt was very much ſtrengthened by the treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Oſnabrug* in 1648.

Zuinglius was ſucceeded by *Henry Bullinger*; and his doctrine was vindicated againſt *Luther* by *Bucer*. The long diſputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded in 1538, by a pretended treaty of accord: But this was a work of diſguiſe and diſſimulation, and as little durable as it was ſincere. The *Switzers* continued in the opinion of *Zuinglius*: But the cities of *Straſburg*, *Augſburg*, *Memmingen*, and *Landau*, became Lutherans, by keeping literally to the expreſſions of the articles of agreement.

The works of *Zuinglius*, and an apology for his doctrine, were publiſhed by *Rodolphus Gualterus*. The *Switzers* paid the utmoſt gratitude to his memory; and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a *Grecian* funeral, for a man who had devoted his life to the ſervice of his country.

Zuinglius and *Oecolampadius* were more eſteemed by the learned men of their time, than any other of the Reformers; becauſe they had more moderation. *Zuinglius* was ſucceſsful againſt the enthuſiaſts, called Anabaptiſts: And ſome have confidently affirmed, that he was for putting them to death; and ſaid, "Let him who dippeth "again, be dipped; that is, drowned:" But it is a very improbable ſtory, ſince *Minius Celſus* himſelf, namely, *Sebaſtian Caſtalio*, whoſe teſtimony in points of this kind ought to be credited, having publicly defended his poſition, 'That heretics ought not to be put to death;' appeals to the authority of *Zuinglius*, and affirms, that the Anabaptiſts at that time never ſuffered on account of their opinions,

opinions, as heretics, but of their evil actions, as perjured and ſeditious rebels.

The firſt Anabaptiſts ſhewed a ſurprizing mixture of folly, ſtupidity, wickedneſs, and religious frenzy. An immoral fanatic is of all animals the moſt dangerous to the church and ſtate; and the hiſtory of theſe Anabaptiſts is an everlaſting monument of the miſchief, which ſuch people can perpetrate.

Pellicanus threatened *Eraſmus* with an attack from *Zuinglius*; and *Eraſmus* declared that he feared not ten *Zuinglius*'s. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one *Zuinglius* about the euchariſt; and, from the manner in which he had ſpoken of the performance of *Oecolampadius*, it appears, that he thought it not ſo eaſy a matter to refute theſe divines. Very true it is, that the ſtruggles of the Reformers drew a terrible perſecution upon them and their ſucceſſors: But it was through the fault of that church, to which *Eraſmus* wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that *Eraſmus* could eaſily have embraced the ſentiments of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, if his mother the church would have given him leave.

Zuinglius had ſkill in muſic, and a love for it. He always ſtudied ſtanding, and was always a great ſtudent. He received a moſt courteous letter from pope *Adrian* VI. and might have had any favors, if he had declared himſelf a friend to the ſee of *Rome*.

He wrote four volumes in folio: viz. TOME the firſt, containing, 1. A work of articles. 2. An exhortation to the whole ſtate of *Switzerland*. 3. A ſupplication to the *biſhop* of CONSTANCE. 4. Of the certainty and purity of GOD's word. 5. An anſwer to VALENTINE of the authority of the fathers. 6. Inſtitutions for youth. 7. A good ſhepherd. 8. Of juſtice divine and human. 9. Of providence.

TOME the ſecond, 1. Of baptiſm. 2. Of original ſin. 3. Of true and falſe religion. 4. An epiſtle to the princes of GERMANY. 5. Of the Lord's Supper. 6. Of Chriſtian faith, written to the FRENCH king.

TOME the third, 1. Commentaries on GENESIS. 2. EXODUS. 3. ISAIAH. 4. JEREMIAH. 5. The PSALTER out of *Hebrew* into *Latin*.

TOME the fourth, 1. Annotations on the four EVANGELISTS. 2. Hiſtory of our SAVIOUR's *paſſion*. 3. Annotations on ROMANS. 4. CORINTHIANS. 5. PHILIPPIANS. 6. COLOSSIANS. 7. THESSALONIANS. 8. HEBREWS. 9. JAMES. 10. The firſt epiſtle of JOHN.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY, an *Engliſhman*, was brought up at the univerſity of *Cambridge* from a youth, where he became ſo great a proficient in all the liberal ſciences, that in a ſhort time he commenced batchelor in both laws. But being enlightened by the Spirit of *Chriſt*, and his heart endued with the knowledge of better things, he left the ſtudy of man's laws, and devoted himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of divinity. Mr. *Bilney*, in a *Latin* letter to *Cuthbert Tonſtal*, biſhop of *London*, gives the following account of his converſion: Comparing the prieſts and friars to the phyſicians, upon whom the woman, vexed twelve years with a bloody iſſue, ſpent all that ſhe had, and found no help, but was ſtill worſe and worſe; till at laſt ſhe came to *Chriſt*, and was healed by Him:—

"O (ſaid he) the mighty power of the Moſt High! which "I alſo, a miſerable ſinner, have often taſted and felt; "whereas before, I ſpent all I had upon thoſe ignorant "phyſicians, inſomuch that I had little ſtrength left in "me. But, at laſt, I heard of JESUS; and that was "when the New Teſtament was tranſlated by *Eraſmus*; "for at that time I knew not what it meant. But looking into the New Teſtament, by God's ſpecial providence, I met with thoſe words of the apoſtle St. *Paul*, "*This is a true ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation, that* "Jeſus Chriſt *came into the world to ſave ſinners, whereof* "*I am chief.* O moſt ſweet and comfortable ſentence "to my ſoul! This one ſentence, through God's inſtruction and inward working, did ſo exhilarate my "heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my "ſins, and almoſt in deſpair, that immediately I found "wonderful comfort and quietneſs in my ſoul; ſo that "my bruiſed bones leaped for joy.

"After this, the ſcriptures became ſweeter to me than "the honey and the honey-comb: For by them I learned, "that all my travels, faſtings, watchings, redemption of "maſſes, and pardons, without faith in *Chriſt*, were but, "as St. *Auguſtine* calls them, A haſty running out of the "right way; and as fig-leaves, which could not cover

"*Adam*'s

" *Adam*'s nakedneſs.—For as *Adam* could find no reſt to " his guilty ſoul, till he believed in the promiſe of God, " That *Chriſt*, the ſeed of the woman, ſhould tread upon " the ſerpent's head; ſo neither could I find deliverance " from the ſharp ſtings and bitings of my ſins, till I was " taught of God that leſſon which *Chriſt* ſpake of in the " third chapter of *John*: *As* Moſes *lifted up the ſerpent in* " *the wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of Man be lifted up:* " *That whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have* " *everlaſting life.*

" As ſoon as, by the grace of God, I began to taſte " the ſweets of this heavenly leſſon, which no man can " teach, but God alone, who revealed it to *Peter*; I beg- " ged of the Lord to increaſe my faith: And at laſt I " deſired nothing more, than that I, being ſo comforted " by him, might be ſtrengthened by his holy Spirit and " grace, that I might teach ſinners his ways, which are " mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be con- " verted unto him by me, who alſo was once myſelf a " ſinner indeed. And it is my only comfort in theſe my " afflictions, that this is what I laboured at before the " cardinal, &c. when *Chriſt* was blaſphemed in me, whom " with my whole power I do teach and ſet forth, to be " *made of God* the Father *unto us wiſdom, righteouſneſs,* " *ſanctification, and redemption*, and finally our ſatisfaction. " *—Who was made ſin for us* (that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for " ſin) *that we through him ſhould be made the righteouſneſs* " *of God.—Who became accurſed for us, to redeem us from* " *the curſe of the law.*—Who alſo *came not to call the righ-* " *teous, but ſinners to repentance.* The righteous, I ſay, " who falſly think themſelves ſo to be, *for* ALL *have ſin-* " *ned, and come ſhort of the glory of God*, all mankind was " grievouſly wounded in him who fell among thieves " between *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*; therefore we *are juſti-* " *fied freely by God's grace, through the redemption that is in* " Jeſus Chriſt.

" And therefore with all my power I teach, that all " men ſhould firſt acknowledge their ſins, and condemn " them; and that they ſhould then hunger and thirſt after " that righteouſneſs, of which St. *Paul* ſpeaks; *the righ-* " *teouſneſs of God by faith of* Jeſus Chriſt *is unto all, and* " *upon all them that believe; for there is no difference: For* " *all have ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God*; and " *are juſtified freely by his grace, through the redemption that* " *is in* Jeſus Chriſt. For which whoſoever doth hunger

" and thirſt, without doubt, they ſhall be ſo ſatisfied that " they ſhall not hunger and thirſt for ever.

" But as this hunger and thirſt uſed to be quenched " with the fulneſs of man's righteouſneſs, which is " wrought through the faith of our own elect and choſen " works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of " candles, elect and choſen faſts, and often ſuperſtitious, " and indeed all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call " them) againſt the expreſs word of God, (*Deut.* iv. 2.) " which ſays, *Ye ſhall not add unto the word which I com-* " *mand you, neither ſhall you diminiſh ought from it.* There- " fore, I ſay, often have I ſpoke of theſe works; not " condemning them (as God is my witneſs) but reprov- " ing their abuſe; ſhewing, even unto children, how far " they might be uſed lawfully; but exhorting all men " not ſo to uſe them, as to be ſatisfied in them, leſt they " ſhould loath or grow weary of *Chriſt*, as many do."

In another letter to the ſame biſhop he thus writes, " What ſhall we then ſay of that learning, which hath " now ſo long time reigned and triumphed, ſo that no " man hath once opened his mouth againſt it? Shall we " think it ſound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never " more abound, nor charity was never ſo cold. And " what ſhall we ſay is the cauſe? Has it been for want " of preaching againſt the vices of men, and exhorting " to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and " great clerks ſufficiently can witneſs to the contrary. " And yet, notwithſtanding, we ſee the life and manners " of men do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianity, " and ſeem indeed to proclaim, that it is fulfilled in us, " which God in times paſt threatened by his prophet " *Amos*, ſaying, *Behold, the days come, ſaith the Lord GOD,* " *that I will ſend a famine in the land, not a famine of bread,* " *nor a thirſt for water, but of hearing the words of the* " LORD. *And they ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from* " *the north even to the eaſt, they ſhall run to and fro to ſeek* " *the word of the LORD, and ſhall not find it. In that day* " *ſhall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirſt, &c.* " But now to paſs over many things, on account of " which I am afraid the word of God hath not been " purely preached, one (and that not the leaſt) is, that " they who come and are ſent, and labour to preach " *Chriſt* truly, are evil ſpoken of for his name, who is " the rock of offence, and ſtumbling block unto them " which ſtumble upon his word, and do not believe on " him on whom they [ſay they] are built.

" But

" But you will ask, Who are those men, and what is " their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entereth in by " the door into the sheepfold, which all shall do, who " seek nothing but the glory of God, and the salvation " of souls; and it may be truly said of all such, as the " Lord sends, that they speak the WORD of GOD. And " why so? Because he representeth the angel of the " church of *Philadelphia*, unto whom St. *John* writeth, " saying; *This*, saith he, *who is holy and true, who hath* " *the keys of* David, *who openeth and no man shutteth, shut-* " *teth and no man openeth. Behold*, saith he, speaking in " the name of *Christ*, (who is the Door and Door-keeper) " *I have set before thee an open Door*; that is to say, of " the scriptures; opening thy understanding, that thou " shouldest understand the scriptures, and that because " thou hast entered in by Me who am the Door: *I am* " *the Door: By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved,* " *and shall go in and out and find pasture:* For the Door-" keeper openeth the Door unto him, and the sheep hear " his voice. But, on the other hand, they who have " not entered in by the Door, but have climbed in some " other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they " shall, even in a moment, go down into hell, except they " repent. And in them is verified the saying of *Jere-* " *miah, All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion,* " *because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture.* " And why so? Because, like thieves and robbers, they " have climbed up another way, not being called nor " sent.

" And what wonder is it, if they do not preach, when " they are not sent, but run for lucre, seeking their own " glory, and not the glory of God and the salvation of " souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the " church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For " without this inward calling of God, it helpeth no-" thing to be a hundred times consecrated by a thousand " bulls, either of pope, king, or emperor. God be-" holdeth the heart, whose judgements are according to " truth, howsoever we deceive the judgement of men for " a time; who also at last shall see their abomination. " This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, " that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, " whose salvation and the glory of God (which is to " enter in by the Door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but " altogether our own lucre and profit."

Bilney

Bilney now counted godlineſs his greateſt gain; and as his own heart was enflamed with a ſincere love to *Chriſt* and his goſpel, ſo his great deſire was to bring others to embrace the ſame: Nor were his labors in vain, for he was inſtrumental in the converſion of many of the gownſmen, among whom was the afterwards celebrated Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, at that time croſs-keeper in *Cambridge*, (whoſe office it was to bring it forth on proceſſion-days) and who afterwards (as will be ſhewn in his life) ſealed the truth of *Chriſt* with his blood. *Bilney* was not ſatisfied with a narrow limit, but extended his labors beyond the univerſity, and went to ſeveral parts of the country preaching the goſpel where ever he came; ſharply reproving the pride and pomp of the clergy, and ſtriving to overthrow the authority of the biſhop of *Rome*. He had for an aſſociate, Mr. *Thomas Arthur*, a fellow collegian, whom he had been inſtrumental in converting from popery. Cardinal *Wolſey*, at that time high in power, apprehenſive of the moſt fatal conſequences to the ſee of *Rome* and his own grandeur, if once the light of the goſpel ſhould ſhine openly, cauſed *Bilney* to be apprehended. Accordingly, on the 25th day of *November*, in 1527, Mr. *Bilney* was brought before the ſaid cardinal and many others, both biſhops and lawyers, ſitting in the chapter-houſe of *Weſtminſter*, and there examined; 'Whether he had not publicly and privately taught the opinions of *Luther*, or of 'any other, condemned by the church?' To which Mr. *Bilney* anſwered, "That wittingly he had not preached "or taught any of *Luther*'s opinions, or any other, con"trary to the catholic church." After many interrogatories and anſwers, the cardinal cauſed him to ſwear, that he would anſwer plainly to the articles and errors preached and ſet forth by him in different places, againſt a certain time; and then delivered him over to the biſhop of *London* for further examination.

On the third of *December* following, the biſhop of *London*, and other biſhops his aſſiſtants, aſſembled again in the ſame place, and, after ſome examination, repeatedly exhorted *Bilney* to abjure and recant. But he anſwered, That he would ſtand to his conſcience; ſaying, "*Fiat* "*juſtitia & judicium in nomine Domini.*" i. e. Let juſtice and judgement be done in the name of the Lord. Then the biſhop, putting off his cap, ſaid, '*In nomine Patris &* '*Filii & Spiritus ſancti*, Amen. *Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur* '*inimici ejus.*' [i. e. in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Let God ariſe, and let

let his enemies be ſcattered] And making a croſs on his forehead and breaſt, he then, by the counſel of the other biſhops, read part of the ſentence againſt Mr. *Bilney*, withholding the reſt till the next day, to ſee if he would recant; but he then likewiſe refuſed for ſome time to abjure: But at the laſt, after four ſeveral appearances before his judges, through infirmity and the perſuaſion of his friends, rather than from conviction, he recanted on the ſeventh day of *December*, in 1529. By way of penance for his heretical lapſe (as it was termed) he was remanded to priſon, there to remain till cardinal *Wolſey* ſhould be pleaſed to releaſe him, and that he ſhould lead the proceſſion, on the next day, bareheaded to St. *Paul*'s, with a faggot upon his ſhoulder, and ſtand before the preacher at St. *Paul's-Croſs* [the then famous place for public preaching] during the ſermon.

After this abjuration, *Bilney* went to *Cambridge*, but had ſuch conflicts within himſelf upon the conſideration of what he had done, that he was overwhelmed with ſorrow, and brought to the very brink of deſpair. *Latimer*, in a ſermon preached in *Lincolnſhire*, ſays, 'When Mr. *Bilney* 'came again to *Cambridge*, for a whole year after, he was 'in ſuch an anguiſh and agony, that nothing did him 'good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the 'whole ſcriptures were againſt him, and ſounded to his 'condemnation. So that I many a time communed with 'him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all 'things, whatſoever any man could alledge to his comfort, ſeemed to him to make againſt him. Yet, for all 'that, afterward he came again; God indued him with 'ſuch ſtrength and perfectneſs of faith, that he not only 'confeſſed his faith in the goſpel of our Saviour *Jeſus* '*Chriſt*, but alſo ſuffered his body to be burned for that 'ſame goſpel's ſake, which we now preach in *England*.'

Again; *Latimer* in his firſt ſermon before the ducheſs of *Suffolk*, ſpeaking of *Bilney*, ſays, 'Here I have occa'ſion to tell you a ſtory which happened at *Cambridge*. 'Maſter *Bilney*, or rather St. *Bilney*, who ſuffered death 'for God's word's ſake, the ſame *Bilney* was the inſtru'ment by whom God called me to his knowledge. For I 'may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that 'I have in the word of God: For I was as obſtinate a 'papiſt as any was in *England*; inſomuch that when I 'ſhould be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration 'was againſt *Philip Melancthon*, and againſt his opinions.

'*Bilney*,

'*Bilney* heard me at that time, and perceived that I was 'zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward 'in my ſtudy, and deſired me for God's ſake to hear his 'confeſſion. I did ſo: And (to ſay the truth) by his 'confeſſion I learned more than afore in many years. So 'from that time forward I began to taſte the word of 'God, and forſake the ſchool-doctors and ſuch fooleries, '&c.' Being by the grace of God, and conferences with good men, again reſtored to peace in his conſcience, after almoſt two years' [from 1529 to 1531] deep ſorrow and remorſe, *Bilney* reſolved to give up his life in the ſervice and defence of that truth which before he had renounced, rather than renounce it again. Accordingly, he took his leave, one evening, of his friends at *Trinity-hall*, ſaying, "That he would go up to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo ſhould ſee "them no more;" alluding to *Chriſt*'s going up to *Jeruſalem* before his paſſion. He went immediately into *Norfolk*, and there preached, firſt privately in houſes, ſtrengthening the faithful, and afterwards openly in the fields; bewailing his former ſubſcription, and begging of all men to take warning by him, and never to truſt to the counſel of friends, ſo called, when their purpoſe is to draw them from the true religion. Soon after his arrival at *Norwich*, upon his giving away a *New Teſtament* of *Tindal*'s tranſlation, and *The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man*, he was apprehended and put in priſon, and Dr. *Call* and Dr. *Stokes*, and many others, were ſent both to perſuade him to recant, and to diſpute with him; the former of theſe, by *Bilney*'s doctrine and conduct, was in a great meaſure drawn over to ſide with the goſpel. After many tedious diſputes, ſeeing they could by no means draw Mr. *Bilney* from the truth, they condemned him to be burned.

The night before he ſuffered, he was viſited by many of his friends, who rejoiced to ſee him very chearful and to eat his food with a glad heart, ſeeing he was ſhortly to ſuffer ſuch painful torments. "O," ſaid he, "I "imitate thoſe, who, having a ruinous houſe to dwell in, "hold it up by props as long as they can." In the courſe of their converſation, one of them obſerved to him, 'That 'though the fire, which he was to ſuffer the next day, 'would be of great heat to his body, yet it would be but 'for a moment, and that the Spirit of God would refreſh 'and cool his ſoul with everlaſting comfort:' *Bilney* inſtantly put his finger into the flame of a candle, as he had often done before, and anſwered,—"I feel, by experi-"ence, that the fire is hot; yet I am perſuaded by God's

"holy

" holy word, and by the experience of ſome ſpoken of " in it, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the " fire no conſumption: And I believe, that though the " ſtubble of my body ſhall be waſted, yet my ſoul ſhall " thereby be purged; and that, after ſhort pain, joy " unſpeakable will follow." At the ſame time having turned to *Iſaiah* xliii. 1, 2. he deſcanted ſo powerfully, and with ſo much of comfort and edification, both with reſpect to his own caſe, and to that of his friends, that, it is ſaid, many of his friends retained a comfortable remembrance of it to their dying-day.

As he was led forth to the place of execution, one of his friends ſpake to him, praying to God to ſtrengthen him, and to enable him patiently to endure his torments: To whom Mr. *Bilney* anſwered, with a quiet and pleaſant countenance; " When the mariner undertakes a voyage, " he is toſſed on the billows of the troubled ſeas, yet, in " the midſt of all, he beareth up his ſpirits with this " conſideration, that e'er long he ſhall come into his quiet " harbour; ſo (added he) I am now ſailing upon the " troubled ſea, but e'er long my *ſhip* ſhall be in a quiet " *harbour*; and I doubt not, but, through the grace of " God, I ſhall endure the *ſtorm*; only I would entreat " you to help me with your prayers."

As he went along the ſtreets of *Norwich*, he gave his money in alms to the poor, by the hands of one of his friends. Being come to the ſtake, erected in a place called the *Lollard's-Pit*, a little way out of the *Biſhops-Gate*, he there openly made a long confeſſion of his faith, in a moſt excellent manner; and gave many ſweet exhortations to the people: And then earneſtly called upon God by prayer, and ended with rehearſing the 143d *Pſalm*. When he had ended his devotions, he addreſſed himſelf to the officers, and aſked them, if they were ready. Upon being anſwered in the affirmative, he put off his jacket and doublet, (the layman's principal apparel of that time, for the eccleſiaſtics had degraded him) and in his hoſe and ſhirt, went to the ſtake, and ſtood upon a ledge that was prepared for him, that, as he was but a little man, he might be ſeen of all the people. His friend, Dr. *Warner*, who had accompanied him in priſon and to the ſtake, now came to take his laſt leave of his beloved friend; but was ſo much affected at this awful parting, that he could ſay but little for his tears. *Bilney* accoſted him with a heavenly ſmile, thanked him kindly for all his friendly attentions, and, inclining his body towards him, with a low

voice concluded his farewell in the following words, of which it is hard to ſay, whether they convey more of love to his friend or faithfulneſs to his Maſter: "*Paſce* (ſays "he) *gregem tuum, paſce gregem tuum; ut cum venerit Do-* "*minus, inveniat te ſic facientem*": i. e. Feed your flock, feed your flock; that the Lord, when he cometh, may find you ſo doing. "Farewell, dear doctor, farewell; and "pray for me." His afflicted friend could make no anſwer, but went away overwhelmed with tears and ſorrow.

Immediately afterwards, ſome mendicant friars, who had been preſent at his condemnation and degradation, and were therefore accuſed of promoting his death, deſired him to aſſure the people to the contrary, 'As (ſaid theſe 'pious beggars) they will otherwiſe withdraw their cha-'ritable alms from us all.' *Bilney* inſtantly complied with their requeſt, and aſſured the people of their innocence in that behalf.

The officers then placed the faggots about him, and ſet fire to the reeds, which preſently flamed up very high; the holy martyr, all the while, lifting up his hands towards heaven, ſometimes calling upon *Jeſus*, and ſometimes ſaying "*Credo*," i. e. I believe. The wind being high, and blowing away the flame, he ſuffered a lingering death. At laſt, one of the officers beat out the ſtaple, to which the chain was faſtened that ſupported his body, and ſo let it fall into the fire, where it was preſently conſumed. He ſuffered in the year 1531, in the time of king *Henry* the eighth.

The papiſts, and the famous Sir *Thomas More* at their head, who was lord chancellor, ſpread reports that *Bilney* again recanted, which aſperſions Mr. *Fox*, by the teſtimony of biſhop *Latimer* his moſt intimate friend, and of Mr. *Parker* (afterwards archbiſhop *Parker*) and ſeveral others, who were preſent at his ſuffering, has abundantly refuted. The Lord *kept the feet of this ſaint*, till He lifted up his ſoul, though in a fiery chariot, to his kingdom of glory.

Bilney appears to have been a man of learning, as well as piety; and is ſpoken of, by all his contemporary Reformers, with every demonſtration of reſpect and regard.

Mr.

JOHN FRITH,

JOHN FRITH, a holy martyr, and learned preacher, was born at *Sevenoak* in *Kent*, and was the firſt in *England* that profeſſedly wrote againſt *Chriſt*'s corporal preſence in the ſacrament, in which doctrine he cloſely followed *Zuinglius*. He was educated at *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and took a batchelor of arts degree there; but afterwards went to *Oxford*, and for his bright talents was choſen one of the junior canons of cardinal *Wolſey*'s new college, now called *Chriſt-Church*. Some time before the year 1525, he became acquainted with the famous *William Tindale*, who, conferring with him about the abuſes of religion, was made the happy inſtrument under God of ſowing the pure ſeed of the goſpel in his heart. *Frith*, ſhortly after, profeſſing the true religion, was ſeized and examined by the commiſſary of the univerſity, and then impriſoned within the limits of his own college, with ſeveral others, ſome of whom died with the ſevere uſage they received. Being releaſed in 1528, he went beyond ſea; where being greatly confirmed in the faith, he returned to *England* about two years after, leaving his wife and children behind him. It is ſuppoſed he had in view an exhibition of the prior of *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, and to have had the prior over with him; but coming to *Reading*, he was taken up for a vagabond, and ſet in the ſtocks: Where after ſitting a long time, and ready to die with hunger, he at laſt deſired that the ſchool-maſter of the town might come to him, who at that time was Mr. *Leonard Cox*, a learned man. *Cox*, diſcovering his merit and great abilities, by diſcourſing with him on the *Latin* and *Greek* claſſics, procured his releaſe, and ſupplied him with victuals and money. Afterwards *Frith* went to *London*; where, though he often changed both his cloaths and place, he dwelt not long in ſafety, for ſo great a perſecutor was Sir *Thomas More*, then lord chancellor, that he had his ſpies at every port and on the roads leading to them, and offered great rewards to any one that would give information of this excellent man.

It is probable, that Sir *Thomas More* was the more haſtily led to this perſecution, in conſequence of a book, which *Frith* had written againſt him. The caſe was this. *The ſupplication of the beggars*, a book, publiſhed by a Mr. *Fiſh*, of *Gray's-Inn*, inveighing againſt the impoſing arts of the *begging friars* [an order, which profeſſed poverty] and taxing the pope with extortion and cruelty, as he granted his indulgences and remiſſions from purgatory to none but thoſe who could pay for them; was received with great attention by the public, and even approved by king *Henry* the eighth himſelf, whoſe quarrel with the pope it highly favored. *More* anſwered this publication by another, entitled, *The ſupplication of the ſouls in purgatory*, expreſſing their miſeries and the relief they received by the maſſes, which were ſaid for them; and therefore they called upon their friends to ſupport the religious orders, which were now beſet with ſo many inveterate enemies. Though Sir *Thomas* had exerted his uſual wit and elegance in this compoſition; whether it proceeded from the badneſs of his cauſe, or the great inſight which the world at large had then obtained in theſe matters, his apology did not meet with any encouraging reception.

However, *Frith* anſwered this book of *More*'s in a very grave manner, and ſhewed that the doctrine of purgatory was not founded on ſcripture, that it was inconſiſtent with the merits of *Chriſt*, and his pardon of ſin, and that it directly oppoſed the great plan of his ſalvation. He alſo aſſerted, that the fire, which was ſpoken of by the apoſtle, as that which would conſume the *wood*, *hay*, and *ſtubble*, could only be meant of the fire of perſecution. He urged, that the primitive church held no ſuch doctrine; and that, as it was not in the ſcripture, ſo neither was it in *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, and *Auguſtine*, thoſe great fathers of the church. He inſiſted, that it was introduced by the monks, with innumerable fables, on purpoſe to delude the world and to amaſs great riches by it. In ſhort, this book provoked the *Romiſh* clergy to the higheſt degree; and they reſolved, as they could not convince with other reaſoning, to uſe the irreſiſtible arguments of fire and faggot upon thoſe, who thus contemned the pope's authority, lowered their own conſequence, and endangered their revenues.

Mr. *Frith* not long afterwards, converſing with a familiar friend upon the nature of the body and blood of *Chriſt* in the ſacrament, was deſired by his friend to commit the ſubſtance of his arguments to writing, for the help

help of his memory. Mr. *Frith* at firſt was unwilling, knowing what great danger he was in; but at length he complied, and wrote down the four following arguments:

"Firſt, That the matter of the ſacrament is no neceſ-
"ſary article of faith under pain of damnation.

"Secondly, That foraſmuch as *Chriſt*'s natural body
"in like condition hath all properties of our body, ſin
"only excepted; it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto
"reaſon, that he ſhould be in two places or more at once,
"contrary to the nature of our body.

"Thirdly, That we ſhould not in this place (*Matth.*
"xxvi. 26, 27, 28.) underſtand *Chriſt*'s words according
"to the literal ſenſe, but rather according to the order
"and phraſe of ſpeech, comparing phraſe with phraſe,
"according to the analogy of ſcripture.

"Laſtly, That it ought to be received according to
"the true and right inſtitution of *Chriſt*, notwithſtand-
"ing that the order which at this time is crept into the
"church, and is uſed now a days by the prieſts, do never
"ſo much differ from it."

At this time one *William Holt*, a taylor, profeſſed great friendſhip towards the religious party, and by that means had an opportunity, like another *Judas*, to betray them, which he did, by deſiring to ſee Mr. *Frith*'s arguments, and carrying them immediately to Sir *Thomas More*, who by his means found out and ſeized Mr. *Frith*, and ſent him priſoner to the tower. He had ſeveral conferences there with Sir *Thomas* and others. At length, being taken to *Lambeth*, before the archbiſhop, and afterwards to *Croydon*, before the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was at length (on the 20th of *June*, 1533) examined before an aſſembly of biſhops ſitting in St. *Paul*'s cathedral; who, after interrogating him reſpecting the ſacrament and purgatory, urged him to recant; but Mr. *Frith* fully confuted all their arguments, and, inſtead of recanting, ſubſcribed his anſwers, with his own hand, in the following manner: "*Ego* FRITHUS *ita ſentio, & quemadmodum ſentio, ita* "*dixi, ſcripſi, aſſerui, & affirmavi.*" That is, I *Frith* thus do think, and as I think, ſo I have ſaid, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have publiſhed. From the works of *Frith*, Mr. *Fox* aſſures us, that the great archbiſhop *Cranmer* collected many of his arguments in his famous book of the ſacrament, and that he gave more credit to *Frith* as an author, than to any other writer. However, *Frith* was, upon the ſcore of his writings and verbal anſwers to the biſhops, deemed incorrigible,

and

and condemned to be burnt; and accordingly was carried to *Smithfield*, with a young man, named *Andrew Hewet*, a martyr in the ſame glorious cauſe, upon the 4th of *July*, 1533. When Mr. *Frith* was tied to the ſtake, he ſhewed amazing conſtancy and courage; and, embracing the faggots and fire when put around him, evidenced how chearfully he ſuffered death for the ſake of *Chriſt* and his bleſſed truths. One Dr. *Cook*, a prieſt, ſtanding by, loudly admoniſhed the people not to pray for them, any more than if they were dogs. At which Mr. *Frith*, ſmiling, prayed the Lord to forgive him. The wind blew away the flames to his fellow martyr, *Hewet*, which occaſioned to *Frith* a very lingering and painful death; but his mind ſeemed ſo eſtabliſhed, and his patience to have ſo much of its perfect work, that it was obſerved, he ſeemed more to rejoice for his fellow-ſufferer, than to be careful about himſelf; and at laſt chearfully committed his ſoul into the hands of God. He ſuffered in the prime of his life: But it is never too early to follow the will of God or to enter into heaven.

There is a circumſtance reſpecting this conſtant martyr, *John Frith*, that may be thought not unworthy the reading. It was as follows: The archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent two of his ſervants to bring Mr. *Frith* ſafe to *Croydon*, to be examined there; but in the way, they were ſo convinced by his judicious and pious converſation, his humble and amiable deportment, that they concerted a plan, between themſelves, how to let him eſcape. And then one of them thus addreſſed him; 'Mr. *Frith*, the 'journey I have taken in hand to bring you to *Croydon*, 'as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, ſo grieveth me, that I am 'overwhelmed with care and ſorrow; nor do I regard 'what hazard I undergo, ſo that I may but deliver you 'out of the lion's mouth.' And then made known to him, how they had contrived to facilitate his eſcape. To all this Mr. *Frith* anſwered with a ſmiling countenance; "Do you think that I am afraid to deliver my "opinion before the biſhops of *England*, being a mani-"feſt truth?" The gentleman replied, 'I wonder that 'you was ſo willing to quit the kingdom before you was 'taken, and now ſo unwilling to ſave yourſelf.' Mr. *Frith* anſwered, "Before I was ſeized, I would fain have "enjoyed my liberty for the benefit of the church of "God; but now being taken by the higher power, and "by the providence of God, delivered into the hands of "the biſhops, to give teſtimony to that religion and doc-

" trine, which under pain of damnation I am bound to " maintain and defend; if, therefore, I ſhould now ſtart " aſide and run away, I ſhould run away from my God, " and from the teſtimony of his word, and ſhould be " worthy of a thouſand hells; therefore, added he, I be- " ſeech you to bring me to the place appointed for me to " be brought, or elſe I will go thither alone."—Perhaps, in this inſtance, he is more to be admired than juſtified. GOD's people are no where commanded to give themſelves up to their perſecutors, but to avoid them, as far as is conſiſtent with a faithful conſcience. Mr. *Frith* imitated, in this particular, many of the primitive Chriſtians, who rather coveted than ſhunned the crown of martyrdom; which ſeems the more extraordinary in him, as he was eminently of a meek and quiet ſpirit, and not of that lion-hearted temper, which appeard in *Luther* and ſome other of the Reformers.

Frith's great opponents were *Fiſher*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas More*, and *Raſtal*, *More*'s ſon-in-law. Theſe he ſolidly confuted in his writings, and, for the vigor of that confutation, moſt probably became a particular object of their reſentment. So much learning, in conjunction with ſo much grace, were certainly an overmatch for mere human nature, inveſted only with its natural attainments. 'He was (ſays biſhop *Bale*) a poliſhed ſcho- 'lar, as well as maſter of the learned languages.' And he applied all his faculties to the illuſtration and glory of that truth, which the goodneſs of God had imparted to him.

His works are theſe: 1. Treatiſe of purgatory. 2. Antitheſis between *Chriſt* and the pope. 3. Letter to the faithful followers of *Chriſt*'s goſpel, written in the tower, 1532. 4. The mirror, or glaſs to know thyſelf, written in the tower, 1532. 5. Mirror, or looking-glaſs, wherein you may behold the ſacrament of baptiſm. 6. Articles [for which he died] written in *Newgate*, 23d of *June*, 1533. 7. Anſwer to Sir *Thomas More*'s dialogues concerning hereſies. 8. Anſwer to *John Fiſher*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, &c. All theſe treatiſes were reprinted at *London* in 1573, in folio.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM TINDALE.

WILLIAM TINDALE, a learned and zealous *Engliſh* Reformer, and memorable for having made the firſt verſion of the bible in modern *Engliſh*, was born on the borders of *Wales*, ſometime before the year 1500. He was of *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxford*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, not only by his literary abilities, but alſo by imbibing early the doctrines of the Reformation, which were begun to be ſpread in many parts of *England*. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, which he did not peruſe as a mere ſcholar or ſelf-ſufficient ſpeculatiſt, but in the way, which divine grace alone induces and makes profitable, namely, with a meek and humble ſpirit; craving for heavenly wiſdom in a ſenſe of the want of it, and not bringing human wit or reaſon in order to meaſure the divine. Nor was he ſatisfied to *hide his candle under a buſhel*, and to keep what he learned by grace to himſelf. He took great pains, privately, to read divinity to ſeveral ſtudents and fellows of the *Hall*, and to inſtruct them in the knowledge and truth of the ſcriptures; on account of which and his upright life and converſation, he was held in the higheſt eſtimation.

Having taken his degrees, he afterwards removed to *Cambridge*, and from thence, after ſome time, he went to live with a gentleman (Mr. *Welch*) in *Glouceſterſhire*, in the capacity of tutor to his children. While he continued there, he had frequent diſputes with abbots and doctors, who viſited the family, both about learned men, divinity, and the ſcriptures. One day Mr. and Mrs. *Welch* went to return a viſit, where ſeveral of thoſe dignitaries converſed with all freedom, Mr. *Tindale* not being preſent: And in the evening, they returned full of arguments againſt Mr. *Tindale*, all which he anſwered by ſcripture, maintaining the truth and reproving their falſe opinions.

opinions. Upon which Mrs. *Welch* (who was, ſays *Tindale*, a ſenſible woman) brake out in the following exclamation; 'Well, there was doctor ****, who can ſpend a hundred 'pounds; there was doctor ****, who can ſpend two 'hundred pounds; and doctor ****, who can ſpend three 'hundred pounds; and, what, is it reaſon, think you, 'that we ſhould believe you before them?' Mr. *Tindale* made no reply, and in future ſpake leſs of thoſe matters.

At this time he was tranſlating a book of *Eraſmus*, entitled *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*, which, when finiſhed, he gave to Mr. and Mrs. *Welch*, who carefully peruſed it; and, it ſeems, were ſo far convinced of the truth, in oppoſition to the popiſh doctrines of the abbots and prieſts, that theſe gentlemen afterwards met with a very cool reception at their houſe, and ſoon declined their viſits altogether. This, as it was natural to ſuppoſe, brought upon Mr. *Tindale* the wrath of all the popiſh clergy in the neighbourhood, who ſoon had him accuſed of many hereſies to the biſhop's chancellor, before whom he had been cited to appear; but nothing being proved, after railing at him and abuſing him, they diſmiſſed him. In his way home he called upon a certain doctor, who had been an old chancellor to a biſhop, and his very good friend; to him he opened his heart, and conſulted him upon many paſſages of ſcripture. Before they parted the doctor ſaid to him, 'Do you not know, that the pope is very anti-'chriſt, whom the ſcripture ſpeaketh of? But beware 'what you ſay; for if it ſhould be known you are of 'that opinion, it will coſt you your life:' And added, 'I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, 'and defy him and all his works.'

Not long after this affair, Mr. *Tindale* fell in company with a certain divine, remarkable for his learning, with whom he diſputed, and drave him ſo cloſe, that at length the divine blaſphemouſly cried out; 'We had better be 'without God's laws than the pope's.' *Tindale*, fired at this expreſſion, and filled with zeal, replied, "I defy the "pope and all his laws;" and added, "That if God "ſpared his life, e'er many years, he would cauſe a boy "that drives the plough to know more of the ſcriptures "than he did." After this, the hatred of the prieſts was ſo great, that he was obliged to leave the country, which he did, with the conſent and hearty wiſhes of Mr. *Welch* for his welfare. Mr. *Tindale*, remembering the high commendations *Eraſmus* had given of *Tonſtal*'s learning, then biſhop of *London*, hoped he ſhould find favor and

protection with him; but, as this was not the way God, in his providence, had marked out for him, the biſhop excuſed himſelf, ſaying, 'That his houſe was 'full, that he had already more than he could accommo-'date, but that he adviſed him to ſeek about in *London*, 'where he could not fail to obtain employment.'

Mr. *Tindale* remained in *London* about a year, when being deſirous to tranſlate the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*, as the moſt effectual means (in his own opinion and in that of his dear friend *John Frith*) to remedy the great darkneſs and ignorance of the land, but judging it could not ſafely be done in *England*; he, by the kind aſſiſtance of Mr. *Humphry Monmouth* and others, went into *Germany*, where he labored upon the work, and finiſhed it in the year 1527. In a letter to *Frith*, he ſays of it; "I call GOD to recorde agaynſt the daye we ſhall ap-"peare before our Lord *Jeſus*, to geve a reckenyng of "our doynges, that I never altered one ſyllable of God's "word agaynſt my conſcience, nor would this daye, if "all that is in the earth, whether it be pleaſure, honour, "or riches, might be geven me." It was the *firſt* tranſlation of the ſcripture into modern *Engliſh*. He then began with the Old Teſtament, and finiſhed the five books of *Moſes*, prefixing excellent diſcourſes to each book, as he had done to thoſe of the New Teſtament. *Cranmer*'s Bible, or (as it was called) the GREAT BIBLE, was no other than *Tindale*'s reviſed and corrected, omitting the prologues and tables, and adding ſcripture references and a ſummary of contents. At his firſt going over into *Germany*, he went into *Saxony*, and had much conference with *Luther* and other learned men; and then returning to the *Netherlands*, made his abode at *Antwerp*, at that time a very populous and flouriſhing city.

About the time he had finiſhed his tranſlation of the book of *Deuteronomy*, he had alſo prepared for the preſs a work concerning *the nature of the ſacrament*, or (as it was then called) *the altar*; but wiſely conſidering, that the people were not yet fully convinced of the abſurdity of many ſuperſtitious ceremonies and groſs idolatries, and that the maſs was every where held in the ſame eſtimation, as the great goddeſs *Diana* had been amongſt the *Epheſians*, which they thought came down from heaven; he therefore judged it might be more ſeaſonable, and would anſwer the end more fully, at ſome future period. And he alſo wrote a very valuable tract upon *the obedience of a Chriſtian man*, and likewiſe his *expoſitions of ſcripture*, &c.

He

He ſet ſail in the mean time to *Hamburgh*, with a view to print his laſt finiſhed tranſlation of the ſcriptures; but being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of *Holland*, he loſt all his books and papers. However, going in another ſhip to *Hamburgh*, he met with Mr. *Coverdale*, who aſſiſted him in tranſlating again the five books of *Moſes*, both of them being entertained in the houſe of a widow gentlewoman, Mrs. *Margaret Van Emerſon*. This was in the year 1529, when the ſweating-ſickneſs very much prevailed in that place.

Having finiſhed the printing of theſe books, he returned again to *Antwerp*; and his tranſlation of the ſcriptures, being in the mean time ſent to *England*, made a great noiſe there as well as in *Germany*; and, in the opinion of the biſhops and clergy, did ſo much miſchief (as they were pleaſed to call it) that they railed againſt and condemned them for containing a thouſand hereſies, and urged—that it was impoſſible for the ſcriptures to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*—and that it was neither lawful nor expedient for the laity to have the ſcriptures in their mother-tongue. Nor could they reſt, till, by their intereſt, they had procured a royal proclamation to be iſſued out, prohibiting the buying or reading ſuch tranſlation or tranſlations. This proclamation was publiſhed in 1527, ſoon after the publication of *Tindale*'s New Teſtament, which gave the loudeſt alarm; and in the ſame edict, as well as by the public prohibitions of the biſhops, ſeveral other treatiſes were cried down, written by *Luther*, and other Reformers. But all this only ſerved, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to increaſe the public curioſity, and to occaſion a more careful reading of what was deemed ſo extremely obnoxious. One ſtep taken by the biſhop of *London* afforded ſome merriment to the proteſtants. His lordſhip thought, that the beſt way to prevent theſe *Engliſh* New Teſtaments from circulation, would be to buy up the whole impreſſion, and therefore employed a Mr. *Packington*, who ſecretly favored the Reformation, then at *Antwerp*, for this purpoſe, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that, coſt what they would, he would have them, and burn them all at *Paul's Croſs*. Upon this, *Packington* applied himſelf to *Tindale*, and, upon agreement, the biſhop had the books, *Packington* great thanks, and *Tindale* all the money. This enabled our Reformer inſtantly to publiſh a new and more correct edition, ſo 'that they came 'over (ſays Mr. *Fox*) thick and threefold into *England*.' This occaſioned extreme rage in the diſappointed biſhop

and his popiſh friends. One *Conſtantine* being ſoon after apprehended by Sir *Thomas More*, and being aſked how *Tindale* and others ſubſiſted abroad, readily anſwered, That it was the biſhop of *London* who had been their chief ſupporter, for he beſtowed a great deal of money upon them in the purchaſe of New Teſtaments to burn them, and that upon that caſh they had ſubſiſted, till the ſale of the ſecond edition was received.

However, *Tindale*'s perſecutors, concerned for all that was dear to them, namely, their *purſe* and their *belly*, did not reſt here; for, as they perceived him to be a very able man, and if ſuffered to live, capable of doing immenſe harm to their craft; they ſent over to *Antwerp* one *Philips*, who inſinuated himſelf into his company, and under the pretext of friendſhip betrayed him into cuſtody. He was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of *Filford*, about eighteen miles from *Antwerp*; and though the *Engliſh* merchants at *Antwerp* did what they could to procure his releaſe, and letters were ſent from lord *Cromwell* and others out of *England*, yet *Philips* beſtirred himſelf ſo heartily, that *Tindale* was tried and condemned to die. He was brought to the place of execution, and while he was tying to the ſtake he cried with a fervent and loud voice, "Lord, open "the king of *England*'s eyes." He was firſt ſtrangled by the hands of the common hangman, and then burned near *Filford-caſtle*, in the year 1536. And thus he, whom *Fox*, with the utmoſt propriety, ſtyles '*England*'s Apoſtle,' reſted from his labors and troubles, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

He was a perſon of ſeraphic piety, indefatigable ſtudy, and extraordinary learning. His modeſty, zeal, and diſintereſtedneſs, were ſo great, that he declared, before he went to *Germany*, that he ſhould be content "to live in any county of *England*, on an allowance "of ten pounds *per annum*, and bind himſelf to receive "no more, if he might only have authority to in-"ſtruct children and preach the goſpel." His uncommon abilities and learning, which, joined to great warmth and firmneſs of nature, and to true faith and goſpel-zeal, qualified him exceedingly well for the office of a Reformer. Such was GOD's bleſſing upon his true and faithful preaching, that, during the time of his impriſonment (which laſted a year and a half) he converted his gaoler, his daughter, and many of his houſhold. Nay, the procurer general, or emperor's attorney, publickly ſaid of him, that he was *homo doctus, pius, et bonus*, a learned,

learned, pious, and good man. The good biſhop *Bale* alſo ſays of him, that for knowledge, purity of doctrine, and holineſs of life, he ought to be eſteemed the next *Engliſh* Reformer after *Wickliffe*, and that he was born for the converſion and edification of many ſouls. His picture repreſents him with a bible in his hand, and this diſtich;

Hâc ut luce tuas diſpergam, Roma, tenebras,
Sponte extorris ero, ſponte ſacrificium.

That light o'er all thy darkneſs, *Rome*,
With triumph might ariſe;
An exile freely I become,
Freely a ſacrifice.

The works which he wrote, beſides the tranſlation of the ſcriptures, are the following; which were publiſhed in one general volume:

1. A Chriſtian's obedience. 2. The unrighteous mammon. 3. The practice of the papiſts. 4. Commentaries on the ſeventh chapter of St. *Matthew*. 5. A diſcourſe of the laſt will and teſtament of *Tracii*. 6. An anſwer to Sir *Thomas More*'s dialogues. 7. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper againſt *More*. 8. Of the ſacrament of the altar. 9. Of the ſacramental ſigns. 10. A footpath leading to the ſcriptures. 11. Three letters to *John Frith*.

The remains of ſuch men, when they are but few, are the more deſirable and precious. We will, therefore, inſert (as they diſcover the ſpirit and temper of this good man) the three letters abovementioned, preſerved by Mr. Fox; and eſpecially as his voluminous writings are not in the poſſeſſion, or within the purchaſe, of many ſerious perſons.

I.

"THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of "*Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, be with you, *Amen*. "Dearly beloved brother *John*, I have heard ſay, how "the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great "buſineſs which letted them, or at the leaſt way have "brought it to a ſtay, return to their old nature again. "The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath "ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, "and his glory reign over all.

"Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your-"ſelf wholly and only unto your moſt loving Father, and "moſt kind Lord; fear not men that threat, nor truſt "men that ſpeak fair: But truſt him that is true of pro-

" miſe, and able to make his word good. Your cauſe is
" *Chriſt*'s goſpel, a light that muſt be fed with the blood
" of faith. The lamp muſt be dreſſed and ſnuffed daily,
" and that oil poured in every evening and morning,
" that the light go not out. Though we be ſinners, yet
" is the cauſe right. If when we be buffeted for well
" doing, we ſuffer patiently and endure, that is accepta-
" ble with God. For to that end we are called. For
" *Chriſt* alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that
" we ſhould follow his ſteps, who did no ſin. Hereby
" have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for
" us; therefore we ought alſo to lay down our lives for
" the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your
" reward in heaven. For we ſuffer with him, that we
" may alſo be glorified with him: Who ſhall change
" our vile body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his
" glorious body, according to the working whereby he
" is able even to ſubdue all things unto himſelf.

" Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort
" your ſoul with the hope of this high reward, and bear
" the image of *Chriſt* in your mortal body, that it may at
" his coming be made like to his immortal body; and fol-
" low the example of all your other dear brethren, which
" choſe to ſuffer in hope of a better reſurrection. Keep
" your conſcience pure and undefiled, and ſay againſt
" that nothing. Stick at neceſſary things, and re-
" member the blaſphemies of the enemies of *Chriſt*,
" ſaying, they find none but who will abjure rather than
" ſuffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them
" that come again after they have once denied, though
" it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is
" not glorious: For the hypocrites ſay, he muſt needs
" die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen,
" they would have denied five hundred times, but ſeeing
" it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and
" meer malice together, they ſpake with their mouths
" what their conſcience knoweth falſe. If you give your-
" ſelf, caſt yourſelf, yield yourſelf, commit yourſelf
" wholly and only to your loving Father, then ſhall his
" power be in you and make you ſtrong, and that ſo
" ſtrong, that you ſhall feel no pain, which ſhould be to
" another preſent death: And his Spirit ſhall ſpeak in you,
" and teach you what to anſwer, according to his pro-
" miſe: He ſhall ſet out his truth by you wonderfully, and
" work for you above all that your heart can imagine;
" yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites

" all,

" all, with all that they can make, have ſworn your " death. *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem*; To " look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to " them that ſeem to be overcome in the eyes of the hy- " pocrites: Yea, it ſhall make God to carry you thorow " thick and thin for his truth's ſake, in ſpite of all the " enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his " hour be come; and when his hour is come, neceſſity " carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if " we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

" Fear not the threatning therefore, neither be over- " come of ſweet words; with which twain the hypocrites " ſhall aſſail you. Neither let the perſwaſions of worldly " wiſdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be " your friends that counſel you. Let *Bilney* be a warn- " ing to you, let not their vizor beguile your eyes. Let " not your body faint. He that endureth to the end " ſhall be ſaved. If the pain be above your ſtrength, " remember, *Whatſoever ye ſhall aſk in my name, I will* " *give it you.* And pray to your Father in that name, " and he ſhall ceaſe your pain, or ſhorten it. The Lord " of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, *Amen.*

" WILLIAM TINDALE."

II.

" TWO have ſuffered in *Antwerp*, *in die ſanctæ cruci*s, " unto the great glory of the goſpel; four at " *Ryſels* in *Flanders*; and at *Luke* hath there one at " leaſt ſuffered, and all the ſame day. At *Roan* in *France* " they perſecute. And at *Paris* are five doctors taken " for the goſpel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful " and remember that among the hard-hearted in *England*, " there is a number reſerved by grace: For whoſe ſakes, " if need be, you muſt be ready to ſuffer. Sir, if you " may write, how ſhort ſoever it be, forget it not, that " we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's " eaſe. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his " plenteouſneſs, and fill you that you flow over, *Amen.*

" If when you have read this, you can ſend it to " *Adrian*; do I pray you, that he may know how that " our heart is with you.

" *George Joy* at *Candlemas* being at *Barrow* printed " two leaves of *Geneſis* in a great form, and ſent one " copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a " letter to *N.* to deliver them; and to purchaſe licenſe,

" that

" that he might ſo go through all the bible. Out of " this is ſprung the noiſe of the new bible; and out of " that is the great ſeeking for *Engliſh* books at all printers " and book-binders in *Antwerp*, and for an *Engliſh* prieſt " that ſhould print.

" This chanced the ninth day of *May*.

" Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, " and would not for her ſake have the glory of God " hindred.

" WILLIAM TINDALE."

III.

" The grace of our Saviour *Jeſus*, his patience, meek-
" neſs, humbleneſs, circumſpection, and wiſdom, be
" with your heart, *Amen*.

" DEARLY beloved brother, mine hearts deſire " in our Saviour *Jeſus*, is that you arm your- " ſelf with patience, and be cool, ſober, wiſe and cir- " cumſpect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, " avoiding high queſtions, that paſs the common capa- " city. But expound the law truly, and open the vail " of *Moſes* to condemn all fleſh, and prove all men ſin- " ners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have " taken away the condemnation thereof, to be ſin and " damnable, and then, as a faithful miniſter, ſet abroach " the mercy of our Lord *Jeſus*, and let the wounded " conſciences drink of the water of Him. And then ſhall " your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine " of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God ſhall work " with you, and all conſciences ſhall bear record unto " you, and feel that it is ſo. And all doctrine that " caſteth a miſt on thoſe two, to ſhadow and hide them, " I mean the law of God, and mercy of *Chriſt*, that reſiſt " you with all your power. Sacraments without ſigni- " fication refuſe. If they put ſignifications to them, " receive them, if you ſee it may help, though it be not " neceſſary.

" Of the preſence of *Chriſt*'s body in the ſacrament, " meddle as little as you can, that there appear no di- " viſion among us. *Barnes* will be hot againſt you. " The *Saxons* be ſore on the affirmative; whether con- " ſtant or obſtinate, I remit it to God. *Philip Melanc- " thon* is ſaid to be with the *French* king. There be " in *Antwerp* that ſay, they ſaw him come into *Paris* " with an hundred and fifty horſes, and that they ſpake

" with

" with him. If the *French* men receive the word of " God, he will plant the affirmative in them. *George* " *Joy* would have put forth a treatiſe of that matter, but " I have ſtopt him as yet: What he will do if he get " money, I wot not. I believe he would make many " reaſons little ſerving to that purpoſe: My mind is, " that nothing be put forth till we hear how you ſhall " have ſped. I would have the right uſe preached, and " the preſence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter " might be reaſoned in peace at leiſure of both parties. " If you be required, ſhew the phraſes of the ſcripture, " and let them talk what they will. For as to believe " that God is every where, hurteth no man that worſhip- " peth him no where but within the heart, in ſpirit and " verity: Even ſo to believe, that the body of *Chriſt* is " every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no " man, that worſhippeth him no where ſave in the faith " of his goſpel. You perceive my mind: Howbeit, if " God ſhew you otherwiſe, it is free for you to do as he " moveth you.

" I gueſſed long ago, that God would ſend a dazing " into the head of the ſpiritualty, to catch themſelves in " their own ſubtilty, and truſt it is come to paſs. And " now me thinketh I ſmell a counſel to be taken, little " for their profits in time to come. But you muſt un- " derſtand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of " the truth, but to avenge themſelves, and to eat the " whore's fleſh, and to ſuck the marrow of her bones. " Wherefore cleave faſt to the rock of the help of God, " and commit the end of all things unto him: And if " God ſhall call you, that you may then uſe the wiſdom " of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God " may come thereof, refuſe it not; and ever among " thruſt in, that the ſcripture may be in the mother- " tongue, and learning ſet up in the univerſities. But " if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and " his *Chriſt*, then ſtand faſt, and commit yourſelf to " God, and be not overcome of men's perſuaſions; " which haply ſhall ſay, We ſee no other way to bring " in the truth.

" Brother, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in " whom I have ſo good hope and truſt, and in whom " my heart rejoiceth, and my ſoul comforteth herſelf, as " in you; not the thouſand part ſo much for your learn- " ing, and what other gifts elſe you have, as becauſe you " will creep alow by the ground, and walk in thoſe

" things that the conſcience may feel, and not in the " imaginations of the brain: In fear, and not in bold- " neſs: In open neceſſary things, and not to pronounce " or define of hid ſecrets, or things that neither help nor " hinder, whether it be ſo or no; in unity, and not in " ſeditious opinions: Inſomuch that if you be ſure you " know, yet in things that may abide leiſure you will " defer, or ſay (till other agree with you) Methinks " the text requireth the ſenſe or underſtanding. Yea, " and if you be ſure that your part be good, and another " hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no " matter, you will laugh and let it paſs, and refer the " thing to other men, and ſtick you ſtiffly and ſtubbornly " in earneſt and neceſſary things. And I truſt you be " perſuaded even ſo of me: For I call God to record " againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord *Jeſus*, " to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered " one ſyllable of God's word againſt my conſcience, nor " would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it " be pleaſure, honour, or riches, might be given me. " Moreover, I take God to record to my conſcience, " that I deſire of God to myſelf in this world, no more " than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

" Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help " at hand, and aid you if need required, I promiſe you " I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. " My ſoul is not faint, though my body be weary. But " God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and " without grace in the ſight of men, ſpeechleſs and rude, " dull and ſlow witted; your part ſhall be to ſupply " what lacketh in me: Remembring, that as lowlineſs " of heart ſhall make you high with God, even ſo meek- " neſs of words ſhall make you ſink into the hearts of " men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekneſs is " the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abun- " dance of love maketh me exceed in babling.

" Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, " if you be demanded, you may ſay, if you err, the " ſpiritualty hath ſo led you, and that they have taught " you to believe as you do. For they preached you all " ſuch things out of God's word, and alledged a thou- " ſand texts, by reaſon of which texts you believed as " they taught you, but now you find them lyers, and " that the texts mean no ſuch things, and therefore you " can believe them no longer, but are as ye were before " they taught you, and believe no ſuch thing: Howbeit,

" you

" you are ready to believe, if they have any other way " to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, " when you have found them with ſo many lyes, &c. " If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being " ſtill or doing ſomewhat, let us have word, and I will " do mine uttermoſt.

" My lord of *London* hath a ſervant called *John Tiſen*, " with a red beard, and a black-reddiſh head, and was " once my ſcholar; he was ſeen in *Antwerp*, but came " not among the *Engliſhmen:* Whither he is gone am- " baſſador ſecret, I wot not.

" The mighty God of *Jacob* be with you, to ſupplant " his enemies, and give you the favour of *Joſeph*, and " the wiſdom and the ſpirit of *Stephen*; be with your " heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what " they ſhall ſay, and how to anſwer to all things. He " is our God, if we deſpair in ourſelves, and truſt in " him: And his is the glory. *Amen.*

" *January*, 1533. WILLIAM TINDALE."

JOHN LAMBERT.

THE true name of this admirable man was *Nicholſon*; but, in order to avoid the dangers which threatened him in the latter part of his life on a religious account, he aſſumed the ſirname of *Lambert*. It does not appear *when* he was born, though it may be preſumed to have been about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the ſixteenth century, as he ſuffered for the cauſe of truth in the year 1538. We have not likewiſe the preciſe *place* of his birth: Only it is affirmed, that he was born, and brought up for the moſt part, in the county of *Norfolk*. His academical education he received at *Cambridge*, where he acquired the learned languages, and (what was better than them) his converſion to GOD from popiſh ſuper- ſtition and the love of this evil world. The bleſſed in- ſtrument of this happy change was the memorable and bleſſed

bleſſed *Bilney*, who was likewiſe the inſtrument of converting many others to the knowledge of GOD and their own hearts.

The fury of king *Henry* the Eighth againſt Lutheraniſm (or Proteſtantiſm, as it was afterwards more juſtly called) compelled poor *Lambert*, who began to be diſtinguiſhed for his learning and piety, to ſeek a refuge upon the continent. Accordingly, he repaired to *Antwerp*, then the reſidence of *Tindale* and *Frith*, who appear to have been his choſen friends, and officiated as preacher and chaplain to the *Engliſh* factory in that city, (which at that time had great correſpondence with *England* on account of the woollen manufacture) for the greater part of two years. But the tenor of his preaching was of ſuch a kind, as rendered it by no means ſurprizing, that he ſhould procure himſelf enemies among the ſons of *Rome*. One *Barlow*, glad, no doubt, of ſhewing his zeal, accuſed him to Sir *Thomas More*, then lord chancellor of *England*, by whoſe means he was brought from *Antwerp* to *London*, as an innocent lamb to ſatiate the cruelty of the *Romiſh* wolves, who thirſted for his blood. This event occurred in the year 1532. He was firſt examined at *Lambeth* by *Warham*, then archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and afterwards at the biſhop's houſe at *Oxford*, before a multitude of his adverſaries. He was queſtioned upon forty-five articles, to all of which he gave a very long, full, and learned anſwer, which does him and the cauſe he profeſſed exceeding great honor. A more ſolid and comprehenſive apology for Proteſtantiſm is rarely to be found; and we ſhould be happy to lay it before our readers, did not its very great length exceed the limits of our plan. The curious Reader may ſee it at large in *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments, for the reign of *Henry* the Eighth. We will, however, ſubjoin an extract or two at the end of his life, as a ſpecimen of his faith and doctrine.

Lambert continued in cuſtody at *Oxford* till the next year, 1533, in which archbiſhop *Warham* died, and was ſucceeded by *Cranmer*, who was (at the time of *Warham*'s death) in *Germany*, debating the affair of the king's divorce. The death of the archbiſhop, and the riſe of queen *Anne* of *Boleyn*, ſeem to have been the immediate cauſes of *Lambert*'s releaſe, which he had no ſooner obtained than he repaired to *London*, and engaged himſelf in teaching the Greek and Latin tongues. He preferred this ſecular buſineſs to the prieſthood, as times went; and as he meant to marry and ſettle, he purpoſed to take up the freedom

freedom of the city in the grocer's company. But GOD, who appoints and diſappoints the inclinations and purpoſes of men after his own will and wiſdom, called this bleſſed man to a higher vocation, and to give up his life as a martyr for the teſtimony of *Jeſus*.

Sometime in the year 1538, *Lambert* was preſent at a ſermon, preached by a Dr. *Taylor*, who, it ſeems, was then rather a friend to the goſpel, and was afterwards made biſhop of *Lincoln* in the reign of king *Edward*, and finally deprived by queen *Mary*. *Lambert*, whether he was diſſatisfied with the ſermon, or had a good opinion of the preacher, deſired to have a friendly conference with him, and propoſed, in the courſe of converſation, ſeveral theological points, on which he deſired to be ſatisfied, the chief of which was the queſtion concerning the corporal preſence of *Chriſt* in the ſacrament. *Taylor*, preſſed perhaps too cloſe, deſired *Lambert* to excuſe him for the preſent, on account of other buſineſs, and to write his mind upon the matter, which they would talk over again at their leiſure.

Lambert accordingly propoſed ten arguments in writing for ſupport of his opinion, which are moſtly loſt except the firſt, which was founded upon theſe words; *This cup is the New Teſtament*, &c. "Now, ſays he, if theſe words "do neither change the cup nor the wine therein ſub-"ſtantially into the New Teſtament, which nobody aſ-"ſerts; then, by parity of reaſon, the words, ſpoken of "the bread, do not turn the bread corporally into the "perſon of *Chriſt*." The other reaſons are ſaid to have been equally acute, and ſupported by the ſcriptures and by teſtimonies from the primitive fathers.

Taylor, out of a real wiſh to ſatisfy *Lambert*, and feeling himſelf unable to anſwer him, applied among others to Dr. *Barnes*, a good man, but as yet (like many good men at the dawning of the Reformation) not ſufficiently clear in the matter of the ſacrament. *Barnes* adviſed *Taylor* to lay the matter before *Cranmer*, the archbiſhop, who then was an advocate for tranſubſtantiation; and *Lambert* was obliged to defend his doctrine in open court before him and ſome other biſhops. This publiſhed *Lambert* and his opinions to the whole court and city.

Gardiner, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, glad of every opportunity of inſinuating himſelf into the king's good graces, ſuggeſted to his majeſty, That now an opportunity occurred to ſhew to all the world, that though he had renounced the ſupreme authority of the biſhop of *Rome*, he had

had not renounced the catholic faith (which the king had profeſſed not to do), and that therefore he would proſecute and puniſh all heretics and others, who ſhould preſume to ſet forth doctrines contrary to it: That this *Lambert* might be made a proper example, and that by his puniſhment he might quiet the apprehenſions of the people, with reſpect to further innovations.

The king eagerly caught the bait, and immediately iſſued a general ordinance, commanding all the nobility and biſhops of the realm forthwith to repair to *London*, in order to aſſiſt the king againſt heretics and hereſies, as he purpoſed to ſit *perſonally* in judgement upon them.

Vaſt was the concourſe of people aſſembled to ſee this ſolemn buſineſs; and the apparatus for the trial was no leſs extraordinary. The king himſelf came as judge, with a great guard, and ſat upon the throne prepared for him, arrayed in white: On his right-hand were the biſhops, and behind them the judges and crown lawyers, cloathed all in purple; and, on his left, the peers of the realm and other officers of the crown, according to precedency. Such an appearance, with the king's ſevere looks, words, and manner, would have ſufficed to daunt any man, who could not rely upon the promiſe, That GOD's people ſhould *ſpeak* in his cauſe *before kings, and not be aſhamed.*

It would be long to enter upon the cruel and unfair proceedings of this memorable day. The imperious frowns and threats of the king, and the meek and humble deportment of *Lambert*, can only be paralleled by the hiſtory of *Caiaphas* the high-prieſt, or *Pontius Pilate*, and *Lambert*'s Saviour. *Cranmer*, it is to be regretted, oppoſed a cauſe on that day, for which *Cranmer* himſelf not many years afterwards ſuffered and bled. *Lambert* defended himſelf with the firmneſs of a man, the learning of a ſcholar, and the humility of a Chriſtian. The iſſue was predetermined in the king's mind; and all the eloquence and truth in the world would have been of no avail. The king commanded *Cromwell* (the famous lord *Cromwell*, who ſo much ſupported the Reformation) to read the doleful ſentence of condemnation. It was *Lambert*'s peculiar caſe, not only to be a martyr, but to ſuffer by thoſe who, in their turn and for the ſame identical cauſe, were not long afterwards martyrs themſelves.

It appears, that, upon this judgement, he was confined to lord *Cromwell*'s houſe, and that *Cromwell* beſought his forgiveneſs for what he had been compelled to do (it is ſaid, by *Gardiner*'s particular management) againſt him.

Upon the day of his death, he breakfaſted with great chearfulneſs among *Cromwell*'s gentlemen, ſaluted them with great eaſe and reſpect upon his departure, and was led out as a lamb for a burnt-ſacrifice.

No man was uſed at the ſtake with more cruelty than this holy martyr. They burned him with a ſlow fire by inches; for if it kindled higher and ſtronger than they choſe, they removed it away. When his legs were burnt off, and his thighs were mere ſtumps in the fire, they pitched his poor body upon pikes, and lacerated his broiling fleſh with their halberts. But GOD was with him in the midſt of the flame, and ſupported him in all the anguiſh of nature. Juſt before he expired, he lifted up ſuch hands as he had, all flaming with fire, and cried out to the people with his dying voice in theſe glorious words; NONE BUT CHRIST; NONE BUT CHRIST. Spoken in this manner, and at ſuch a time, there was more energy in them than could have been expreſſed in a volume. He was at laſt beat down into the fire, and flew, in a chariot of flame, to heaven.

During his confinement, he wrote a long treatiſe to the king, in which he apologized for his faith and doctrine; a part of which treatiſe is preſerved by *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments, to which we muſt refer the Reader.

We promiſed juſt to extract a few words from his firſt examination, that the Reader may ſee ſomething of the evangelical doctrines of this good man. In the courſe of his defence before archbiſhop *Warham*, he was aſked, '*Doſt thou believe, that whatſoever is done of man, whether* '*it be good or ill, cometh of* NECESSITY?' Mr. *Lambert* eaſily perceived, that his being ſo cloſely queſtioned on the article of *predeſtination*, was no other than a trap laid for his life. His reply did equal honor to his prudence and faithfulneſs: "Unto the *firſt* part of your riddle, I "neither can nor will give any definitive anſwer.—Con- "cerning the *ſecond* part, *Whether man hath free-will, or* "*no, to deſerve joy or pain?* As for our *deſerving* of *joy*, in "particular, I think it very little or none; even when "we do the very commandments and law of God. *When* "*ye have done all that are commanded you*, ſaith our Saviour, "*ſay that ye be unprofitable ſervants.* When we have done "his bidding, we ought not ſo to magnify neither our "*ſelf*, nor our own *free-will:* But laud HIM, with a meek "heart, through whoſe benefit we have done (if at any "time we do it) his liking and pleaſure. Hence *Auſtin* "prayeth, *Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis:*" Lord, give what thou commandeſt, and command what thou wilt.

"Concerning

" Concerning FREE-WILL, I mean altogether as doth St. " *Auſtin:* That, of ourſelves, we have NO *liberty* nor *abi-* " *lity* to do the will of God; but are *ſhut up* and *ſold* " *under ſin*, as both *Iſaiah* and *Paul* bear witneſs: But " by the GRACE of God we are rid and ſet at liberty, " according to the portion which every man" [i. e. every *regenerate* man] " hath received of the ſame; ſome more, " ſome leſs."

Lambert was alſo aſked, ' *Whether faith alone, without* ' *good works, may ſuffice to the ſalvation and juſtification of* ' *a man, who has fallen into ſin after baptiſm?*' The martyr anſwered, in the words of St. *Auſtin*, " *Opera bona* " *non faciunt juſtum, ſed juſtificatus facit bona opera:* The " PERFORMANCE of GOOD WORKS does not *juſtify* a " man, but the man who IS JUSTIFIED *performs* GOOD " WORKS."

URBANUS REGIUS.

URBANUS REGIUS was born in *Arga Longa*, in the territories of the counts *de Montfort*. His family name was *Rex*, or *King*, which was changed by the family, as it was often applied in ridicule. Having given early proofs of his genius, he received a liberal education, firſt at the ſchool of *Lindau*, and afterwards at *Friburg*, where he lived with *Zaſius*, an excellent civilian, who had the greateſt regard for him on account of his diligence and induſtry. Indeed, his application was very extraordinary; for he buried himſelf in the library of his learned friend, and frequently ſat up whole nights in reading authors and tranſcribing the remarks, which *Zaſius* and other ſcholars had made upon them, inſomuch that his kind hoſt jocularly told him, ' that he certainly meant to rob him of ' his profeſſion and knowledge.' 'Tis ſaid, that *Zaſius* loved him as a ſon, both for his delight in learning and ſweetneſs of manners: And *Urban* did not fail to anſwer all the expectations, which had been conceived of him.

From

From *Friburg* he went to *Baſil* for further improvement; and from *Baſil* to *Ingolſtadt*, which univerſity was under the direction of the famous *John Eckius*. Here, after a while, he read privately to ſeveral noblemen's ſons, whoſe parents deſired him to furniſh their children with books and other neceſſaries, for which they would take care to remit him the money quarterly; but neglecting to fulfil their promiſe, he was obliged to give up his books and furniture to be divided amongſt his creditors, and in deſpair went to a captain, who was recruiting for the war againſt the *Turks*, and liſted himſelf for a ſoldier. It ſoon happened, that his friend *Eckius*, walking abroad to ſee the ſoldiers, ſpied poor *Urban* amongſt them. *Eckius* with aſtoniſhment enquired the cauſe of this ſudden change. *Urban* preſently told him the behavior of thoſe noblemen, whoſe children he had tutored: And *Eckius* ſoon took the means of procuring his diſcharge from the captain, as well as the money due to him from the noblemen.

Urban then returned to his ſtudies, and growing famous for his great erudition and ingenuity, the emperor *Maximilian*, paſſing through *Ingolſtadt*, made him his poet-laureat and orator: Afterwards, he was made profeſſor of poetry and oratory in that univerſity. He then applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of divinity; and, a while after, the controverſy growing hot between *Luther* and *Eckius*; *Urban* favoring *Luther*'s doctrine, yet unwilling to offend *Eckius*, who had been his very good friend in many inſtances, he left *Ingolſtadt* and went to *Augſburgh*; where, at the importunity of the magiſtrates and citizens, he undertook the government of the church. As he began to ſee more and more of the purity of the goſpel, he could not but be offended at the groſs idolatry and corruptions of the papiſts, and ſoon joined with *Luther* in preaching againſt them. He alſo wrote to *Zuinglius* to know his judgement about the ſacrament and original-ſin, from whom he received ſo much ſatisfaction, that he agreed with him entirely in theſe particulars. 'Wherever (ſays '*Melchior Adam*) he ſaw the truth, he openly embraced 'and boldly confeſſed it.' At that time, the enthuſiaſtic Anabaptiſts (who followed *John* of *Leyden*, *David George*, and the other ranting cut-throats) crept into *Augſburgh*, and held private conventicles to the diſturbance of the public peace; but the magiſtrates impriſoning the chief of them, and puniſhing the incorrigible, put an end to their diſturbance in that city.

He went on preaching againſt purgatory, indulgences, and the other corruptions, till the papiſts were ſo enraged, that they drove him out of the city: But, after a while, through the entreaties of ſome principal citizens, he was called back again to his charge. He then married a citizen's daughter, by whom he had thirteen children. His friend *Eckius* wrote to him, on his return, a ſevere letter, dated *March* 21ſt, 1527, which *Urban* anſwered with equal meekneſs and faithfulneſs, recapitulating his great obligations to him on the account of his learning and friendſhip, and aſſuring him that nothing but the truth had led him to his preſent profeſſion, which by no means tended to promote his worldly intereſt or glory. *Eckius* could not reſt here, but endeavored by all means, though in vain, to turn him away from the truth; and ſent *Faber* and *Cochlæus* with flatteries and large promiſes, who prevailed as little as himſelf.

There was a diet held at *Augſburgh*, in the year 1530, for quieting the controverſies about religion, at which was preſent the duke of *Brunſwick*, who much importuned and at laſt prevailed with *Urban* to go to *Lunenburg* in his dominions, to take care of the church there. *Urban* in his way thither, viſited *Luther* at *Coburg*, and ſpent a whole day with him in familiar conferences about the principal doctrines; and in his writings mentions this as one of the moſt comfortable days of his life. "Such and ſo great "a divine is *Luther* (ſays he) that I think no age has ſeen "his equal. I always thought him a great man; but he "now appears to me the greateſt of all. I ſaw him and "heard him, the manner of which cannot be deſcribed "by the pen." *Erneſt*, duke of *Brunſwick*, loved him dearly, and eſteemed him as a father; and when the city of *Augſburgh* ſent to the duke in the year 1531, deſiring him to permit *Urban*'s return to them; the duke gave for anſwer, 'That he would as ſoon part with his eyes 'as with him;' and preſently after made him chief paſtor of all the churches in his dominions, with an ample ſalary for his ſupport.

Here he ſpent the reſt of his moſt uſeful life, in preaching, writing, and religious conferences; confuting gainſayers and confirming the faithful. Some years afterwards going with his prince to *Haguenau*, he fell ſick by the way, and in a few days, with much chearfulneſs, yielded up his ſoul into the hands of God, on the 23d of *May*, in 1541. He often deſired of the Lord, if it were his will, that he might die a ſudden and eaſy death; which

which requeſt the Lord was pleaſed to grant him. He was a man of an excellent underſtanding, of uncommon learning, holy and upright in his life and converſation, and moſt indefatigable in the labors of his ſacred function.

Sleidan mentions his writings againſt the Anabaptiſts, in conjunction or at the ſame time with *Melanchthon* and *Juſtus Menius*. His ſon *Erneſt* collected and publiſhed his works, after his deceaſe, by the deſire of his affectionate patron the duke of *Brunſwick*. His common-places of the fathers, &c. were printed afterwards in a ſeparate volume by *John Freder*. Our excellent martyrologiſt, Mr. *Fox*, is ſaid to have tranſlated one of *Regius*'s treatiſes, upon faith and hope (if not more) from the original *Latin* into *Engliſh*.

WOLFGANG FABR. CAPITO.

WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO was born at *Haguenau* in *Alſace*, in the year 1478. His father was of the ſenatorian rank, who gave him a good education, and ſent him to *Baſil*; where he ſtudied phyſic till he had taken his doctor's degree, and likewiſe attained a very great proficiency in the other liberal ſciences. At his father's death, in 1504, he ſtudied divinity, and entered into the logic of thoſe times, with all the idle ſubtilties and metaphyſical jargon of the ſchools. After this courſe of ſtudy, he read the civil law under *Zaſius*, an eminent civilian, for four years, and finally took his doctor's degree in that line. He was a great admirer and ſupporter of godly miniſters. At *Heidelberg* he became acquainted with *Oecolampadius*; with whom there ever afterwards ſubſiſted the ſtrongeſt tie of friendſhip and mutual communication. He ſtudied *Hebrew* with his friend *Oecolampadius* under the tuition of one *Matthew Adrian*, a converted *Jew*, and then became a preacher, firſt in *Spire*, and afterwards at *Baſil*, where he continued for ſome years.

From thence he was ſent for by the *Elector Palatine*, who made him his counſellor, and ſent him on ſeveral embaſ-

ſies: And *Charles* the fifth conferred upon him the order of knighthood. From *Mentz* he followed *Bucer* to *Straſburgh*, where he aſtoniſhed the world by preaching the reformed religion, at St. *Thomas's Church* in that city, beginning his miniſtry by expounding St. *Paul's* epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. The fame of *Capito* and *Bucer* ſpread ſo wide, that *James Faber* and *Gerard Rufus* were ſent privately from *France* to hear him, by *Margaret* queen of *Navarre*, ſiſter to the *French* king; and thus the proteſtant doctrine was introduced into *France*. *Capito* was a very prudent and eloquent man, a great critic in the *Hebrew* tongue, and maſter of the whole circle of human knowledge. This, with the endowment of the higheſt wiſdom—the knowledge of God and his truth, furniſhed him in the moſt eminent manner for the ſacred function: And God bleſſed him accordingly. Next to his love of the purity of the goſpel, he was very earneſt that the goſpel ſhould be received in mutual love and peace among its profeſſors.

His opinion (following that of *Oecolampadius*) concerning the ſacrament was, *Mittendas eſſe contentiones, & cogitandum de uſu ipſius cœnæ: Viz. fidem noſtram pane, & vino Domini, per memoriam carnis, & ſanguinis illius, paſcendam.* i. e. Diſputes about the Lord's Supper ſhould, as much as poſſible, be avoided; and the chief point to be deſired was its uſe and benefit; namely, that our faith may be ſtrengthened and nouriſhed by the Lord's bread and wine, in memory of his fleſh and blood.

In the year 1525, he received a call to return to his own country, where he preached the goſpel in purity, and adminiſtered the Lord's Supper, according to *Chriſt's* inſtitution, to his fellow citizens, and baptized without the popiſh ceremonies. He frequently made excurſions into the neighboring parts of *Switzerland*, and confirmed the ſouls of the faithful by his doctrine. He was alſo preſent and diſputed at *Bern*, in 1528, againſt the popiſh maſs, &c. He was, with ſeveral others, choſen by the proteſtants to go to the *diet* at *Ratiſbon*, in the year 1541, for the ſettling of religion, and was much diſtinguiſhed in that controverſy. Returning home, in a great and general infection, he died of the plague, about the end of the year 1541, in the ſixty-third year of his age.

Capito was a very great ſcholar himſelf, and a great promoter of learning in others. He was convinced, that true knowledge and true grace conjoined would give the ſevereſt ſhock to the devil's kingdom. And for the honor of the proteſtant religion it may be ſaid, that it not only introduced

introduced the revival of ſcience throughout *Europe*, but has cheriſhed it ever ſince in the moſt remarkable manner.

Capito was ever importunate with *Eraſmus*, to throw of his Nicodemean diſguiſe, and to embrace the proteſtant religion openly; but *Eraſmus* had neither the grace nor the zeal of *Capito*. *Oecolampadius* was his principal and deareſt friend, though he correſponded with all the other great divines of his time.

He married the widow of his friend *Oecolampadius*, and by her had ſeveral children. He had before married another lady, a literary woman, who lived but a ſhort time, as it ſeems, with him before her death.

Among other works, he left behind him; two books upon the *Jewiſh* œconomy; expoſitions upon the prophets *Habakkuk* and *Hoſea*; the life of *John Oecolampadius*; a tract upon the beſt mode of education for a divine; &c. &c.

SIMON GRYNÆUS.

SIMON GRYNÆUS, a moſt able and learned man, was the ſon of a peaſant of *Swabia*, and born at *Veringen*, in the county of *Hokenzollern*, in the year 1493. He purſued his ſtudies in *Pfortſheim* at the ſame time with *Melancthon*, which gave riſe to a friendſhip between them of long continuance. He purſued them at *Vienna*, and there taking the degree of maſter in philoſophy, was appointed Greek profeſſor. Having embraced the proteſtant religion, he was thereby expoſed to many dangers; and particularly in *Baden*, where he was ſome years rector of the ſchool. He was thrown into priſon at the inſtigation of the monks; but, at the ſolicitation of the nobles of *Hungary*, he was ſet at liberty, and retired to *Wittenberg*, where he had a conference with *Luther* and *Melancthon*. Being returned to his native country, he was invited to *Heidelberg*, to be Greek profeſſor in that city in 1523. He exerciſed this employment till the year 1529, when he was invited to *Baſil* to teach publicly

in

in that city. In 1531, he took a journey into *England*, and carried with him a recommendatory letter from *Eraſmus* to *William Montjoy*, dated *Friburg*, *March* the 18th, 1531. After deſiring *Montjoy* to aſſiſt *Grynæus* as much as he could, in ſhewing him libraries, and introducing him to learned men, *Eraſmus* adds: '*Eſt homo Latinè Græ-*
'*cèque ad unguem doctus, in philoſophia et mathematicis*
'*diſciplinis diligenter verſatus, nullo ſupercilio, pudore penè*
'*immodico. Pertraxit hominem iſthuc Brittanniæ viſendæ*
'*cupiditas, ſed præcipuè Bibliothecarum veſtrarum amor.*
'*Rediturus eſt ad nos, &c.*' That is, He is a man perfectly ſkilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, a good philoſopher, and mathematician, without the leaſt affectation, and modeſt almoſt to exceſs. The deſire of ſeeing *England*, and eſpecially the love of your libraries, has drawn him over. But he muſt return to us again, &c. *Bibliander* alſo called him 'an incomparable man, in whom 'every Chriſtian grace and virtue, with all learning and 'politeneſs, ſeemed to have taken up their habitation.' *Eraſmus* recommended him alſo to the lord chancellor Sir *Thomas More*, from whom he received great civilities. This appears by an epiſtle of *Grynæus*, prefixed to his Greek edition of *Plato*, in 1534. In the year 1534, he was employed, in conjunction with other perſons, to reform the church and ſchool of *Tubingen*. He returned to *Baſil* in 1536, and in 1540 was appointed to go to the conferences at *Worms* with *Melancthon*, *Capito*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, &c. He died of the plague at *Baſil* on the firſt of *Auguſt* in 1541.

He did great ſervice to the republic of letters, and the learned are obliged to him for the editions of ſeveral antient authors. He was the firſt who publiſhed the *Almageſt* of *Ptolemy* in Greek, which he did at *Baſil* in 1538, and added a preface concerning the uſe of that author's doctrine. He publiſhed a Greek *Euclid*, with a preface, in 1533, and *Plato*'s works, with ſome commentaries of *Proclus* in 1534. He corrected in ſome places *Marſilius Ficinus*'s Latin verſion of *Plato:* Yet it ſhould ſeem, as if he did not excel as a tranſlator, for *Huetius* calls him 'verboſe, and more like a paraphraſt.' He wrote a treatiſe upon the uſe of hiſtory; and a diſputation upon comets. His edition of *Plato* was addreſſed to *John More*, the chancellor's ſon, as a teſtimony of gratitude for favor's received from the father; and as the following paſſage in the dedication ſhews Sir *Thomas*, as well as *Grynæus*, in a very amiable light, we think it not amiſs

to inſert it here. Our Readers will remember, that it is in a *dedication*, in which, we are ſorry to ſay, that good men too often render truth itſelf hyperbolical, and ſometimes fancy that men *are*, what indeed they *ought to be*. We do not mean, by this remark, to detract from the perſonal worth of Sir *Thomas More*, which was certainly very great; though we confeſs it not a little extraordinary, that this great man ſhould perſecute, or at leaſt approve the perſecution of, ſome proteſtants to death only for their religion, while he could at the ſame time paſs over this terrible fault in others, merely for a literary recommendation. As to *Grynæus*, we value him as a ſcholar and promoter of ſcience, which indeed is a ſecondary promotion of true religion; but we give him a place here chiefly becauſe he was a good man, a lover of the Reformation, and confidentially employed by the Reformers.

"It is you know (ſays *Grynæus*) three years ſince my "arriving in *England*, and being recommended moſt "auſpiciouſly by my friend *Eraſmus* to your houſe, the "ſacred ſeat of the muſes; I was there received with "great kindneſs, was entertained with greater, was diſ-"miſſed with the greateſt of all. For that great and "excellent man your father, ſo eminent for his high rank "and noble talents, not only allowed to me, a private "and obſcure perſon, (ſuch was his love of literature) "the honor of converſing with him in the midſt of "many public and private affairs, but gave me a place at "his table, though he was the greateſt man in *England*, "took me with him when he went to court or returned "from it, and had me ever by his ſide, but alſo with "the utmoſt gentleneſs and candour enquired, in what "particulars my religious principles were different from "his; and though he found them to vary greatly, yet "he was ſo kind as to aſſiſt me in every reſpect, and even "to defray all my expences. He likewiſe ſent me to "*Oxford* with one Mr. *Harris*, a learned young gentle-"man, and recommended me ſo powerfully to the uni-"verſity, that, at the ſight of his letters, all the libraries "were open to me, and I was admitted to the moſt inti-"mate familiarity with the ſtudents."

He had a ſon, *Samuel Grynæus*, born at *Baſil* in 1539; who was made profeſſor of oratory there at the age of twenty-five, and afterwards of civil law; and who died there in *April* 1599. He was uncle to *Thomas Grynæus*, the account of whoſe life will follow in its place.

LEO

LEO JUDÆ.

THIS great and good divine was born in *Alſace*, in 1482, was brought up in the ſchool of *Sleſtadt*, and from thence was ſent to *Baſil*, about the year 1502, where he joined in ſtudy with the famous *Zuinglius* under the tuition of Dr. *Wittenbaſh*, a very learned man, by whom he received the firſt principles of the evangelical doctrine concerning *Chriſt*'s ſatisfaction for ſin and the leading truths of the goſpel. In this univerſity he made a great proficiency in letters, and in the year 1512 took his degree of maſter of arts and profeſſed philoſophy. There alſo he was made a deacon; and from this miniſtration was called into *Switzerland*, where he devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, and to the reading of the fathers, particularly of *Jerom* and *Auguſtine*: He likewiſe diligently read the books of *Luther*, *Eraſmus*, and *Reuchlin* the famous *Hebræan*.

By the writings of theſe excellent men he more plainly diſcovered, and afterwards utterly abhorred the idolatrous ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*. At length, being called to a paſtoral charge at *Zurich*, he openly oppoſed the popiſh doctrine, both from the pulpit and preſs; and became diſtinguiſhed among the great and burning lights of the Reformation. At *Zurich* he continued eighteen years, and ſpent much of that time in expounding the Old Teſtament out of the *Hebrew*, in the knowledge of which having made uncommon progreſs, he was ſolicited by his brethren in the miniſtry, to undertake the tranſlation of the Old Teſtament; with which requeſt he complied, and was aſſiſted by other learned men. He diligently collated all the *Hebrew* copies, which he could command, for the interpretation of the moſt difficult places, and made great uſe of the *Greek* and *Latin* tranſlations, without entirely depending upon them. But he proſecuted this work with ſuch intenſeneſs of application, that he deſtroyed his health, and died with all the debility of extreme age at ſixty, on the 9th of *June*, in the year 1542;

1542; leaving unfiniſhed *Job*, the forty laſt *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Canticles*, and the eight laſt chapters of *Ezekiel*, which he commended to *Theodore Bibliander* to finiſh, who accordingly did it: And he left all to *Conrade Pellican* to peruſe, and put to the preſs, which he carefully performed. This tranſlation *Robert Stephens* afterwards in a great meaſure pirated, without once making mention of the names of theſe worthies, by whoſe learning and labor it had been accompliſhed.

Four days before his death, he ſent for the paſtors and profeſſors of *Zurich*, before whom he made a confeſſion of his faith concerning GOD, the ſcriptures, the perſon and offices of CHRIST, and the ſufficiency of his ſalvation; concluding with theſe words; "To this, my Lord "and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, my hope, and my ſalvation, "I wholly offer up my ſoul and body. I caſt myſelf "wholly upon His mercy and grace. Utterly abandon-"ing all that is in myſelf, I entirely caſt myſelf upon "his promiſes for eternal life; and in this confidence I "fear not to die, firmly truſting, that I ſhall enjoy that "moſt bleſſed Saviour, whom I have now ſo long preached "to others, and whoſe face I have ſo long deſired to ſee, "in that ſtate, where is the fullneſs of joy for ever and "ever."

Having ſaid this, he moſt devoutly gave thanks to God for all the mercies he had received, deſired his bleſſing upon the church and people of the country where he had lived, and finally commended his dear wife, now about to become a widow, with his orphan children, to the tender mercies of his heavenly Father.

Beſides the tranſlation abovementioned, *Leo Judæ* wrote annotations upon *Geneſis* and *Exodus*, in which he was aſſiſted by *Zuinglius*; likewiſe upon the four goſpels, and upon the epiſtles to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, *Theſſalonians*, and of *James*. He alſo compoſed a larger and ſmaller catechiſm, and tranſlated ſome of *Zuinglius*'s works into *Latin*.

Our Dr. *More*, in his *Exercitationes de Scripturâ ſacrâ*, ſays of *Leo*, that he was extremely learned in the *Hebrew* tongue, and remarks likewiſe that his bible was printed at *Paris* by *Robert Stephens*, with the notes of *Vatablus* and others, under another name.

PETER BRULIUS.

ABOUT the year 1538, a college or ſchool was opened at *Straſburg*, a free imperial city upon the *Rhine*, chiefly by the endeavors and procurement of the celebrated *James Sturmius*, one of the principal citizens and a ſenator. By the care and attention of this learned and worthy man, and by the learning and abilities of the maſters appointed through his recommendation, this ſeminary quickly arrived to the firſt degree of eminence, and became famous all over *Germany* and the neighbouring countries. Proteſtantiſm and true knowledge at that time floriſhed together. Invited by this and other favorable circumſtances, great numbers of *French* and *Flemings*, driven from their native country upon the account of religion, ſettled at *Straſburg*, where the ſenate of the city aſſigned them a church for public worſhip, and allowed them the privilege of incorporating themſelves into a diſtinct body. One of theſe was the famous *John Sleidan*, author of the hiſtory of the Reformation, who died there on the 31ſt of *October*, 1556. Of this church *Calvin* was paſtor for ſome years, and was ſucceeded by *Brulius*, very much to the comfort and ſatisfaction of the people.

Throughout all the provinces, belonging to the emperor, in the *Netherlands*, there prevailed at this period among the people the moſt earneſt deſire to be inſtructed in the reformed religion; ſo that in places where the truth was not, or dared not to be, preached; private invitations were ſent to the miniſters, who reſided in towns, where the pure goſpel was preached openly. Some people in *Tournay*, accordingly, invited *Brulius* from *Straſburg*. Ready to every good word and work, this excellent man complied with their requeſt; and arrived at *Tournay* in the month of *September*, 1544, and was moſt joyfully received by thoſe who had invited him. After ſtaying ſometime, he made an excurſion to *Liſle* in *Flanders*, upon the

the ſame account, and returned to *Tournay* about the end of *October* following. But, by ſome means, his buſineſs and profeſſion were divulged to the papiſtical governors of the city, who ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made for him, and the gates to be ſhut for the purpoſe. In this imminent danger, as there was no poſſibility of concealing him longer, his friends, on the ſecond of *November*, in the night, let him down over the wall by a rope. When he had reached the ground, he ſat down to take a little reſt; but one of thoſe, who aſſiſted in his eſcape, leaning as far as he could over the wall, that he might ſoftly bid him farewell, forced out a looſe ſtone with his foot, which fell upon *Brulius*'s leg and broke it. The pain occaſioned by this wound and the ſevere cold of the night, extorted ſuch loud groans from the good man, as alarmed the watch, who ſoon ſeized their prey and committed him to priſon. The afflicting news was not long in reaching *Germany*, nor was the ſenate of *Straſburg* ſlow in interceding for his releaſe by the moſt preſſing letters. The deputies of the proteſtants, then aſſembled at *Worms*, alſo ſued in his behalf, though unhappily too late; for before the letters, which were ſent in the name of the duke of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, were delivered, he was on the 19th of *February*, 1545, put to death, to the great grief of all good men.

The manner of his execution was ſevere, his body being burnt by a ſlow-fire, for his greater torment. But nothing could triumph over his faith; for he ſtood to the truth of GOD to his laſt breath, and exhorted, by his letters, many of his friends to do ſo, who were impriſoned for the ſake of the goſpel. When he was examined in priſon, the monks, in preſence of the magiſtrates, aſked him the queſtion; 'What he thought 'of the ſacrament of the altar, of the maſs, conſecration, 'adoration of the hoſt, of purgatory, of the worſhipping 'of ſaints, free-will, good works, juſtification, images, 'vows, confeſſion, and the like.' To theſe he made anſwer; "That the body and blood of *Chriſt* were re-"ceived, not by the mouth, but ſpiritually by faith; "and that the ſubſtance of the bread and wine was not "changed: That, when according to *Chriſt*'s inſtitu-"tion, the Lord's Supper is given to the church in the "vulgar tongue, ſo that all may underſtand the uſe and "benefit of it, that then the elements are duly conſe-"crated, and that by the words of *Chriſt*; whereas the "whiſpers and mutterings, uſed by the maſs-prieſts over "the bread and wine, better became conjurers and jug-

" glers, than Chriſtian miniſters: That the popiſh maſs " had nothing to do with the Lord's Supper, but was a " worſhip invented by man, to the diſparagement of the " inſtitution of *Chriſt*: That the adoration of the wafer " was idolatry, becauſe a creature was there worſhipped " inſtead of the Creator: That he neither knew, nor " cared for, any other purgatory, than the blood of *Chriſt*; " which alone remits both the guilt and puniſhment of " our ſins: That, therefore, maſſes and prayers for the " dead, were not only uſeleſs, but impious, as having no " warrant from the word of GOD: That ſaints cannot " be more truly reſpected, than by imitating their faith " and virtues, and that, if more be done, it is impious, " and what they themſelves, were they in the world, " would tremble at and abhor: That, therefore, they are " not to be invoked as interceſſors, which would be giv- " ing them a glory which belongs to *Chriſt* alone: That, " by the fall of *Adam*, the nature of man is wholly cor- " rupted, and the freedom of his will forfeited; ſo that " he can do no good, without the grace of GOD; but " that a regenerated man, moved by GOD, like a good " tree brings forth good fruits: That nothing deſerves " the name of faith, but what bringeth us ſalvation, " namely, when we believe the divine promiſes, and cer- " tainly conclude, that through *Chriſt Jeſus* our ſins are " forgiven us: That traditions, by which the minds of " men are enſlaved, are not to be received: That it was " very dangerous to have ſtatues and images in churches, " for fear of idolatry: That baptiſm is the outward ſign " of GOD's covenant, whereby he teſtifies that he will " pardon our ſins, and likewiſe a ſign of perpetual mor- " tification and a new life, which ought to accompany " baptiſm: That this ſacrament is to be received by all, " and children not to be barred from it, ſeeing they alſo " are partakers of the divine promiſes: That no vow is " to be made, which either the word of GOD doth not " allow, or that cannot be performed by man: That " every one ought to confeſs his ſins to GOD, and im- " plore his mercy and forgiveneſs: That, if the conſcience " be diſquieted, counſel is to be taken of a miniſter of the " church, for advice and comfort; but that auricular " confeſſion and a particular enumeration of ſins to a " prieſt, has no warrant in ſcripture, nor can be of any " poſſible uſe."

Some days before he was brought to a tryal, he wrote of all theſe things to his wife and to his other friends,

who had earneſtly requeſted an account of his treatment from him. His ſiſter, who appears to have viſited him conſtantly in his confinement, found means privately to convey this correſpondence to the parties. The laſt letter this excellent man wrote muſt have been a moſt afflicting one indeed. It was written to his wife the day before he ſuffered. He gave her an account of the kind of death he was to endure on the enſuing day, and filled his letter with pious exhortations and conſolations to her, concluding that ſhe ought not to be grieved for his ſake but to rejoice, ſince this whole diſpenſation was an honor that his heavenly Father conferred upon him; that *Jeſus Chriſt* had ſuffered infinitely more for him, and that, however, "The ſervant's condition ought not to be better than his "Lord's."—What a proof is here, among a multitude of others, of the omnipotent efficacy of divine grace, which can make the nature of man, always ſhrinking from pain, defy the power of torment, and which can give the human heart, when it is ſtripped of all worldly comfort, ſuch a flood of joy, as to bear it up over death, and all the other evils which wicked men or wicked ſpirits can inflict upon it!

From this time for many years afterwards, the hiſtory of pious men and women, profeſſing the proteſtant doctrine, who ſuffered in *Germany*, *France*, *Flanders*, and indeed all over *Europe*, would be too voluminous in itſelf, and beyond the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves in this work, to be detailed. The miniſters alone who preached or ſuffered for the truths of the goſpel cannot be ſpecified by us, without exceeding the purpoſe of our plan. We wiſh to give the Reader the moſt remarkable of theſe for life, learning, and doctrine; though it is hard to determine ſometimes, not whom to inſert (for, bleſſed be GOD, their number is abundantly large) but whom, on account of their excellency, to omit without ſeeming to ſlight thoſe excellent endowments, which God had vouchſafed them. If the *martyrs* themſelves make up a *noble army*; what will the other eminent ſervants of *Chriſt* compoſe, who only had the honor of preaching his goſpel? And if *martyrs* and *preachers* would form ſo immenſe an aſſembly; we may well ſay, in the words of the ſcripture, of the *reſt* of GOD's people, that they are *a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. Even ſo, Amen: Hallelujah!*

MARTIN

MARTIN LUTHER,

THE GREAT REFORMER.

IN the order of time, we come now to treat of a moſt wonderful man, whom GOD raiſed up in theſe laſt ages of the world, to break the chain of ſuperſtition and ſpiritual ſlavery, with which the biſhops of *Rome* and their dependents had, for many centuries, caſt over the conſciences of all men. He was an inſtrument truly prepared for this great work; and yet but a mean and obſcure monk, to ſhew us, that HE, who ruleth all things, effected himſelf the important deſign, in which the greateſt prince upon earth would have undoubtedly failed.

The conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all *Europe*, had long given ſcandal to the world. The biſhops were groſsly ignorant: They ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes, except to riot at high feſtivals: And all the effect their reſidence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill example. Nay, ſome of them could not ſo much as *write*, but employed ſome perſon, or chaplain who had attained that accompliſhment, to ſubſcribe their names for them. They followed the courts of princes, and aſpired to the greateſt offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleneſs; and it appeared, by the unmarried ſtate both of the ſeculars and regulars, that the reſtraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In ſum; all ranks of churchmen were ſo univerſally deſpiſed and hated, that the world was very apt to be poſſeſſed with prejudice againſt their doctrines, for the ſake of the men whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them: And the worſhip of God

was



From an original Painting presented by Count Ronnof, a Bohemian Nobleman, to the Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy.

BRITISH MUSEUM

was ſo defiled with groſs ſuperſtition, that, without great enquiries, all men were eaſily convinced, that the church ſtood in great need of a Reformation. This was much increaſed when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and later ages of the church very evidently appeared. They found, that a blind ſuperſtition came firſt in the room of true piety; and when, by its means, the wealth and intereſt of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that eſtabliſhed their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All theſe things concurred to make way for the advancement of the Reformation.

Wickliffe, *Huſs*, *Jerom* of *Prague*, and others, had laid the ſeeds of the Reformation, which *Luther* nouriſhed with great warmth. The ſcandalous extolling of indulgences gave the firſt occaſion to all the contradiction that followed between *Luther* and the church of *Rome*; in which, if the corruptions and cruelty of the clergy had not been ſo viſible and ſcandalous, ſo ſmall a matter could not have produced ſuch a revolution: But any criſis will put ill humours into a ferment.

As proteſtants, we are certainly much obliged to *Eraſmus*; yet we are far more obliged, under God, to thoſe great inſtruments of the Reformation, viz. *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Cranmer*, and others. The greateſt enemies of *Luther* cannot deny, but that he had eminent qualities; and hiſtory affords nothing more ſurprizing than what he had done: For a ſimple monk to be able to give popery ſo rude a ſhock, that there needed but ſuch another entirely to overthrow the *Romiſh* church, is what we cannot ſufficiently admire, and marks the hand of providence conducting the whole. It was ſaid, with reaſon, that *Eraſmus*, by his railleries, prepared the way for *Luther*; and *Simon Fontaine* the popiſh hiſtorian, complained, that *Eraſmus* occaſionally had done more miſchief than *Luther*; becauſe *Luther* only opened the door wider, after *Eraſmus* had picked the lock, and half opened it. Notwithſtanding all this, ſays *Bayle*, there muſt have been eminent gifts in *Luther* to produce ſuch a Revolution as he has done.

Martin Luther was born at *Iſleben*, a town in the county of *Mansfield*, in the circle of *Upper Saxony*, on the tenth of *November*, 1483, at nine o'clock at night, being St. *Martin*'s eve, which made his parents name him *Martin*. His father was called *John Luther*, or *Luder*, becauſe he

was

was a refiner of metals; for Luder, in the *German* language, has that ſignification: It is agreed that his buſineſs was about the mines; and that he was the chief magiſtrate of the city of *Mansfield*. His mother's name was *Margaret Lindeman*, who was remarkable for her piety.

Among the falſhoods which have been publiſhed concerning *Martin Luther*, no regard has been had to probability, or to the rules of the art of ſlandering. The authors of them have aſſumed all the confidence of thoſe who fully believe that the public will blindly adopt all their ſtories, however abſurd. They have dared to publiſh, that an *Incubus* begat him; and have even falſified the day of his birth, to frame a ſcheme of nativity to his diſadvantage. Father *Maimbourg* has been ſo equitable as to reject this ridiculous ſtory: But *Gauricus* has made himſelf contemptible for his aſtrology.

When *Martin Luther* was fourteen years of age, he was ſent to the public ſchool of *Magdeburg*, where he continued one year, and was then removed to that of *Eyſenach*, where he ſtudied four years. The circumſtances of his parents were at that time ſo very low, and ſo inſufficient to maintain him, that he was forced, as *Melchior Adam* relates, *mendicato vivere pane*, to live by begging his bread. When he had finiſhed his grammar ſtudies, he was ſent to the famous ſchool at *Eyſenach* in *Thuringia*, for the ſake of being among his mother's relations, where he applied himſelf very diligently to his books for four years, and began to diſcover all that force and ſtrength of parts, that acuteneſs and penetration, that warm and rapid eloquence, which afterwards were attended with ſuch amazing ſucceſs. In the year 1501, he was entered at the univerſity of *Erford* or *Erfurt*, in *Thuringia*, where he went through a courſe of philoſophy, and was admitted maſter of arts, in 1503, being then twenty years old. He was ſoon after made profeſſor of phyſic, and ethics: But he chiefly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law, and intended to advance himſelf to the bar, from which he was diverted by this uncommon accident. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was ſtruck by a thunderbolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: Whereupon *Luther* reſolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the hermits of St. *Auguſtine*. He made his profeſſion in the monaſtry of *Erfurt*, where he took prieſt's orders, and celebrated his firſt maſs in the year 1507.

It

It is reported, that there was an old man in this monaſtry, with whom *Luther* had ſeveral conferences upon many theological ſubjects, particularly concerning the article of remiſſion of ſins. This article was explained by the old monk to *Luther*, 'That it was the expreſs 'commandment of God, that every man ſhould believe 'his ſins to be forgiven him in *Chriſt*.' *Luther* found this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimony of St. *Bernard*, who ſays, 'That man is freely juſtified by 'faith.' He then perceived the meaning of St. *Paul*, when he repeats, 'We are juſtified by faith.' He conſulted the expoſitions of many writers upon that apoſtle, and ſaw through the vanity of thoſe interpretations, which he had read before of the ſchoolmen. He compared the ſayings and examples of the prophets, and apoſtles: He alſo ſtudied the works of St. *Auguſtine*: But ſtill conſulted the ſententiaries, as *Gabriel* and *Camarencis*. He likewiſe read the books of *Occam*, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred before *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*.

In 1508, the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, in the duchy of *Saxony*, was eſtabliſhed under the direction of *Staupitius*, whoſe good opinion of *Luther* occaſioned him to ſend for him from *Erfurt* to *Wittenberg*, where he taught philoſophy; and his lectures were attended by *Mellarſtad*, and many other wiſe and learned men. He expounded the logic and philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, in the ſchools; and began to examine the old theology, in the churches.

Mellarſtad uſually ſaid, that *Luther* was of ſuch a wonderful ſpirit, and of ſuch ingenious parts, as to give apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſy, and familiar manner of teaching; as alſo alter and aboliſh the order that was then uſed.

In the year 1512, he was ſent to *Rome*, to take up ſome controverſies which happened among his order; and he conducted himſelf ſo well as to obtain the character of a prudent man. This is repreſented to have happened before he came to *Wittenberg*; which is a miſtake: For it was three years after he was at that univerſity. The occaſion was this: Seven convents of the *Auguſtines* quarrelled with their vicar-general, and *Luther* was choſen by the monks to maintain their cauſe at *Rome*. He was of an active ſpirit; a bold declaimer, was endued with a moſt firm and ſteady temper, and had a prodigious ſhare of natural courage, which nothing could break or daunt. In ſhort, he ſucceeded in his buſineſs, for which he was made doctor and profeſſor of divinity, upon his

return to *Wittenberg*. At *Rome* he ſaw the pope and the court, and had an opportunity alſo of obſerving the manners of the clergy, whoſe haſty, ſuperficial, and impious way of celebrating maſs, he has ſeverely noted. "I "performed maſs, ſays he, at *Rome*; I ſaw it alſo per- "formed by others, but in ſuch a manner, that I never "think of it without the utmoſt horror." He often ſpoke afterwards of his journey to *Rome*, and uſed to ſay, that "He would not but have made it for a thouſand "florins." A monkiſh poet himſelf, upon the view of the barefaced iniquity of the pope's pretended holy city, could not help ſinging:

Vivere qui cupitis ſanctè, diſcedite Româ:
Omnia cùm liceant, non licet eſſe bonum.'

'If you would live righteouſly, keep clear of *Rome*:
'For though her prieſts can licenſe every thing elſe,
'they allow of nothing good.'

The degree of doctor was forced upon him, againſt his will, by *Staupitius*, who ſaid to him, 'That God had 'many things to bring to paſs in his church by him.' Theſe words were careleſsly ſpoken; yet they proved true, like many other predictions before a great change. *Luther* was graduated doctor at the expence of *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, who 'had heard him preach, well 'underſtood the quietneſs of his ſpirit, diligently con- 'ſidered the vehemency of his words, and had in ſingular 'admiration thoſe profound matters which in his ſer- 'mons he ripely and exactly explained.'

After this, he began to expound the epiſtle to the *Romans*, and the *Pſalms*; where he ſhewed the difference between the law and the goſpel. He refuted the error that was then predominant in ſchools and ſermons; that men may merit remiſſion of ſins by their own proper works. As *John Baptiſt* demonſtrated the Lamb of God which took away the ſins of the world: So *Luther*, ſhining in the church as a bright ſtar after an obſcure ſky, expreſsly ſhewed, that ſins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

His life was correſpondent to his profeſſion; and theſe happy beginnings of ſuch important matters procured him great authority. However, he attempted no alteration in the ceremonies of religion, and interfered in no doubtful opinions: But contented himſelf with opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remiſſion of ſins,

ſins, of faith, and of true comfort in times of adverſity. His doctrine was generally approved by the learned, who conceived high pleaſure to behold *Jeſus Chriſt*, the prophets, and apoſtles, to emerge into the light out of darkneſs, whereby they began to underſtand the difference between the law and the goſpel, between ſpiritual righteouſneſs and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and other ſchoolmen. *Eraſmus* revived learning while *Luther* was teaching divinity at *Wittenberg*. The former brought the monk's barbarous and ſophiſtical doctrine into contempt by his elegant work: Which induced *Luther* to ſtudy the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountains, he might paſs his judgement with more authority.

We come now to turbulent and tempeſtuous times between the Reformed and the Romaniſts. The monks loudly complained of *Eraſmus*, whoſe bold and free cenſures of their pious grimaces and ſuperſtitious devotions, had opened the way for *Luther*. *Eraſmus*, as they uſed to ſay, 'Laid the egg, and *Luther* hatched it.' The ridiculous *Maimbourg* tells us, that the catholic church enjoyed a ſweet peace in the ſixteenth century, and held the popes in profound veneration, till *Luther* raiſed commotions: A ſtory which was only fit to be told to boys and girls at *Paris*. It is hard to name two perſons, who were more generally, and more deſervedly abhorred, than *Alexander* VI. and *Julius* II: And as to *Leo* X. all the world knows, that he ſat very looſe to religion and morality.

The year 1517, was the 356th from the Reformation of religion in *France* by the *Waldenſes:* The 146th from the firſt confutation of popiſh errors in *England* by *John Wickliffe:* The 116th from the miniſtry of *John Huſs*, who oppoſed the errors of popery in *Bohemia:* And the 36th year from the condemnation of *John de Weſaliâ*, who taught at *Worms*.

The papal power was re-eſtabliſhed, and carried farther than ever: All the weſtern world, except the *Waldenſes** in *France*, and a few *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*, having embraced

* The riſe of the *Waldenſes* was from *Waldus* or *Valdo*, a man of eminence and property at *Lyons* in *France*, about the year 1160. He was brought to ſerioufneſs by the ſudden death of one of his friends; and, having ſome learning, he read the ſcriptures, probably in the vulgate tranſlation, which he rendered into *French*, and expounded to

embraced the communion, and ſubmitted to the authority of *Rome*: When all of a ſudden, and from a moſt inconſiderable accident, as it might ſeem, a ſtrange diſcontent aroſe, which ended in the revolt of great part of *Europe*; and the pope, who might, juſt before, have been conſidered in all the meridian of his glory, was in danger of loſing all. The divine providence delights to accompliſh the greateſt purpoſes by the ſmalleſt means, that the hand of God might appear rather than the hand of man, and the great Governor of the univerſe have all the glory.

Leo X. ſucceeded *Julius* II. in 1513. He was of the rich and powerful family of the *Medici* of *Florence*, naturally proud and lofty. But it is alſo ſaid, that he was of a courteous diſpoſition, very generous to men of learning and integrity: And would, if he had been tolerably well ſkilled in divinity, or ſhewn any regard to piety, although but feigned, have paſſed for a very good pope. The magnificent church of St. *Peter* was begun by *Julius* II. and required very large ſums to finiſh: But *Leo* was deſirous of having it completed, notwithſtanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treaſure of the apoſtolic chamber was exhauſted. To bear the great expence of finiſhing that ſuperb edifice, *Leo* found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to ſome extraor-

others. This alarmed the clergy, who threatened him with excommunication if he perſiſted; but he, perſuaded of the truth and utility of what he had done, regarded not men, but God. He was, therefore, driven out of the city, with his friends and followers, who were ſtripped of their property, for which reaſon they were called not only *Waldenſes*, but *the poor of Lyons*, having nothing but the ſcanty ſubſiſtence which they could pick up on the mountains of *Savoy*, where they remained for ſeveral ages. They were joined by ſome men of learning, who hated the clergy, and maintained, that the biſhop of *Rome*, and the prieſts, had corrupted the holy ſcriptures by their tenets and gloſſes. They paid no tithes, made no offerings, obſerved no feſtivals, and celebrated no faſts: They believed, that prayers for the dead were uſeleſs and ſuperſtitious; they denied the authority of prieſts, and deſpiſed confeſſion. They led pure and holy lives, and aſſerted, that they only were the true church; and that the church of *Rome* was a proſtitute, which taught an infinite number of errors. The *Romiſh* prieſts called the *Waldenſes*, heretics; and their prieſts, who were called *Barbes*, were perſecuted: But their poſterity now inhabit the vallies of *Piedmont*, called the *Vaudois*. *Peter Gilles*, miniſter of the reformed church of *La Tour*, in the vale of *Lucerne*, compoſed by order of his ſuperiors, an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the churches of the *Vaudois*, and publiſhed it at *Geneva* in 1644: And *Claudius Seyſſelius*, archbiſhop of *Turin*, wrote a treatiſe againſt the *Vaudois*, with the hopes of converting them to popery.

dinary

dinary means for raiſing money; which he was adviſed, by cardinal *Pucci*, to do by ſelling indulgences; as the court of *Rome*, upon ſeveral occaſions, had formerly experienced to her advantage in raiſing troops and money againſt the *Turks*. *Leo*, therefore, in 1517, publiſhed general indulgences throughout all *Europe*, in favor of thoſe who would contribute any ſum to the building of St. *Peter's*.

Some ſay, that theſe indulgences were publiſhed under the pretence of making war upon the *Turks*; and that the pope ſent a Jubilee, with his pardons, through all Chriſtian realms, whereby he collected an immenſe treaſure.

Several perſons were ſent into different countries, to preach up theſe indulgences, and to receive money for them. The collectors perſuaded the people, that thoſe who gave to the value of about ten ſhillings ſterling, ſhould at their pleaſure deliver one ſoul from the pains of purgatory: But, if the ſum was leſs, they preached, that it would profit them nothing.

The pope employed the *Dominicans* in this dirty work in *Germany*, at which the *Auguſtines* were irritated, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. As all the money, raiſed this way in *Saxony* and thereabouts, was granted to *Magdalen*, ſiſter to the pope, ſhe, to make the moſt of it, appointed *Archimbald*, a biſhop, by habit and title, but as well verſed in the tricking part of trade as a *Genoeſe*, to manage for her. But we are told, that *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, archbiſhop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, who was ſoon after made a cardinal, had a commiſſion for *Germany:* That, inſtead of employing the *Auguſtine* friars, who had labored above all the religious orders to make them paſs, he gave his commiſſion to *John Tetzelius*, a *Dominican*, and to other friars of the ſame order; becauſe he had lately collected great ſums for the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who were at war againſt the *Muſcovites*, by preaching up the like indulgences, which the pope had granted to theſe knights. *Tetzelius*, or *Iccelius* as he is called by ſome, boaſted that 'He had ſo ample a 'commiſſion from the pope, that, though a man ſhould 'have deflowered the virgin *Mary*, for a proper ſum of 'money he could pardon him;' and aſſured the people, that 'He did not only give pardon for ſins paſt, but alſo 'for ſins to come.'

John Staupitius was the vicar-general of the *Auguſtines* in *Saxony*; and he was greatly eſteemed by the elector,

who was one of the moſt opulent and potent princes in *Germany*. *Staupitius* informed the elector of the pernicious conſequences of theſe indulgences. On this occaſion, *Luther*, who was of the *Auguſtine* order, and profeſſor of divinity at *Wittenberg*, began to examine the doctrine of indulgences, which the *Dominicans* ſold in the moſt open, and in the moſt infamous manner; and having found it full of errors, he refuted it publicly in 1517. It is ſaid, he was naturally paſſionate, and zealous for the intereſt of his order, which made him declaim againſt the abuſes of indulgences, and maintain doctrinal theſes about them contrary to the common notions of divines. But it ſeems not to have been any ſpleen againſt the *Dominicans* that ſet *Luther* to work: It was only his diſlike to ſuch practices. Some ſay, that *Leo* X. whoſe ſordid traffic, to which he reduced the diſtribution of indulgences, gave birth to *Luther*'s Reformation, ſpoke honorably of this Reformer in the beginning. *Silveſter Prierio*, maſter of the ſacred palace, ſhewed *Leo* the doctrine which *Luther* had vented in his book concerning indulgences: But pope *Leo* anſwered, that friar *Martin* had a fine genius, and that theſe ſurmiſes were monkiſh jealouſies.

Tetzelius, or *Tecellius*, impudently ſold the pope's indulgences about the country. *Luther* was greatly exaſperated at the blaſphemous ſermons of this ſhameleſs *Dominican*; 'And having his heart earneſtly bent with 'ardent deſire to maintain true religion, publiſhed cer-'tain propoſitions concerning indulgences, which are to 'be read in the firſt tome of his works, and ſet them 'openly on the temple that joineth to the caſtle of *Witten-'berg*, the morrow after the feaſt of *All-ſaints*, in 1517.' He challenged any one to oppoſe them, either by writing or diſputation.

John Hilten, a *German* franciſcan, of *Eyſenach*, pretended to ground ſome predictions upon the book of *Daniel* in 1485. *Melancthon*, who had ſeen the original of that work, ſays, the author foretold, that, in 1516, the power of the pope ſhould begin to decay. We are informed, that *Hilten* was put into priſon, for having reproved ſome monaſtical abuſes; and that being very ſick, he ſent for the guardian, and told him, 'I have ſpoke no 'great matter againſt the monkery; but there ſhall come 'one, in 1516, who ſhall overturn it.' *Du Pleſſis* adds, that *Luther* began to preach that year; in which he was miſtaken, for the æra of Lutheraniſm began not till 1517.

The

The firſt theſis publiſhed by *Luther* contained ninety-five propoſitions, in which he plainly declared his opinion about indulgences. He maintained, "that the pope "could releaſe no puniſhments, but what he inflicted; "and ſo indulgences could be only a relaxation of eccle-"ſiaſtical penalties: That Chriſtians are to be inſtruct-"ed; that the purchaſe of a pardon is not to be com-"pared to works of mercy; and that it is better to give "to the poor, than to buy pardons: That no confidence "ſhould be placed in indulgences, which cannot remit "the leaſt venial ſin in reſpect of the guilt: That thoſe "who believe they ſhall be ſaved by indulgences only, "ſhall be damned with their maſters, and that it is a "matter of indifference whether men buy or not buy any "indulgences." He alſo condemned ſeveral propoſitions which he attributed to his adverſaries; and reproved ſeveral abuſes, of which he declared them guilty. He pronounced an anathema upon thoſe who ſpoke againſt the truth of apoſtolic indulgences; but hoped for all bleſſing upon thoſe, who ſhould be vigilant in ſtopping the licence and zeal of the preachers up of papal indulgences.

Luther vindicated his theſis in a letter to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who promoted the ſale of theſe indulgences, and told him, "he could not keep ſilence, when he ſaw "the ſouls entruſted to the care of ſuch an illuſtrious "perſon ſo ill inſtructed, and for which he muſt one day "give an account;" aſſuring him at the ſame time, that what he did in oppoſing this monſtrous traffic, was entirely from a principle of conſcience and duty, and with a faithful and ſubmiſſive temper of mind.

Tetzelius aſſembled the monks and ſophiſtical divines of his convent, whom he commanded to write ſomething againſt *Luther*; while he cried out from the pulpit, that *Luther* was a heretic, and worthy to be proſecuted with fire. In a public diſpute at *Franefort* upon the *Oder*, he laid down a theſis, in which he oppoſed that of *Luther*; and he alſo publiſhed a piece in *German* againſt a ſermon which *Luther* had preached on indulgences. This preaching friar, who was an inquiſitor in *Germany*, maintained, 'that the miniſters of the church may im-'poſe a puniſhment to be ſuffered after death; and that 'it is better to ſend a penitent, with a ſmall penance 'into purgatory, than to ſend him into hell by refuſing 'abſolution: That heretics, ſchiſmatics, and wicked 'men are excommunicated after death; and the dead 'are ſubject to the laws of the church: That the pope,

by

'by granting plenary indulgences, intends to remit all punishments in general: And that indulgences remit punishment more readily than works of charity.'

Tetzelius also composed fifty other propositions about the authority of the pope, which he said was supreme, and above the universal church, and a council: That there are many catholic truths, which are not in the holy scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are catholic; and that his judgement in matters of faith is infallible.

These famous positions of *Luther* and *Tetzelius* were like the challenge and defence of the dispute set on foot by both parties. *Luther* wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important dispute: But *Tetzelius* treated him as an heresiarch. The former trusted to the goodness of his cause, which he defended by his parts and knowledge: The latter was so ignorant, that he could not write his own answer, which was drawn up for him by *Conradus Wimpina*, the divinity-professor at *Francfort*. *Luther* was protected by the elector of *Saxony*: But *Tetzelius* had more authority by his offices of commissioner and inquisitor; though he was a man of such very profligate morals, that he had been condemned to die for adultery at *Inspruck*, and was pardoned at the intercession of the elector of *Saxony*.

The emperor *Maximilian*, being at *Inspruck*, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of *Tetzelius*, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him seized upon, put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the solicitations of *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*. *Tetzel*, or *Tezelius*, was a person too mean and worthless, to be compared on any account with *Luther*: And *Seckendorf* tells a pleasant tale of a gentleman of *Leipsic*, who bought an indulgence of *Tezelius*, only by way of absolution for robbing and cudgelling him afterwards.

Tetzelius caused the propositions of *Luther* to be burnt; which inforced *Luther* to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter. Thus arose this controversy, 'wherein *Luther*, (says *Fox*) neither suspecting, nor 'dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but 'required a moderation in them: And, therefore, they 'falsely accuse him, which blaze that he began with 'plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the 'end, that he might change the state of the common-

'weal,

'weal, and purchaſe authority either for himſelf or 'others.'

As it was not expected, and perhaps *Luther* did not think at firſt of falling off from the pope; many divines, ſome cardinals, and *George* duke of *Saxony*, pleaſed with the juſtice of his cauſe, and his manner of defending it, ſided with him; and the emperor *Maximilian* ſaid, that he ought to be protected. Nor had *Luther* any enemies, while he confined himſelf to writing againſt the abuſe of indulgences, except the monks and their agents, whoſe intereſt was at ſtake. Theſe, indeed, raiſed a great clamour againſt him: But their malice, without argument, increaſed, inſtead of leſſening, his party.

John Eckius, profeſſor, and vice-chancellor, of the univerſity of *Ingoldſtadt*, alſo oppoſed *Luther*; in which he was joined by *Silveſter Prierias*, profeſſor in the univerſity of *Padua*, vicar-general of the Dominicans, and maſter of the ſacred palace under pope *Leo* X. *Luther* oppoſed the indulgences by reaſons: But *Eckius* and *Prierias*, not finding themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to anſwer him, had recourſe to common places, and laid down for a foundation, the authority of the pope, and conſent of the ſchoolmen; concluding, that indulgences ought to be received as an article of faith, ſince they proceeded from the pope, who had approved the doctrine of the ſchoolmen, and was infallible in matters of faith. *Eckius* wrote his obeliſks againſt *Luther*'s theſis, without intending to publiſh it; and *Luther* publiſhed it together with his own refutation. As for *Prierias*, nothing can make us better underſtand the ſucceſs of his writings, than to know, that he was commanded by the pope to write no more on matters of controverſy. *Luther* anſwered *Eckius* in another theſis, about repentance; and aſſerted, "that the juſt man lives, not by the work of the "law, but by faith." He alſo anſwered, *Prierias*, who had treated him with threats, and imperious reflections. He had a fourth adverſary in *Jacobus Hogoſtratus*, a friar-preacher, who wrote againſt ſome of his propoſitions, and adviſed the pope to condemn *Luther*, and burn him, if he would not retract. *Luther* made a kind of manifeſto againſt this author, in which he reproached him with cruelty and ignorance.

The Chriſtian world, at that time, was overwhelmed with ceremonies. Divinity was mere chicanery, or ſophiſtry: New and abſurd notions were every day advanced in the ſchools: And the clergy of all orders, by lording

it over men's conſciences, rendered themſelves hated and deſpiſed. The turbulent humour, infidelity, and ambition of the two laſt popes were not forgotten: Biſhops, in general, were without integrity, or capacity; and the inferior clergy, beſides being groſsly ignorant, and notoriouſly immoral, were become intolerable, on account of their inſatiable avarice. The clergy, for a long time, had been vicious and illiterate: But theſe things were taken notice of, now learning began to revive in *Europe*. Prieſts and monks, whoſe actions would not bear the light, were highly incenſed againſt the reſtorers of literature; and ſcrupled not to accuſe them of hereſy, when they found they had no ſhare with them in argument. On this account, they commenced a diſpute with *John Reuchlin*, commonly called *Capnio*, the great Hebræan; becauſe he oppoſed the deſtruction of the Talmuds, the Targums, and the writings of the *Rabbins*, which ſome wiſhed to annihilate becauſe oppoſite to Chriſtianity. *Reuchlin* ſhewed, that theſe weapons might be turned againſt the *Jews*, and that it would look but ill, if, inſtead of anſwering, we ſhould burn the arguments of our adverſaries. Theſe ignoramuſes maintained their cauſe ſo very poorly, that it was no wonder it ended in their confuſion, and gave the learned *Ulric Van Hutten* a fine handle to expoſe them, in a book called, *Epiſtolæ obſcurorum Virorum*. *Eraſmus* alſo eſpouſed the cauſe of *Luther*; though he afterwards, in a treatiſe *de libero arbitrio*, ſtarted ſome objections to his opinions. It was obvious, that this was done rather at the ſolicitation of others, than of his own inclination: But the main point was not affected by them, and they were ſufficiently refuted by *Luther*.

As *Luther* oppoſed the ſcandalous ſale of pardons and indulgences; ſo in the countries where the Reformation had got an entrance, or in the neighborhood of them, this was no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that ſuch an infamous traffic was no longer practiſed.

Seckendorf, in his hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, hath confuted the falſhoods and calumnies of *Varillas*, *Maimbourg*, *Palavicini*, *Boſſuet*, and others of the ſame ſtamp. But we will now ſelect a few things, from various authors, which characteriſe *Luther*.

It is ſaid, he was rough in controverſy; and that his reply to *Henry* VIII. was diſreſpectful: But he had a very unfavorable opinion of ſovereign princes; which

is

is evident from the ſmart remark that he made on *Charles* V. ſnatching up ſpiritual livings, as a dog did meat from the ſhambles. He uſed to ſay, that the pope and his partizans were ſuch incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the ſevereſt manner; and that *Eraſmus* ſpoiled all, by ſhewing them too much courteſy and reſpect. As he thus laſhed the papiſts, ſo he did not greatly ſpare his own brethren of the Reformation, if they departed from his ſentiments. He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that ſtate.

Bellarmin, and the abbè *Richard*, have accuſed *Luther* of Arianiſm. Their accuſation hath no better foundation than this, that *Luther* declared his diſlike of the word *conſubſtantial*; and ſaid, that the Arians, though otherwiſe in the wrong, were in the right to reject unſcriptural terms, introduced by men, who thought they could ſpeak better upon the ſubject, than the Spirit of God: But it appears, from *Luther*'s works, that he was not at all in the ſentiments of the Arians.

Luther was an enemy to the allegorical and myſtical way of expounding the ſcriptures, as being precarious, and dangerous, tending to fanaticiſm, and expoſing religion to the ſcoffs of infidels. He alſo blamed thoſe, who pretended to interpret the Apocalypſe to the people. He abhorred the ſchoolmen, and called them ſophiſtical locuſts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice. He declared himſelf againſt perſecution, compulſion, and violence, in matters of religion.

Luther ſaid, "When my firſt poſitions concerning indulgences were brought before the pope, he ſaid, *a drunken* German *wrote them*; when he hath ſlept out his ſleep, and is ſober again, he will be of another mind." But *Luther* often apologized for his roughneſs. "I am accuſed, ſays he, of rudeneſs and immodeſty, particularly by adverſaries, who have not a grain of candour or good manners. If, as they ſay, I am ſaucy and impudent, I am however ſimple, open, and ſincere; without any of their guile, diſſimulation, or treachery."

The pope, and the emperor, were equally concerned, that *Luther* was allowed to propagate his opinions in *Saxony*, where the great number of his followers, and the reſolution with which he defended his opinions, made it evident, that it would become troubleſome both to the church and empire, if a ſtop was not put to his proceed-

ings. *Luther* defended his propoſitions by reaſon and ſcripture againſt *Tetzelius*, who had recourſe to the authority of the pope and church. This made it neceſſary for *Luther* to examine upon what foundation one was founded, and in what ſtate the other remained. In the courſe of this enquiry, monſtrous errors and abuſes were diſcovered; the cheats and ſcandalous lives of monks and prieſts were brought to light; and *Luther*, for ſecuring to himſelf the aſſiſtance of temporal princes, took care to explain the nature and extenſiveneſs of civil power.

Temporal government is founded on the higheſt reaſon, as well as on divine inſtitution; for, without it, men would be conſtantly expoſed to rapine and confuſion: But it has never yet been proved, that a ſpiritual monarchy is either neceſſary or ſerviceable to Chriſtianity. It is an artificial fabric, which muſt be ſupported by arts; and the views of popes will be always different from thoſe of temporal princes. If the pope's partizans ſay, his authority is founded upon the poſitive command of God: That ſhould be proved clearly from ſcripture. If they ſay, it is derived from St. *Peter*, it ought to be proved, not only that ſuch an authority was inveſted in him, but that he was biſhop of *Rome*, exerciſed it there, conveyed it down to his ſucceſſors, and that ſucceſſion has not been interrupted. Inſtead of proving theſe things, the popiſh doctors declined meddling with them, and filled the heads of their people with things foreign to the main point. They talked of a long ſucceſſion of popes; of the great antiquity and univerſality of the church; and laid great ſtreſs upon the promiſe, that 'the 'gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it." Fathers, councils, and miracles, were alſo appealed to: And if any one was ſtill diſſatisfied, he was branded with the name of heretic, without ſo much as hearing his reaſons; and he had good luck, if he eſcaped burning.

The papal conſtitution was admirably contrived upon the foundation of a ſingular kind of monarchy. Princes have formerly ſtrengthened their authority, by giving out that they were deſcended from the gods, or that their government was founded by their expreſs command; and if ſucceſs attended them, which was looked upon as a mark of divine favor, they were after death reckoned among the deities. But the pope calls himſelf the lieutenant of *Jeſus Chriſt*; arrogates to himſelf, while living, all power in heaven and earth; and would have it believed, that ſuch as refuſe to acknowledge his authority cannot be ſaved. If theſe points

points are well ſettled, the whole buſineſs is done: For what is more proper to draw the veneration of men, than the notion that the Majeſty of God reſides in him? Or, what ſtronger motive can there be, to the moſt abſolute ſubmiſſion, than the fear of damnation?

The pope does not, like other ſovereigns, bind himſelf to any terms, on his entering upon the government: And, indeed, it would be abſurd for him, who is ſaid to be guided by the Holy Ghoſt, to be laid under any reſtrictions. The ſubjects of this monarchy may be divided into clergy and laity. The firſt, which comprehends all eccleſiaſtics, may be conſidered as his ſtanding army. The ſecond, which takes in all elſe of the *Roman* communion, are no better than ſlaves, on whom large contributions are raiſed for the ſupport of the others. The clergy are not allowed to marry, under a pretence, that worldly cares would prevent a faithful diſcharge of their duty: But the true reaſon is, that they may be free from the ties of paternal or conjugal affection; and be ready on all occaſions to promote the intereſt of the church.

Pope *Paul* IV. boaſted of having 288,000 pariſhes, and 44,000 monaſteries, under his juriſdiction. What a prodigious number of eccleſiaſtics were then under the papal power? As a blind ſubmiſſion of the laity to the clergy was abſolutely neceſſary for ſupporting this ſpiritual tyranny, they were forbid to read the ſcriptures: For if theſe had been well underſtood, it would have been obvious, that no one was authorized to lord it over the conſcience of another; and, by keeping theſe among the clergy, they had an opportunity of mixing ſomething with every doctrine they taught, that might promote the intereſt or power of the pope and themſelves. In order to make way for tradition, the holy ſcripture was repreſented as imperfect; and whatever could ſerve the cauſe of *Rome* was impoſed upon the poor deluded people under that name.

As the firſt decay and ruin of the church began through ignorance, and want of knowledge in teachers: So, to reſtore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleaſed God to open to man the art of printing, ſhortly after the burning of *John Huſs* and *Jerom*. The art of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which ſtirred up men of better parts to receive the light of knowledge and of judgement; whereby darkneſs began to be eſpied, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be diſcerned from error, and religion from ſuperſtition.

ſtition. The firſt puſh and aſſault againſt the *Romiſh* church, about this period at leaſt, was given by *Picus Mirandula*, *Valla*, *Petrarch*, *Weſalia*, *Revelinus*, *Grocin*, *Colet*, *Rhenanus*, and *Eraſmus*, whoſe learned writings opened a window of light to the world, and made a way more ready for others to come after. Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whoſe miniſtry it pleaſed the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his church. The Lord ordained and appointed *Luther* to be the principal organ and miniſter under him, to reform religion, and ſubvert the popiſh ſee.

Tetzelius ſtirred up the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* and others againſt *Luther*, who boldly anſwered all their writings. The emperor *Maximilian*, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, 1518, wrote to pope *Leo* X. and required him to ſtop theſe dangerous diſputes by his authority; aſſuring him, that he would execute in the empire, whatever his holineſs ſhould appoint. The pope ordered *Hieronymus de Genutiis*, biſhop of *Aſcoli*, and auditor of the apoſtolic chamber, to cite *Luther* to appear at *Rome* within ſixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and *Prierias* maſter of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgement of the cauſe. The pope, on the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, wrote a letter to the elector of *Saxony*, deſiring him to give *Luther* no protection, but to put him into the hands of cardinal *Cajetan*, his legate in *Germany*; aſſuring him, that if *Luther* was innocent, he would ſend him back abſolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance. At the ſame time, the pope likewiſe ſent a brief to cardinal *Cajetan*, in which he ordered him to bring *Luther* before him as ſoon as poſſible; and to hinder the princes from being any impediment to the execution of this order, he denounced the ordinary puniſhments of excommunication, interdiction, and privation of goods againſt thoſe that ſhould receive *Luther* and give him protection; and promiſed a plenary indulgence to thoſe, who ſhould aſſiſt in delivering him up.

The elector of *Saxony* was unwilling that *Luther* ſhould appear perſonally at *Rome*; and the univerſity of *Wittenberg* interceded with the pope, who conſented that the matter ſhould be tried before cardinal *Cajetan* in *Germany*. This prelate was a Dominican; yet *Luther* met him at *Augſburg* in *October*. *Cajetan* aſſerted the authority of the pope, and ſaid he was above a council. *Luther*

denied it, and alledged the authority of the univerſity of *Paris*. *Luther* delivered *Cajetan* a formal proteſtation, in the preſence of four imperial councellors and a notary, wherein he declared, "that he had only ſought after "truth, and would not retract, without being convinced "he was wrong: That he was ſatisfied, he had ad-"vanced nothing contrary to the holy ſcripture, the "doctrine of the fathers, decretals of the popes, and "right reaſon: That he had advanced nothing but "what was found, true, and catholic: And that he "would ſubmit himſelf to the lawful determination of "the church."

The legate threatened *Luther* with the cenſures of the church, if he would not retract, and bring his recantation. *Luther* knew that *Cajetan* had orders to ſeize him, if he would not ſubmit: And, therefore, on the ſixteenth of *October*, he made an *act of appeal*, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himſelf, and declared, that he was oppreſſed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the pope; for which purpoſe, he demanded letters of miſſion; and proteſted he would purſue his appeal. *Luther* told the legate, that as he had not deſerved his cenſures, ſo he diſregarded them; and then returned to *Wittenberg*, where he was ſafe under the protection of the elector of *Saxony*. *Luther* was powerfully ſupported by the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, where he continued to teach the ſame doctrines, and ſent a challenge to all the inquiſitors to diſpute with him there, under the ſanction of a ſafe conduct from his prince, and the moſt reſpectable hoſpitality from the univerſity.

The cardinal, mortified at *Luther*'s eſcape, wrote to the elector on the twenty-fifth of *October*, 1518, deſiring him to give him up, to ſend him to *Rome*, or to baniſh him from his dominions. To this letter the elector anſwered, on the eighteenth of *December* following, and told the cardinal, that 'he hoped he would have dealt 'with *Luther* in another manner, and not have inſiſted 'upon his recanting, before his cauſe was heard and 'judged; that there were ſeveral able men in his own 'and in other univerſities, who did not think *Luther*'s 'doctrine either impious or heretical; that, if he had 'believed it ſuch, there would have been no need of 'admoniſhing him not to tolerate it; that *Luther* not 'being convicted of hereſy, he could not baniſh him 'from his ſtates, nor ſend him to *Rome*; and that, ſince '*Luther* offered to ſubmit himſelf to the judgement of

'ſeveral

'ſeveral univerſities, he thought they ought to hear him, 'or, at leaſt, ſhew him the errors which he taught in his 'writings.'

While theſe things paſſed in *Germany*, pope *Leo* attempted to put an end to theſe diſputes about indulgences, by a deciſion of his own; and for that purpoſe, upon the ninth of *November*, publiſhed a brief, directed to cardinal *Cajetan*, in which he declared, that 'the 'pope, the ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, and vicar of *Jeſus* '*Chriſt* upon earth, hath power to pardon, by virtue of 'the keys, the guilt and puniſhment of ſin, the guilt by 'the ſacrament of penance, and the temporal puniſh-'ments due for actual ſins by indulgences; that theſe 'indulgences are taken from the overplus of the merits 'of *Jeſus Chriſt* and his ſaints, a treaſure at the pope's 'own diſpoſal, as well by way of abſolution as ſuffrage; 'and that the dead and the living, who properly and 'truly obtain theſe indulgences, are immediately freed 'from the puniſhment due to their actual ſins, according 'to the divine juſtice, which allows theſe indulgences to 'be granted and obtained.' This brief ordains, 'that 'all the world ſhall hold and preach this doctrine, under 'the pain of excommunication reſerved to the pope; and 'enjoins cardinal *Cajetan* to ſend it to all the archbiſhops 'and biſhops of *Germany*, and cauſe it to be put in ex-'ecution by them.' *Luther* knew very well, that after this judgement by the pope, he could not poſſibly eſcape being proceeded againſt, and condemned at *Rome*; and, therefore, upon the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, publiſhed a new appeal from the pope to a general council, in which he aſſerts the ſuperior authority of the latter over the former. The pope foreſeeing, that he ſhould not eaſily manage *Luther*, ſo long as the elector of *Saxony* continued to ſupport and protect him, ſent the elector a golden roſe, ſuch an one, as he uſed to bleſs every year, and ſend to ſeveral princes, as marks of his particular favor to them. *Miltitius*, his chamberlain, whom we have before obſerved to have been a *German*, was intruſted with this commiſſion; by whom the pope ſent alſo letters, dated the beginning of *January*, 1519, to the elector's counſellor and ſecretary, in which he prayed thoſe miniſters to uſe all poſſible intereſt with their maſter, that he would ſtop the progreſs of *Luther*'s errors, and imitate therein the piety and religion of his anceſtors. It appears by *Seckendorf*'s account of *Miltitius*'s negotiation, that *Frederick* had long ſolicited for this

this bauble from the pope; and that three or four years before, when his electoral highneſs was a bigot to the court of *Rome*, it had probably been a moſt welcome preſent. But, *poſt eſt occaſio calva:* It was now too late: *Luther*'s conteſts with the ſee of *Rome* had opened the elector's eyes, and enlarged his mind; and, therefore, when *Miltitius* delivered his letters, and diſcharged his commiſſion, he was received but coldly by the elector, who valued not the conſecrated roſe, nor would receive it publicly and in form, but only privately and by his proctor.

As to *Luther*, *Miltitius* had orders to require the elector to oblige him to retract, or to deny him his protection: But, things were not now to be carried with ſo high a hand, *Luther*'s credit being too firmly eſtabliſhed. Beſides, the emperor *Maximilian* departed this life upon the twelfth of this month, whoſe death greatly altered the face of affairs, and made the elector more able to determine *Luther*'s fate. *Miltitius* thought it beſt therefore to try, what could be done by fair and gentle means, and to that end came to a conference with *Luther*. He poured forth many commendations upon him, and earneſtly entreated him, that he would himſelf appeaſe that tempeſt, which could not but be deſtructive to the church. He blamed, at the ſame time, the behavior and conduct of *Tetzelius*, and reproved him with ſo much ſharpneſs, that he died of melancholy a ſhort time after. *Luther*, amazed at all this civil treatment, which he had never experienced before, commended *Miltitius* highly, and owned, that if they had behaved to him ſo at firſt, all the troubles, occaſioned by theſe diſputes, had been avoided; and did not forget to caſt the blame upon *Albert* archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who had increaſed theſe troubles by his ſeverity. *Miltitius* alſo made ſome conceſſions; as, that the people had been ſeduced by falſe opinions about indulgences; that *Tetzelius* had given the occaſion; that the archbiſhop had ſet on *Tetzelius* to get money; that *Tetzelius* had exceeded the bounds of his commiſſion, &c. This mildneſs and ſeeming candor, on the part of *Miltitius*, gained ſo wonderfully upon *Luther*, that he wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive letter to the pope, dated the thirteenth of *March*, in 1519. *Miltitius*, however taking for granted, that they would not be contented at *Rome* with this letter of *Luther*'s, written, as it was, in general terms only, propoſed to refer the matter to ſome other judgement; and it was agreed between them, that the elector of *Triers*

ſhould be the judge, and *Coblentz* the place of conference: But this came to nothing; for *Luther* afterwards gave ſome reaſons for not going to *Coblentz*, and the pope would not refer the matter to the elector of *Triers*.

During all theſe treaties, the doctrine of *Luther* ſpread, and prevailed greatly; and he himſelf received great encouragement at home and abroad. The *Bohemians* about this time ſent him a book of the celebrated *John Huſs*, who had fallen a martyr in the work of Reformation; and alſo letters, in which they exhorted him to conſtancy and perſeverance, owning, that the divinity, which he taught, was the pure, the ſound, and orthodox divinity. Many great and learned men had joined themſelves to him; among the reſt *Philip Melancthon*, whom *Frederic* had invited to the univerſity of *Wittenberg* in *Auguſt* 1518, and *Andrew Caroloſtadius* archdeacon of that town, who was a great linguiſt. They deſired, if poſſible, to draw over *Eraſmus* to their party; and to that end we find *Melancthon* thus expreſſing himſelf in a letter to that great man, dated *Leipſic*, *January* the fifth, in 1519: 'Martin 'Luther, who has a very great eſteem for you, wiſhes of 'all things, that you would thoroughly approve of him.' *Luther* alſo himſelf wrote to *Eraſmus*, in very reſpectful, and even flattering terms: "*Itaque, mi* Eraſme, *vir* "*amabilis, ſi ita tibi viſum fuerit, agnoſce & hunc frater-* "*culum in* CHRISTO; *tui certè ſtudioſiſſimum & aman-* "*tiſſimum, cæterum pro inſcitiâ ſuâ nihil meritum, quàm ut* "*in angulo ſepultus eſſet.*" The elector of *Saxony* was deſirous alſo to know *Eraſmus*'s opinion of *Luther*, and might probably think, that as *Eraſmus* had moſt of the monks for his enemies, and ſome of thoſe, who were warmeſt againſt *Luther*, he might eaſily be prevailed on to come over to their party. And indeed they would have done ſomething, if they could have gained this point; for the reputation of *Eraſmus* was ſo great, that if he had once declared for *Luther*, almoſt all *Germany* would have declared along with him.

But *Eraſmus*, whatever he might think of *Luther*'s opinions, had neither his impetuoſity, nor his courage. He contented himſelf therefore with acting and ſpeaking in his uſual ſtrain of moderation, and wrote a letter to the elector *Frederic*, in which he declared 'His diſlike of 'the arts, which were employed to make *Luther* odious; 'that he did not know *Luther*, and ſo could neither ap- 'prove nor condemn his writings, becauſe indeed he had 'not read them; that however he condemned the railing

at

'at him with ſo much violence, becauſe he had ſub-
'mitted himſelf to the judgement of thoſe, whoſe office
'it was to determine, and no man had endeavoured to
'convince him of his error; that his antagoniſts ſeemed
'rather to ſeek his death, than his ſalvation; that they
'miſtook the matter in ſuppoſing, that all error is he-
'reſy; that there are errors in all the writings of both
'antients and moderns; that divines are of different opi-
'nions; that it is more prudent to uſe moderate, than
'violent means; that the elector ought to protect inno-
'cency, and that this was the intent of *Leo* X.'

Eraſmus wrote alſo a friendly letter in anſwer to *Luther*'s, and tells him, that 'His books had raiſed ſuch
'an uproar at *Louvain*, as it was not poſſible for him to
'deſcribe; that he could not have believed divines could
'have been ſuch madmen, if he had not been preſent,
'and ſeen them with his eyes; that, by defending him,
'he had rendered himſelf ſuſpected; that many abuſed
'him as the leader of this faction, ſo they call it; that
'there were many in *England*, and ſome at *Louvain*, no
'inconſiderable perſons, who highly approved his opi-
'nions; that for his own part he endeavoured to carry
'himſelf as evenly as he could with all parties, that he
'might more effectually ſerve the intereſts of learning
'and religion; that, however, he thought more might
'be done by civil and modeſt means, than by intempe-
'rate heat and paſſion; that it would be better to inveigh
'againſt thoſe, who abuſe the pope's authority, than
'againſt the popes themſelves; that new opinions ſhould
'rather be promoted in the way of propoſing doubts and
'difficulties, than by affirming and deciding peremptо-
'rily; that nothing ſhould be delivered with faction and
'arrogance; but that the mind, in theſe caſes, ſhould be
'kept entirely free from anger, hatred, and vain-glory.
'I ſay not this,' ſays *Eraſmus*, with that great addreſs of which he was maſter, 'as if you wanted any admo-
'nitions of this kind, but only that you may not want
'them hereafter, any more than you do at preſent. *Hæc*
'*non admoneo ut facias, ſed ut quod facis perpetuò facias.*'
When this letter was wrote, *Eraſmus* and *Luther* had never ſeen each other: It is dated *Louvain*, *May* the thirtieth, in 1519, and it is hardly poſſible to read it without ſuſpecting, that *Eraſmus* was intirely of *Luther*'s ſentiments, if he had had but the courage to have declared it. Only obſerve, how he concludes it: 'I have dipped
'into your *commentaries* upon the *Pſalms*; they pleaſe me

'prodigiouſly, and I hope will be read with great advan-
'tage. There is a prior of the monaſtry of *Antwerp*,
'who ſays he was your pupil, and loves you moſt affec-
'tionately. He is a truly Chriſtian man, and almoſt the
'only one of his ſociety who preaches *Chriſt*, the reſt
'being attentive either to the fabulous traditions of men,
'or to their own profit. I have written to *Melancthon*.
'The Lord *Jeſus* pour upon you his Spirit, that you may
'abound more and more, every day, to his glory and the
'ſervice of the church. Farewell.'

Frederic elector of *Saxony* was the patron and protector of *Luther*: But *George*, a prince of the ſame houſe, oppoſed *Luther* to the utmoſt of his power. The former deſired *Eraſmus* to give him his opinion concerning *Luther*; and *Eraſmus* gave it jocoſely: But gravely told the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, that the monks condemned many things in the books of *Luther* as heretical, which were eſteemed as orthodox in *Bernard* and *Auſtin*. *Eraſmus* wrote alſo to cardinal *Wolſey*, that the life and converſation of *Luther* were univerſally commended; and it was no ſmall prejudice in his favor, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be faſtened upon him by calumny itſelf. 'If I had really been at
'leiſure, ſays *Eraſmus*, to peruſe his writings, I am not
'ſo conceited of my own abilities, as to paſs a judge-
'ment upon the performance of ſo conſiderable a divine:
'Though even children, in this knowing age, will
'boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that is
'heretical.'

Claude has ſpoken judiciouſly of *Luther*, when he wiſhes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for the truth, with that unſhaken conſtancy he ever manifeſted, he could have ſhewed a greater reſerve and moderation. But the divine providence had a great work to effect by *Luther*, in which ſtrength and even roughneſs of ſpirit were requiſite to encounter every kind of difficulty and to bear up againſt the rage, in a manner, of the whole world. When men would fell a wood, they employ a heavy rough axe, and not a ſmooth and poliſhed razor. *Melancthon* ſaid very juſtly of him, upon ſeeing his picture, in this *extempore* line:

'*Fulmina erant linguæ ſingula verba tuæ.*'

Thy ſingle words were piercing thunder-bolts.

The

The monks took upon them to rail moſt violently, and even ſeditiouſly, in their ſermons, againſt the Reformers. 'Whence, ſays *Eraſmus*, came this new race 'of deities? They call every one an heretic whom they 'diſlike, and ſtir heaven and earth when they are called 'calumniators.' He owns, that *Luther* had given them good advice on many points; and that it would be an impiety to leave him undefended, where he had the truth on his ſide; for then who would ever dare to ſtand up for the truth? Hitherto, adds *Eraſmus*, *Luther* has certainly been uſeful to the world: He hath ſet men upon ſtudying the fathers, ſome to ſatisfy their own minds, and others to plague him by hunting out arguments and objections againſt him.

If *Eraſmus* had not the ſame impetuous acrimony in his ſtyle, which predominated in the writings of *Luther*, yet the monks were equally offended at him; becauſe the abuſes which he attacked were the ſource of their beſt revenues.

Eraſmus, in 1519, wrote to *Melancthon*, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of *Luther*; and wiſhed that God might grant him ſucceſs equal to the liberty which he had taken. *Melancthon* was always mild and moderate, and had a ſincere affection for *Luther*; but ſometimes could not refrain from complaining of his bold and impetuous temper. However, *Eraſmus* entertained hopes, that the attempts of *Luther*, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be ſerviceable to true Chriſtianity. In this he was not miſtaken, as the event proved; for, from this period, *Luther*'s writings and the cauſe of Reformation ſpread all over the Chriſtian world, and brought into full blaze the glimmering light, which had before been introduced by *Wickliffe*, *Huſs*, and other learned and good men.

Frederic of *Saxony*, one of the moſt virtuous and illuſtrious princes of that century, was a friend both to *Luther*, and to the Reformation; and the proteſtants have great reaſon to reverence and bleſs his memory. When he might have been choſen emperor, he declined it, and gave the crown to *Charles* V. *Eraſmus* wrote a letter to him, which was very favorable to *Luther*. *Andrew Bodeſtine*, from his native place called *Caroloſtadius*, defended the writings of *Luther*. *Bucer* was preſent, when *Luther* maintained his doctrine before the *Auguſtine* friars

at *Heidelberg*, and told *Rhenanus*, 'That his ſweetneſs 'in anſwering was admirable, and his patience in hear-'ing incomparable: That the acuteneſs of St. *Paul*, in 'reſolving doubts, might have been ſeen in *Luther*; ſo 'that he brought them all into admiration of him, by 'his conciſe and nervous anſwers, taken out of the ſtore-'houſe of the holy ſcriptures.'

Luther was honorably entertained at *Heidelberg*, by *Wolfgang* the count palatine: And *Erich* duke of *Calemberg* eſpouſed his cauſe. *Erich* ſhared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor *Maximilian*, and was a great ornament to the houſe of *Brunſwick Lunenberg*. He ſaved the life of that emperor in 1504, who perpetuated the memory of his valour, by adding a bright ſtar to his coat of arms, on the very field of battle, with this explanation: 'That as the morning ſtar ex-'ceeds all the others in luſtre; ſo duke *Erich* was as 'much ſuperior to all other princes of his time.' This ſtar has ever ſince continued in the coat of arms of the houſe of *Brunſwick*, and is placed upon the helmet in the middle of the peacock's train. *Erneſt* duke of *Lunenberg* was educated under the inſpection of his uncle *Frederic*, ſirnamed the *wiſe*, elector of *Saxony*, who ſent him early to the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, where he made a great progreſs in learning, and had an opportunity to converſe with *Luther*, when he began to diſcover his ſentiments about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the ſee of *Rome*. *Erneſt* boldly embraced the doctrine of *Luther*: And his example was followed by his brothers *Otho* and *Francis*; as alſo by *Philip* of the line of *Grubenhagen*. Theſe princes made the neceſſary preparations to introduce the Reformation into the circle of *Lower Saxony*; as the elector their uncle was doing in that of the *Upper Saxony*. *Erneſt* was determined to purſue the glorious ſcheme he had formed, gradually to aboliſh the errors and abuſes that had crept into the church. His concern was ſo great for extending the knowledge of the pure faith, that he generouſly ſent learned men to the county of *Hoya*, *Eaſt-Frieſeland*, and other parts of *Germany*, to preach the goſpel in its native ſimplicity. Such was his zeal in the cauſe of the Reformation; ſo many were the difficulties and oppoſitions he met with on that account, that he juſtly merited the ſirname which was given him of *confeſſor*. It ſhould be obſerved, that the emperor *Otho* IV. one of the moſt illuſtrious anceſtors of the houſe of *Brunſwick*, ſo early as in the beginning of the

the thirteenth century, notwithſtanding the ignorance and bigotry of thoſe times, endeavored with uncommon reſolution to lay open the abuſes of the ſee of *Rome*, even in defiance of its excommunications. His endeavors were not attended with the ſucceſs they deſerved; yet they have rendered his name ſacred to poſterity, as he was the firſt prince who ventured to oppoſe the encroachments of the papacy, whereby others were afterwards incited thoroughly to examine the title, which the popes pretended they had, to impoſe arbitrary laws on Chriſtendom.

Eckius had wrote ſome notes upon the firſt theſis of *Luther*, which were anſwered by *Caroloſtadius*; and a conference was agreed on at *Leipſic*, by the conſent of prince *George* of *Saxony*, uncle to the elector *Frederic*. *Eckius* appeared; and was met by *Luther*, who was accompanied by *Melancthon* and *Caroloſtadius*. Both parties were well received by the prince, the ſenate, and univerſity, who appointed a great hall in the caſtle for the place of the conference, which was ſolemnly opened on the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, 1519. The firſt diſputation was concerning free-will, which *Eckius* undertook to prove by a paſſage in *Eccleſiaſticus*; and was oppoſed by *Caroloſtadius*, who denied that free-will had a diſtinct operation from grace. This diſpute continued a whole week; in which time, *Luther* preached a ſermon, in the chapel of the caſtle, upon the feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, wherein he declaimed againſt the authority of the pope. The diſpute was then carried on between *Luther* and *Eckius*, upon thirteen propoſitions extracted by the latter out of the writings of the former; the laſt, and principal of which, was againſt the ſupremacy of the pope. *Luther* alledged, againſt it, the canon of the council of *Afric*, which ordained, that the biſhop of the firſt ſee ſhould not be called the prince of biſhops, or ſupreme biſhop: And he maintained, that *Wickliffe* and *Huſs* ought not to have been condemned, as many of their articles were orthodox; and that he could oppoſe the tradition and uſage of the *Greek* church for 1400 years, to the condemnation of the *Bohemians*. *Eckius* attempted to prove the doctrine of indulgences, by the authority of the general councils of *Vienna*, *Lateran*, and *Conſtance*: He ſaid, that St. *Gregory* had publiſhed them 900 years before; that they were approved by the conſent of the univerſal church; and that all the Chriſtian world had acknowledged them by receiving the jubilees.

Luther

Luther replied, that he preferred works of charity before indulgences; and ſupported his opinion by the authority of St. *Paul* and St. *Auguſtine*, who ſay, we can do no good without charity and grace. *Eckius* ſeemed to make this queſtion a matter of nothing: But *Luther* had the advantage of the argument. He knew, 'That the Chriſtian princes had been tired of making expeditions to the *Holy Land*, which were only ſpecious pretences, invented by the popes, to drain them of their blood and treaſure: And that another ſcheme was then ſet on foot to allure them and their ſubjects to part with their money: That frequent jubilees were kept at *Rome*; though, according to their firſt inſtitution, they were to take place but once in a century: That the popes perceived the advantages which aroſe from bringing people together to their market from all parts of the Chriſtian world, and ſhortened the time, by ordering a jubilee to be kept every fifty years: And afterwards appointed one to be celebrated every thirty years: That immenſe ſums were brought into the pope's coffers by theſe jubilees at *Rome*, where all that reſorted received abſolution of their ſins for a particular ſum: And that indulgences being found ſo beneficial, they were ſold all over *Europe*, and no more confined to certain times and jubilees.'

The conference at *Leipſic* continued fourteen days; and the diſpute was left to the deciſion of the univerſities of *Paris* and *Erfurt:* But *Luther* opened the whole to the world, by publiſhing a tract, entitled, "Reſolutions of "the propoſitions diſputed at *Leipſic*," and addreſſed to *Spalatinus*; in which he ſaid, that *Eckius* had no cauſe to boaſt of the diſpute, and had acknowledged that no truſt ought to be put in indulgences. *Melancthon* wrote with great moderation upon theſe conferences: And *Eckius* told *Hogoſtratus*, that the Lutherans had great advantages over him, becauſe they were many againſt a ſingle man. *Jerom Emſer* owned, that the diſpute at *Leipſic* was rather ſharp than edifying: But the two univerſities never gave their judgements about the conteſts in theſe conferences.

Zuinglius began, about this time, to write againſt pardons and indulgences. *Luther* wrote a book "Of Chriſ-"tian liberty;" which he dedicated to the pope. He alſo addreſſed another book to the nobility of *Germany*, wherein he ſhook the three principal bulwarks of popery, by oppoſing the doctrine, 'That temporal magiſtrates

'were

'were ſubject to the ſpiritualty; that the pope is the 'only judge of the ſcripture; and that he only can call 'a council.' *Luther* ſhewed what things ſhould be handled in councils; and aſſerted, that the pope yearly drained *Germany* of three millions of florins. He pointed out the neceſſity of reforming ſchools and univerſities; declared that heretics ſhould be convinced by ſcripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the misfortunes of the emperor *Sigiſmund* to his breach of faith with *Huſs* and *Jerom*; and expoſed the inconveniences, reſulting from the council of *Conſtance*.

What the divines of *Paris* and *Erfurt* neglected, thoſe of *Louvain* and *Cologne* attempted. The former conſulted with the cardinal de *Tortoſa*, afterwards pope *Adrian* VI. and condemned twenty-two propoſitions extracted from *Luther* as heretical, or approaching to hereſy, and declared that his writings ought to be burnt. Thoſe of *Cologne* concurred; and agreed, that *Luther* ought to be obliged to make a public recantation. *Luther* declared, he diſregarded the cenſures of theſe two univerſities; and that *Occam*, *Stapulenſis*, *Huſs*, and other eminent men, were unjuſtly condemned after the ſame manner. He accuſed the univerſities of raſhneſs, of want of charity, and contempt of juſtice; after which, he ſharply confuted their cenſures, without any reſpect to their perſons.

The emperor *Maximilian* was ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded to proceed againſt *Luther*, that he uſed to ſay, 'If the clergy would lead pious lives, '*Luther* would have no room for a Reformation.' But his ſucceſſor was of a different diſpoſition; and gave occaſion to the violent meaſures that were taken to nip the Reformation in its very bud. *Luther* wrote a letter to the new emperor, on the fifteenth of *January*, 1520, before his arrival in *Germany*, to vindicate his conduct, and intreat his protection from the power of his numerous adverſaries, who had perſecuted him for three years, and were reſolved that he ſhould periſh with the goſpel. He told the emperor, he would not deſire his protection, if he was convicted of impiety or hereſy: But deſired, he would not let him be condemned without hearing; and declared, he would either be ſilent, or refer himſelf to the judgement of any impartial univerſities, before which he was ready to appear.

It was a great miſtake in *Leo* X. to decide in favor of the indulgence-merchants, by his bull in 1518, ſince thereby all hopes of an accommodation were cut off: For

it would have been much more political in him to have enjoined ſilence to both parties, and to have contrived ſome way to ſatisfy *Luther*, who offered *Cajetan* to drop the controverſy, if his adverſaries would do the ſame: But they would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than a recantation. The elector of *Saxony* was again ſolicited to give up *Luther*, who was compelled to fall upon the pope, to vindicate himſelf, by appealing to a general council; the calling whereof was delayed upon various pretences, whereby the cauſe of *Rome* became more and more ſuſpected. About the ſame time, the pope's quarrel with *Henry* VIII. made way for the introduction of the Reformation in *England:* And the houſe of *Navarre*, in revenge for the pope's ſiding with *Ferdinand* the catholic, encouraged the proteſtant religion to the utmoſt of their power in *France*. Beſides all this, many ſenſible honeſt men, even among the *Roman-catholics*, were quite unconcerned at the rough treatment which *Luther* ſhewed the papal ſee, becauſe they knew it deſerved his reſentment.

Luther alſo wrote to the elector of *Mentz*, who anſwered him, and commended his diſpoſition: But deſired him to treat of religious matters with moderation and reſpect; for he obſerved with grief, that the profeſſors diſputed upon frivolous opinions, and queſtions of little conſequence, with intolerable pride.

While *Luther* was vindicating himſelf to the emperor, and the biſhops of *Germany*, judgement was paſſed upon his writings at *Rome*, where *Eckius* and *Ubricus* went on purpoſe to ſolicit his condemnation, which was reſolved upon, notwithſtanding he had obediently reverenced the perſon of the pope. *Luther*, at the requeſt of the *Auguſtines*, wrote a long epiſtle to his holineſs, full of ſubmiſſion and reſpect, wherein he told him, "That the "court of *Rome* was viſibly more corrupt than either "*Babylon* or *Sodom*; but that his holineſs was a lamb in "the midſt of wolves, a *Daniel* among lions, and an "*Ezekiel* among ſcorpions: That there were not above "three or four cardinals, who had any learning or piety; "and that it was againſt theſe diſorders of the court of "*Rome*, that he was obliged to appear."

The writings of *Luther* were examined in a congregation of cardinals, who diſtinguiſhed his doctrine, writings, and perſon. They condemned forty-one propoſitions taken out of his works; ordered him to appear in perſon; and agreed that his writings ſhould be burnt. In conſequence of this reſolution, the bull was drawn up by the

the cardinal of *Ancona*, and publiſhed by the pope, who invoked the aid of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the apoſtles, and all the ſaints, againſt the new errors and hereſies; and to preſerve the faith, peace, and unity of the church. This bull was dated the fifteenth of *June*, 1520, and condemned the forty-one articles, extracted from the writings of *Luther*, as heretical, falſe, and ſcandalous. Indulgences, the papal ſupremacy, free-will, purgatory, and the begging friars, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all Chriſtians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propoſitions that were thus condemned: *Luther* was admoniſhed to revoke his errors by ſome public act, and cauſe his books to be burnt within ſixty days; otherwiſe he, and his adherents, ſhould incur the puniſhments due to heretics.

Luther, now perceiving that all hopes of an accommodation were at an end, threw off all reſerve, and anſwered this bull, which he called "The execrable bull of "antichriſt," by publiſhing a book called "The cap-"tivity of *Babylon*;" in which he abſolutely rejected indulgences; and aſſerted, that the papacy was the kingdom of *Babylon*. He denied there were ſeven ſacraments; and ſaid, there was properly only one, in three ſacramental ſigns, the Lord's Supper, baptiſm, and penance. He affirmed, that the ſacrament of the altar is the teſtament of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which he left when he died, to be given to all thoſe who ſhould believe in him: That this teſtament is a promiſe of forgiveneſs of our ſins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God; that it is only faith in this promiſe which juſtifies, and the maſs is entirely uſeleſs without that faith. He declared, that the effect of baptiſm depended alone upon faith in the promiſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of which the outward baptiſm is only a ſign, ſupplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained, that the remiſſion of ſins, which is the effect of penance, depends upon faith in the promiſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and allowed no effect to the other parts of penance. He wondered that confirmation, and ordination, ſhould be ſacraments, when they are no more than eccleſiaſtical ceremonies: Neither would he allow marriage to be a ſacrament, becauſe there is no promiſe annexed to it; and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of Chriſtians: And he rejected the uſage of the extreme unction, built upon the authority of the epiſtle of St. *James*, becauſe he thought there was not any promiſe of grace annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully perſuaded of the neceſſity of "Juſti-"fication by faith alone:" Which he looked upon as the baſis of the whole Chriſtian religion. When he firſt preached againſt indulgences, he intended no ſeparation from the church of *Rome:* But the violence of his opponents, and the heat of the controverſy, drew him ſo far into the diſpute, that he carried it on with unparalleled ſpirit, and came at laſt to fix upon that ſcheme, which has been ſince adhered to by the Lutheran churches, with little variation.

As the pope had condemned *Luther* at *Rome*; *Luther* degraded the pope in *Germany*. He compiled a hiſtory of the wars raiſed by the popes againſt the emperors; and maintained, that the *German* princes had the ſame power over the clergy as over the laity. He adviſed the *Germans* to ſhake off the yoke of popery; and propoſed a Reformation, that ſhould ſubject the pope and biſhops to the power of the emperor, and take away from the pope the authority of interpreting ſcripture, or calling a general council. He declaimed againſt the manners and practice of the court of *Rome*, the pride of the pope, and the avarice of the cardinals: He aſſerted, that annates and papal months, ſhould be aboliſhed, and that the canon-law ought to be entirely deſtroyed. He even aſſembled the ſtudents of *Wittenberg* together, and flung the pope's bull and decretals into a fire prepared for that purpoſe, ſaying, "Becauſe thou haſt troubled the Holy One of "God, let eternal fire trouble thee." This ceremony was performed by *Luther*, upon the tenth of *December*, 1520. The next day he expounded the *Pſalms*, and earneſtly charged his auditors, *that, as they loved the ſalvation of their ſouls, they ſhould take heed of the pope's decrees.* He alſo defended what he had done in writing; and publiſhed, among other errors in the papal doctrine, the following thirty:

I.

'The pope and his clergy are not bound to obey the 'commandments of God.

II.

'It is not a precept, but a counſel of St. *Peter*, when 'he teaches, *That all men are to be ſubject to kings.*

III.

'That in a ſtate, the ſun ſignified the papal power, the 'moon meant the imperial or ſecular.

IV.

IV.

'That the pope and his chair are not to be held ſubject to the councils and decrees.

V.

'That the pope has in the ſecret of his own breaſt all laws, and plenary power over all laws.

VI.

'Whence it follows; That the pope hath power to diſannul, change, and determine, all councils, and all conſtitutions and ordinances, as he daily practiſes.

VII.

'That the pope hath a right to demand an oath of all biſhops, and an obligation upon them for their palls.

VIII.

'That if the pope be ſo negligent of his own and his brethren's ſalvation, and ſo unprofitable and careleſs in his function, as to carry with him (like the chief factor for hell) innumerable people to their everlaſting damnation; no man ought to reprove him or blame his faults.

IX.

'That the ſalvation of all the faithful, next to God, depends upon the pope.

X.

'That no man upon earth can judge the pope, or cenſure his determinations; but the pope is judge of all men.

XI.

'That the *Roman* ſee giveth to all laws and rights their due force; but is itſelf ſubject to none of them.

XII.

'That the ſee of *Rome* is the rock, on which *Chriſt* built his church, according to *Matth.* xvi.—*Diſtinct.* 19.

XIII.

'That the keys were given to St. *Peter* only.

XIV.

'That the prieſthood of *Chriſt* was tranſlated from Him to St. *Peter*. *De conſtit.* c. *tranſlato.*

XV.

'That the pope hath power to make laws and ordinances for the catholic church.

XVI.

'That this ſentence; *Whatſoever thou bindeſt on earth, ſhall alſo be bound in heaven*, eſtabliſhes this point, That 'the pope hath power to impoſe even his unadviſed laws 'upon the whole catholic church.

XVII.

'That his injunction to abſtain from fleſh, butter, &c. 'on particular days, is not to be diſobeyed without ſin, 'or danger of excommunication.

XVIII.

'That no prieſt can marry, becauſe he hath forbid-'den it.

XIX.

'That pope *Nicholas* the 3d or 4th, hath well decreed, 'that *Chriſt*, by giving the keys, gave him power both 'over the heavenly and earthly kingdom.

XX.

'That *Conſtantine* the great gave to popes the power 'over all the provinces and kingdoms of this lower 'world.

XXI.

'That the pope is the rightful heir of the holy *Roman* 'empire.

XXII.

'That it is lawful for a Chriſtian to avenge himſelf.

XXIII.

'That ſubjects may rebel againſt their princes; and 'that the pope may depoſe kings.

XXIV.

'That the pope can overturn and diſſolve all oaths, 'covenants, and obligations.

XXV.

'That the pope hath power to diſſolve and compound 'for all vows made to God.

XXVI.

'That he, that doth not pay his vow to God, is not 'guilty of breaking it.

XXVII.

'That no married man or woman can truly ſerve 'God.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

'That the pope's injunctions are of equal force and 'weight with the ſcriptures.

XXIX.

'That the pope hath power to explain the ſcripture, 'at his own will and pleaſure; and that no man can dare 'to explain it in a contrary ſenſe.

XXX.

'That the pope doth not receive his authority from 'the ſcripture, but the ſcripture from the pope.

'In ſhort, the ſum of the whole canon law is this: '*The pope is God on earth, ſupreme in all heavenly, earthly,* '*ſpiritual, and ſecular matters. All things are the pope's;* '*and there is none who can ſay unto him, What doeſt thou?*' Melch. Adam. *in vit.* Luth.

This publication gave (as it may be ſuppoſed) the higheſt offence to the *Romaniſts*; and the pope reſolved to cruſh him at once by his bulls, which commanded all ſecular princes to deſtroy him.

Eckius carried the bull againſt *Luther* into *Germany*, and was entruſted by the pope to carry it into execution; which was a ſmart blow given him by his mortal enemy, who was his adverſary, accuſer, and executioner.

Charles V. was crowned emperor, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the twenty-firſt of *October* 1520, and appointed a diet to be held at *Worms*, on the ſixth of *January*, 1521. The nuncios, *Martinus Caracciolus* and *Jerom Alexander*, preſented the elector of *Saxony* the brief which the pope had ſent him, to inform him of the decree which he had made againſt *Luther*, who was then more than ever protected by the elector, and the univerſity of *Wittenberg*. *Luther* renewed his appeal to a future council; and called the pope a tyrant, and heretic. *Eraſmus*, and ſeveral other divines, foreſaw that the fire, which was to burn the books of *Luther*, would put all *Germany* into a flame, and were for referring the whole cauſe to a general council: But the nuncios prevailed, and *Luther*'s books were burnt at *Mentz* and *Cologne*. *Ulricus Hultenus*, a ſatirical poet, ridiculed the papal bull; which *Luther* called the execrable bull of antichriſt, and cauſed it (as we have juſt obſerved) to be burnt at *Wittenberg*. *Catharinus* wrote five books in defence of the papal ſupremacy; which *Luther* refuted; and *Alexander* obtained a new bull from *Rome*, wherein *Luther* was declared contumacious, and to have incurred the penalty denounced by the pope.

The

The diet of *Worms* aſſembled on the day appointed, when *Alexander* exerted all his intereſt and eloquence, to perſuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put the bull againſt *Luther* into execution; without ſuffering him to appear, or hear his vindication. The diet reſolved, that *Luther* ſhould be ſummoned, and have a ſafe conduct; which was granted by the emperor, who ſent with it a private letter, directed 'To the honour-'able, beloved, devout, doctor *Martin Luther*, of the 'order of St. *Auguſtine*.' This letter was dated the ſixth of *March*, and *Luther* was thereby ordered to appear at *Worms* within twenty-one days. The tragical end that *John Huſs* had met with at *Conſtance*, in 1415, was remembered by the friends of *Luther* on this occaſion: But he anſwered thoſe, who diſſuaded him from appearing, that "he would go, though there ſhould be as many "devils at *Worms* as there were tiles upon the houſes." He was accompanied from *Wittenberg* by ſome divines, and one hundred horſe: But he took only eight horſemen into *Worms*, where he arrived on the ſixteenth of *April*: And, when he ſtept out of the coach, he ſaid, "God ſhall be on my ſide," in the preſence of a great multitude of people, whom curioſity had brought together to ſee the man, who had made ſuch a noiſe in the world.

Luther had his apartments in the houſe belonging to the knights of the *Teutonic* order, near thoſe of the elector of *Saxony*. He was viſited by many princes, noblemen, and divines; and the next day appeared before the diet. *Eckius* acted as prolocutor, and told *Luther*, that the emperor had ſent for him, 'to know whether he owned 'thoſe books that bore his name; and if he intended to 'retract, or maintain, what was contained in them?' *Luther* is ſaid to have had as much courage, as *Alexander* and *Julius Cæſar* put together. He anſwered, he owned the books: But deſired time to conſider the other queſtion: "So that he might make a ſatisfactory anſwer, "without prejudice of the word of God, and prejudice "of his own ſoul." The emperor granted him a day to conſider the matter: And ſome of his principal friends encouraged him with this ſentence; *When thou art before kings, think not what thou ſhalt ſpeak, for it ſhall be given to thee in that hour.*

Luther appeared again before the diet the following day, when *Eckius* repeated the ſame queſtion, to which *Luther* replied with modeſty and conſtancy. He proteſted, that

that all he had wrote, was for the glory of God, and the inſtruction of the faithful: But deſired the aſſembly to obſerve, that his books were of three kinds: 'That in 'ſome, he treated only of piety and morality, in ſuch 'a plain and evangelical manner, that his adverſaries 'acknowledged, they were innocent, profitable, and 'worthy to be read by all Chriſtians: That in others, 'he had wrote againſt popery: And in a third ſort againſt 'thoſe private perſons, who oppoſed the truths which he 'taught.' He aſſerted, that the bull itſelf had condemned nothing in particular which was taken out of thoſe books; though all his books in general were condemned. And declared, "that, as a man, he might err; "and if any one could convince him, by holy ſcripture, "of any error, he was ready to revoke it, and burn his "writings." *Eckius* paſſionately ſaid, he had not anſwered the queſtion; therefore, he inſiſted that *Luther* would give a plain and direct anſwer, 'whether he would 'retract, or not?' *Luther* replied, "that he was not "obliged to believe the pope, or his councils, becauſe "they erred in many things, and contradicted themſelves: That his belief was ſo far ſettled by the texts "of ſcripture, and his conſcience engaged by the word "of God, that he neither could, nor would, retract any "thing; becauſe it was neither ſafe, nor innocent, for "a man to act againſt his conſcience." *Eckius* then ſaid, that *Luther* had revived the errors condemned in the council of *Conſtance:* And the emperor declared he would proceed againſt him as a heretic; which was prejudging the cauſe, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of the diet.

As *Luther* undauntedly refuſed to recant at *Worms*, as he had done three years before at *Augſburg*; the clergy inſinuated to the emperor, 'that faith was not to be kept 'with heretics.' They wanted him to revoke the ſafe-conduct he had granted to *Luther:* But *Charles* made this generous anſwer, 'that if no faith was to be found in 'the reſt of the world, it ought at leaſt to be ſeen in a '*Roman* emperor.' The elector Palatine alſo oppoſed the violation of the ſafe-conduct, as had been done at the council of *Conſtance*. The electors of *Brandenburg* and *Triers*, with *Eckius*, *Cochlæus*, and others, had a private conference with *Luther*, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his enterprize: But he declared, he was reſolved to die, rather than recede from the word of God. The elector of *Triers* deſired *Luther* to propoſe ſome means of

ending this matter himſelf; to which *Luther* anſwered he had no other way than the council of *Gamaliel*, "If "this work be of men, it will come to nought, and "fall of itſelf; but, if it be of God, ye cannot hinder "the execution of it."

The emperor, on the twenty-ſixth of *April*, ordered *Luther* to depart immediately from *Worms*, under a ſafe-conduct for twenty-one days; and the elector of *Saxony* imagined, that *Charles* would iſſue a ſevere edict againſt *Luther*; but the elector was reſolved to protect him from the proſecution of the emperor and pope. *Luther* was purpoſely ſeized on the road by a troop of maſked horſemen, and carried, as if by violence, to the caſtle of *Wartburg*, near *Eiſenach*, where the elector concealed him ten months. *Luther* called this retreat his *Patmos*, and wrote ſeveral uſeful treatiſes there: While his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment. Here he held a conſtant correſpondence with his friends at *Wittenberg*, and employed himſelf in compoſing ſeveral of his works. He frequently made excurſions into the neighborhood, though always in diſguiſe. Weary, however, of this confinement, he appeared at the end of ten months at *Wittenberg*, on the ſixth of *March*.

The emperor publiſhed an edict againſt *Luther*, on the twenty-ſixth of *May*, when the electors of *Saxony* and *Palatine* were abſent from the diet. He declared, 'it 'was his duty to extinguiſh hereſies; that *Luther* was a 'ſchiſmatic and heretic; that the ſentence of the pope 'ſhould be put in execution againſt him; and that no per-'ſon ſhould revive, defend, maintain, or protect him, under 'the penalty of high treaſon, and being put to the ban 'of the empire.' This edict was drawn up with all poſſible rancor and malice by *Aleander*. However, whilſt *Luther* attended at *Worms*, and pleaded his cauſe, he was treated with much affability and civility by that illuſtrious aſſembly. He ſhewed a ſufficient preſence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one but himſelf; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been ſtill bolder in the cauſe of God.

Some are of opinion, that the emperor connived at the ſpreading of *Luther*'s doctrine in *Germany*, that he might make himſelf abſolute there by ſuch diviſions: Elſe, ſay they, he might eaſily have ſuppreſſed it, by putting *Luther* to death, when he had him in his power at *Worms*. However, it is far from being clear, that if he had been murdered,

murdered, contrary to the ſanction of the ſafe-conduct, his opinions would have died with him: And it would have been very imprudent in *Charles* to have thereby diſobliged the elector of *Saxony*, who had placed him on the imperial throne, and whoſe authority in *Germany* was great, while he had a war upon his hands againſt *Turkey* and *France*.

The tenets of *Luther* became now to be received, not only in *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, but alſo in other parts of *Germany*, and in the *North*. *Eraſmus*, and the learned *Agrippa* of *Cologne*, looked upon this Reformer as a hero, who would put a ſtop to the tyranny which the mendicant friars, and the reſt of the clergy, exerciſed over the minds and conſciences of men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thouſand paltry ſuperſtitions, and would neither emerge from their barbarity, nor ſuffer others to do it: Inſomuch, that to be witty, and polite, was ſufficient to expoſe a man to their hate and indignation. *Agrippa*, *Eraſmus*, and ſome other great geniuſes, were pleaſed that *Luther* had broke the ice: They expected the critical hour for the deliverance of honeſt men from oppreſſion: But when they ſaw that things did not take the turn they expected, they were the firſt to caſt a ſtone at *Luther*. *Agrippa* wrote to *Melanchthon* in theſe words; 'Pay my compliments to the invincible heretic 'Martin Luther, who, as St. *Paul* ſays in the *Acts*, 'worſhips God after the way which they call hereſy.' But the divines of *Louvain* cenſured *Agrippa* for writing 'the vanity of ſciences;' though that book convinced *Eraſmus*, its author was of a fiery genius, extenſive reading, and great memory. But *Jovius*, and *Thevet*, ridiculouſly charge *Agrippa* with being a magician: Though this did not hinder the famous *John Colet* from lodging *Agrippa* in his houſe at *London*; nor the emperor *Maximilian* from employing him in *Italy*.

Jerom Savonarola, a Dominican at *Florence*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the auſterity of his life, and by the fervent eloquence with which he preached againſt immorality, without ſparing the diſorders of the clergy, nor even the court of *Rome*. *Philip de Comines*, the celebrated hiſtorian of *France*, ſaw *Savonarola* at *Florence*, and ſays, 'that no preacher ever had a greater influence 'over a city.' Some authors maintain, that his conduct was the effect of a great zeal for truth, and for the Reformation of the church: Others pretend that he was an impoſtor, and a hypocrite. It is certain, that this divine

had acquired ſuch a great power over the Florentines, by his ſingular ſanctity, and the reputation of his virtue, that, in the opinion of all, he deſerved to be canonized alive: But he loſt his credit, was excommunicated, degraded from his eccleſiaſtical order, hanged and burnt in the year 1498. Friar *Jerom* had been conſidered as a prophet ſent by God for the Reformation of manners; and he had preached, that the ſtate of the church ſhould be reformed by the ſword. He foretold many things before they came to paſs: But the pope excommunicated him, on a charge that his doctrine was not catholic; and the Franciſcan friars undertook to prove it heretical. The truth is, *Savonarola* had earneſtly wiſhed to be the inſtrument of calling a general council, in which the corrupt manners of the clergy might be reformed; and the ſtate of the church of God, which had deviated ſo far, might be reduced to as great a reſemblance as poſſible of thoſe days that were neareſt to the times of the apoſtles. The general of the Dominicans, and the biſhop of *Romolino*, were appointed commiſſaries by the pope to puniſh *Savonarola*, whom they put to the torture, and delivered him over to the ſecular arm to be hanged and burnt. His trial was falſified in the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous manner: But he ſuffered death courageouſly, and many perſons conſidered him as a martyr. His aſhes were thrown into the *Arno*, that his adherents might not have any relic left of him: But books were written for his juſtification; and the proteſtants have revered his memory.

Beza, *Vigner*, *Cappel*, *Du Pleſſis Mornay*, and the other Reformers, conſidered *Jerom Savonarola* as a martyr like *Jerom* of *Prague:* They looked on him as one of the forerunners of the evangelical Reformation; and called him the *Luther* of *Italy*. The popiſh writers alſo defended his character, particularly the learned prince of *Mirandula:* But pope *Clement* VIII. forbade the ſermons of *Savonarola* to be read till they had undergone a purgation.

Luther quoted *Savonarola*, and prefixed a preface to his meditations; becauſe he conſidered him as an author that is very orthodox upon the ſubject of juſtification, and the merit of good works. The tools of *Rome* were for putting *Luther* to death, as well as *Savonarola:* But *Eraſmus* was greatly diſſatisfied, when *Luther* was proſcribed; and ſaid, 'that they, who condemned him, de-'ſerved to be condemned themſelves; That the pope's

'unmerciful

'unmerciful bull was diſapproved by all honeſt men; 'and that *Luther*, being a man void of ambition, was 'the leſs to be ſuſpected of hereſy.' One of the eccleſiaſtical electors ſaid, 'Would to God that *Luther* had 'written in Latin, and not in *German*.' Mention being made of *Luther* at the emperor's table, *Ravenſtein* ſaid, 'here is one Chriſtian ariſen among us, at laſt, after 'four hundred years, and the pope wants to kill him.'

The emperor had performed the conditions of the ſafe-conduct to *Luther*; and the pope had tried him before a council: 'But the Lutherans would have been fools and 'mad, to have truſted themſelves and their cauſe, to 'ſuch a pontiff, and to ſuch an emperor;' notwithſtanding *Eraſmus* ſaid, 'we have a pope, who in his temper 'is much diſpoſed to clemency, and an emperor who is 'alſo mild and placable.' *Eraſmus* judged very wrong of both theſe perſons. *Leo* was a vain, voluptuous, and debauched man, who had no religion, and no compaſſion for thoſe, who could not ſubmit entirely to his pleaſure; as he ſhewed by the haughty manner in which he treated *Luther*, without admitting the leaſt relaxation in any of the diſputed points. *Charles* V. was only twenty years of age, at this time, and made a conſcience of nothing to accompliſh any of his projects. He ſaid ſo himſelf; and we may take his word for it. This emperor, diſcourſing of paſt events with the prior and the monks of St. *Juſtus*, told them, that he repented of having fulfilled the promiſe of ſafe-conduct which he gave to *Luther*. This regret is aſcribed to his pious zeal for the cauſe of God: But the examples of *Gregory* the Great, who kept his faith given to heretics; of *Joſhua*, who kept it to the idolatrous *Gibeonites*; and of *Saul*, whom God puniſhed for doing the contrary, might have quieted his royal conſcience: And if he had any cauſe to repent, it ſhould have been for plighting his faith to a heretic, and not for keeping it. However, *Charles* in his old age ſeemed inclined to proteſtant principles: And, if reports may be credited, his ſon *Philip* intended to have made his father's proceſs, and to have had his bones burnt for hereſy; being only hindered from doing it by this conſideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by conſequence he had no right to reſign them to his ſon. If theſe things are true, the emperor muſt have been the greateſt hypocrite that ever lived; or we have been greatly impoſed upon by hiſtorians.

At

At the time the diet of *Worms* was held, a treatiſe was publiſhed, in which were the following among other anecdotes. The count of *Naſſau*, governor of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Holland*, ſaid to the divines at the *Hague*, 'Go, and preach the goſpel in ſincerity and 'truth, like *Luther*.' The academics of *Louvain* complained to *Margaret* the emperor's ſiſter, governeſs of the *Netherlands*, that *Luther* was ſubverting Chriſtianity by his writings. 'Who, ſaid ſhe, is this *Luther?*' They replied, he was an illiterate monk. 'Is he ſo, ſaid the 'princeſs? Then you, who are very learned and nu-'merous, write againſt this illiterate monk: And ſurely 'the world will pay more regard to many ſcholars than 'to one blockhead.'

As the pope and emperor had publiſhed ſuch a furious bull, and violent edict, againſt *Luther*, *Eraſmus* began to be in pain for the Reformer, though the elector of *Saxony* had taken him under his protection. 'I fear, 'ſays he, for the unfortunate *Luther:* So violent is the 'conſpiracy, and ſo ſtrongly have the pope and the 'prince been inſtigated againſt him. Would to God he 'had followed my counſel, and had abſtained from 'violent and ſeditious proceedings! He would then have 'done more good, and have incurred leſs hatred.'

But if *Luther* had followed the advice of *Eraſmus*, and conducted the affair with all moderation and reſerve, he would ſtill have had leſs ſucceſs; becauſe his ſyſtem paſſed, in the opinion of the divines, for a moſt peſtilent hereſy, tending to overſet the authority of the pope and the monks, and to deſtroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immenſe profit. If *Luther* had recanted after he had been condemned, all the benefit, that his doctrine was capable of producing, would have been loſt: And if he reſiſted, a ſeparation from thoſe who had excommunicated him muſt enſue.

Eraſmus declined the taſk of refuting *Luther*; 'be-'cauſe it was a work above his abilities; and he would 'not deprive the univerſities, which had undertaken to 'confute him, of their honour and glory.' He wiſhed that *Luther* had been ſolidly confuted before his books were burnt: Becauſe it is the duty of divines to perſuade, and the practice of tyrants to compel. But this was not the language of the inquiſition, and of the monks, who breathed nothing beſides revenge, and the deſtruction of heretics. To pleaſe them, he ought to have cried out, that '*Luther* deſerved to be hanged, for

'what he had done, whether he ſubmitted or not: He 'ought to have inſulted and abuſed him upon all occa- 'ſions, if he hoped for any favour from men, who ac- 'counted moderation and equity to be capital crimes, 'when they extended to a man accounted by them the 'leader of the heretical armies.' *Luther* was ſometimes cenſured by *Eraſmus* for writing with ſuch ſpirit; but in this, *Luther* acted more like an apoſtle, or primitive Chriſtian, than *Eraſmus*.

Luther alſo made a tranſlation of the New Teſtament into the *German* language; and wrote ſeveral books, during his retirement, which he called his hermitage. He was immediately accuſed of corrupting the goſpel in ſeveral places; but none of his adverſaries ventured to condemn the tranſlation of the New Teſtament into the vulgar tongue: On the contrary, *Jerom Emſer* criticiſed upon this verſion, and made another. The king of *England* wrote to the princes of *Germany* upon that ſubject; and ſaid, it was uſeful to have the ſcripture in ſeveral languages, that corrupt verſions might be prevented.

However, it is acknowledged, that *Luther*, in tranſlating the bible, was aſſiſted by the diſciples of *Reuchlin*, and hath hit off many places very happily: That he was maſter of the *German* language; and that there is much to be learned from this work. But the Sieur de St. *Aldegonde*, in 1594, wrote to *John Druſius*, who was employed by the ſtates-general to make a new tranſlation of the bible into the *Dutch* tongue, that, 'among all the 'verſions he had met with, he had ſeen none that dif- 'fered ſo widely from the true *Hebrew*, as that of '*Luther*.'

Luther wrote againſt private confeſſion, private maſſes, and monaſtic vows; in conſequence of which, *Caroloſtadius*, and the Auguſtine friars at *Wittenberg*, aboliſhed the uſe of the maſs. Vows of celibacy very little promoted continence. The monks left their cloiſters at *Wittenberg*, and the prieſts married; after *Caroloſtadius* and *Juſtus Jonas* had ſet them the example, which was afterwards followed by *Luther*.

The adverſaries of *Luther* affirmed, 'that he uttered 'a thouſand blaſphemies, and particularly againſt *Moſes*: 'They went ſo far as to maintain, that he got *Amadis de 'Gaul* tranſlated into *French*, to put people out of con- 'ceit with the ſcripture, and all books of devotion. 'They obſerved ſo little meaſures in the calumnies they 'publiſhed againſt him, as to accuſe him of having ſaid,

'that

'that he believed nothing of what he preached.' Moſt of theſe calumnies were grounded upon ſome words in a book publiſhed by *Luther*'s friends; to which his enemies gave a very malicious interpretation, and very remote from this miniſter's thoughts.

He was even accuſed of Atheiſm: But this, as well as what was ſaid of *Amadis*, was an egregious falſhood, and proved ſo by *Bayle*, from the journal of *Leipſic*, *October* 1684, where it is ſaid, that 'this ridiculous calumny 'cannot excite indignation, but laughter; for the honeſt 'catholics themſelves muſt be aſhamed of it: They can-'not be ignorant that, by the indefatigable pains of '*Luther*, the ſacred writings were once more put not 'only into the hands of the clergy, but into thoſe of 'the middle rank, nay, even of thoſe of the meaneſt ſort; 'he having, for that purpoſe, with incredible ſtudy and 'toil, tranſlated the holy bible into the vulgar tongue, 'and not *Amadis*.' What is not a man capable of, in point of groſs calumnies, ſo diametrically oppoſite to all probability, when there are thoſe who dare affirm, that *Luther* deſired to bring the ſcriptures into diſcredit: *Luther* had no greater reproach to bear, with all the Reformers, from the popiſh clergy, than that of too much recommending to laymen the reading of the bible in the vulgar tongue.

The doctrine of *Luther* was not prevented by the edict of the emperor, which was contemned by the princes and magiſtrates. *Henry* VIII. king of *England*, ſtopt the new doctrine from ſpreading in his dominions: He did ſomething more, for he cauſed to be made, in his own name, a treatiſe about the ſeven ſacraments, againſt *Luther*'s book of "the Captivity of *Babylon*." Some have thought that *Edward Lee*, afterwards archbiſhop of *York*, was the author of that work: But the king preſented it to the pope, who received it very favorably, and was ſo well pleaſed with *Henry*, that he rewarded him with the glorious title of 'Defender of the Faith.' *Henry* was the ſlave of *Rome* for the firſt eighteen years of his reign. Delighted with the flatteries of the pope and the clergy, he drew his pen in their defence. The papal compliments induced *Henry* to order all *Luther*'s books to be called in; and forty-two articles, taken from his doctrine, were condemned. *Luther* had made very free with *Aquinas*, the favorite author of king *Henry* VIII. who had a great opinion of his learning and talents for diſputation, and ſtepped forth as the champion of the church,

church, to defend her againſt the danger ſhe was in from the ſpreading of *Luther*'s hereſy. But *Luther* was not to be ſilenced by the power of his adverſary: And conceiving himſelf to be uſed too contemptuouſly by the king, he replied with more acrimony than was thought decent towards the perſon of a ſovereign prince. He anſwered *Henry* with ſharpneſs; and without any reſpect to his royal dignity; for *Luther* ſpared no man in the cauſe of God. Many divines thought it an honor to defend the king of *England*, by confuting the book which *Luther* wrote againſt him. In *Germany*, it was anſwered in Latin by *Eckius*; and in High Dutch by *Muncer*. In *England*, *John Fiſher*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, wrote a book to maintain the doctrine which the king had vindicated; and Sir *Thomas More* wrote another, under the name of *William Roſs*, in which he gave a character of *Luther*. But *Luther*'s magnanimous ſpirit was not to be depreſſed by the words of a king, whoſe treatment of *Lambert*, the martyr, diſcovered an heart full of rancor againſt the truth, becauſe he condemned it without inveſtigation, and a mind full of meanneſs, becauſe he inſulted and threatened an humble ſubject and inferior. *Luther* defended his ſharp ſtyle in anſwering the king, after this manner; "If my aſperity towards the king has offended "any body, let them take this anſwer. In that book I "had to do with unfeeling monſters, who have deſpiſed "my beſt and gentleſt writings, who have trampled "upon my moſt humble ſubmiſſions, and who only ſeem "the more inſolent, in proportion to my calmneſs and "temperance. Let it be remembered too, that I en-"tirely omitted all threats of virulence and falſhoods, "with which the king has filled his book againſt me "from beginning to end. Nor ought it to be conſidered "as a great affair, if I affront and treat ſharply an "earthly prince, who has dared to blaſpheme the King "of heaven in his writings, and to inſult his holy name "with the bittereſt lies.—But GOD will judge the "people in his equity."——*Luther* had indeed written a very humble letter to *Henry* the Eighth, by the perſuaſion of *Chriſtiern*, the baniſhed king of *Denmark*; to which the king returned a very harſh and unbecoming anſwer in his book, which probably induced *Luther* to treat this haughty prince with the more tartneſs. His ſubmiſſive letters to cardinal *Cajetan*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and others, were all ſerved in the ſame contemptuous ſtrain, which determined *Luther* to take up a different conduct with his

adverſaries, in which his bravery of ſoul was equal to all their inſolence.

If we would know what was the ground of this wonderful man's magnanimity, it cannot be better expreſſed than it is by himſelf in a letter to *Spalatinus*, during the buſineſs of *Augſburgh:* "That kings, and princes, and "people, (ſays he) rage againſt *Chriſt*, the Lord's "Anointed, I eſteem a good ſign, and a much better one "than if they flattered. For it follows upon this, that "he, who dwelleth in heaven, laughs them to ſcorn. "And if our Head laugh, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould "weep before the faces of ſuch beings. He does not "laugh for his own ſake, but for our's, that we, putting "the more truſt in him, might deſpiſe their empty de-"ſigns; of ſo great need is faith, that the cauſe and "ground of it is not to be perceived without faith. He, "who began this work, began it without our advice and "contrivance; he hath hitherto protected it; and hath "ordered the whole above and beyond our counſels and "imaginations. He alſo, I make no doubt, will carry "on and complete the ſame, without and above all our "conceptions and cares. I know and am aſſured of this, "for I reſt the whole upon him, who is able to do above "all that we can aſk or think. Yet our friend *Philip* "*Melancthon* will contrive and deſire, that God ſhould "work according to and within the compaſs of his puny "notions, that he may have ſomewhat whereof to glory. 'Certainly (he would ſay) thus and thus it ought to be 'done; and thus and thus would I do it.' But this is "poor ſtuff: 'Thus I *Philip* would do it.' This (I) "is mighty flat. But hear how this reads; I AM "THAT I AM, *this is his name* JEHOVAH: HE, "*even* HE, *will do it.*——But I have done. Be ſtrong "in the Lord, and exhort *Melancthon* from me, that he "aim not to ſit in God's throne, but fight againſt that "innate, that deviliſhly implanted ambition of our's, "which would uſurp the place of God; for that am-"bition will never further our cauſe. It thruſt *Adam* "and *Eve* out of paradiſe; and this alone perplexes us, "and turns our feet from the way of peace. We muſt "be men, and not gods." The proteſtant champion knew full well where his ſtrength lay—not in himſelf, but in his Sovereign. If deſerted by his Covenant-head, he felt the deep conviction, that every reed might make him tremble, and every blaſt of trial caſt him down. He knew (to uſe the words of a late writer) that 'if

'God

'God changed from his purpoſe of ſaving a man, when-
'ever the man, left to his own will, would change from
'the deſire of being ſaved; he muſt renounce the ſtrongeſt
'believer upon earth, in five minutes after he had com-
'mitted him to himſelf.'*—But *Luther* had *not* ſo *learned Chriſt.*

Leo X. called *John de Medicis*, was elected pope on the eleventh of *March*, 1513; and it is thought, that nothing contributed more to his elevation to the popedom, than his intrigues and connexions with ſome diſſolute women of great influence. He made a league with the emperor againſt *France*, to recover the places which the *French* held in *Italy*. He took that affair ſo much to heart, that having received the news of the misfortunes of the *French*, he died, it is ſaid, of mere joy: Not but there are writers who affirm, that he was poiſoned. He died, on the ſecond of *December*, 1521, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He might juſtly be termed the father of revived and reſtored learning, which claims from hiſtory a tribute perhaps not due to his other virtues as a man, or to his piety as a prelate. His encouraging arts and ſciences; his boundleſs liberality to the poor, to wits, poets, artiſts, and men of letters, is what his apologiſts have to oppoſe to abundance of ſcandalous defects, and grievous faults in his character. Even the failings of his character were productive of ſome public uſe; for he ſeems to have had a contempt for the underſtanding of other nations, which led him to treſpaſs upon them too far in the matter of indulgences, and other eccleſiaſtical propoſitions, that paved the way for the Reformation.

After the death of *Leo*, the ſeveral factions of the conclave terminated in the election of *Adrian* VI. which highly diſpleaſed the people of *Rome*. He was born at *Utrecht* in 1459; and his father got his living by barge-making: But the univerſity of *Louvain* ſupplied his domeſtic indigence, and educated the ſon, who made a great progreſs in all kinds of ſciences, and was appointed preceptor to the archduke *Charles* in 1507. The new pope refuſed to change his name: And in every thing expreſſed his averſion to pomp and pleaſures. He was thought fit to be raiſed to the papacy, which had need, at that time, of a man learned in divinity, to oppoſe *Luther*; and alſo of one capable of governing a ſtate, becauſe of

* See '*Horæ Solitariæ*, or Eſſays upon the Names of *Chriſt*.' p. 379. *Mathews*, Strand.

the troubles in *Italy*. But he thought it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to reform the diſcipline of the church, and particularly the abuſes of the court of *Rome*, which he obſerved, and publicly acknowledged, in a very ſtrong manner. He began with revoking all the privileges granted to the Franciſcans, by the promulgation of indulgences: Next, he aboliſhed part of the reſervations, acceſſions, regreſſes, and ſuch inventions, which were called the ſnares of the court of *Rome*: And afterwards he attempted to reform the diſcipline of the church; as alſo the manners of the clergy and laity: But his laudable views were prevented by the cardinals, and prieſts, who could not endure the thoughts of a Reformation, which was ſo contrary to their intereſt. *Eraſmus* entertained ſome hopes, that his old friend and ſchool-fellow, *Adrian* VI. would do ſome good. The new pope deplored the ſad life of the clergy, and the corruption of morals which had appeared in ſome popes: But his reign was ſhort, and troubleſome; which made him ſay, he had more ſatisfaction in governing a college of *Louvain*, than in governing the whole Chriſtian church.

Luther was now at open war with the church of *Rome*, and wrote againſt the excommunication iſſued by the pope: He alſo attacked the biſhops, and eccleſiaſtical princes, in a work, entitled, "Againſt the order, falſely "called, the order of biſhops." And he exhorted the ſtates of *Bohemia* to continue in their ſeparation from the *Roman* church. He wrote his rough anſwer to *Henry* VIII. in Latin, and afterwards tranſlated it into *German*. *Emſer* wrote the life of *Benno*, biſhop of *Miſnia* in the eleventh century, whoſe principal merit was, that he had been a rebel and a traitor; yet he was canonized by pope *Adrian* VI. for his miracles. *Luther* wrote againſt this canonization, and treated *Benno*'s miracles as human frauds, or diabolical operations. Every thing co-operated with the decree of heaven, in ſpreading the doctrines of *Luther*; and the ſpiritual monarchy of *Rome* was on the brink of ruin.

As the diet of *Worms* had not ſettled the tranquillity of the empire, another diet was appointed by the emperor to be held at *Nuremberg* in *November*, 1522. The emperor was not preſent, and his brother *Ferdinand* ſupplied his place. The pope ſent his nuncio, *Cheregatus*, to this diet; with letters, in manner of a brief, to the princes; and inſtructions how to proceed againſt *Luther*. The pope informed the diet, that *Luther* continued to diſturb

and

and repleniſh the world with new books; which grieved him the more, becauſe he was his countryman. He exhorted the members to reduce *Luther*, and his adherents, to a conformity of faith with the church: But, 'if this 'peſtiferous canker cannot be cured with gentle medi-'cines, ſharper ſalves muſt be proved, and fiery ſearings: 'The putrified members muſt be cut off from the body, 'leſt the ſound parts ſhould be infected.' Yet the nuncio was inſtructed to declare, 'that God ſuffered this 'perſecution to be inflicted upon his church for the ſins 'of men, eſpecially of prieſts and prelates of the clergy.' The cardinals ſtrongly reſented theſe reflections caſt upon them in ſuch an aſſembly; and it is imagined that the life of *Adrian* was ſhortened on that account.

The diet anſwered the nuncio by writing, that they had not put the papal ſentence, nor the imperial edict, into execution againſt *Luther*, for fear of raiſing civil commotions: But they particularly deſired he would apply a remedy to the abuſes and grievances of which they would give him a memorial; as this would be the only way to re-eſtabliſh peace and concord between the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular orders. They thought it would be neceſſary, as ſoon as poſſible, to call a free council in *Germany*, to extirpate all errors and abuſes: And that all controverſy ſhould ceaſe, till the determination of ſuch a council ſhould be known. The nuncio replied, that the negligence which they had ſhewn concerning *Luther*, was offenſive to God, to the pope, the emperor, and the empire: That they ſhould obſerve the imperial edict; and alſo put in execution the decree of the council of *Lateran*, which inhibits the printing of any book about religious matters, without being licenſed by the ordinary.

The diet, in the reign of *Maximilian*, propoſed ten grievances againſt the court of *Rome:* But this diet of *Nuremberg* ſent one hundred heads of complaint, or grievances, to the pope; with a proteſtation, that they neither could nor would endure ſuch oppreſſions and extortions. The principal of the *centum gravamina* were againſt the great number of human conſtitutions; indulgences; eccleſiaſtical cauſes; collation of benefices; annates; exemption of eccleſiaſtics in criminal cauſes; excommunication; and many others which they reſerved to be propoſed, when juſtice was done them in theſe.

This reſolution of the diet was publiſhed, on the ſixth of *March*, 1523, in the form of an edict; but both the Papiſts and Lutherans interpreted it in favor of themſelves.

ſelves. *Luther* continued to publiſh ſeveral new tracts; and undertook to compoſe a new form of celebrating the communion in the church of *Wittemberg*. He would have none admitted to the communion, but ſuch as could give an account of their faith; and who knew the nature, uſe, and benefit of the Lord's Supper: He appointed, that both kinds ſhould be given; and that thoſe, who would take only in one, ſhould have neither.

Jodocus Clichtovæus, and *Joannes Cochlæus*, anſwered *Luther*; againſt whom, and the Reformation, the writings of *Cochlæus* have been the fund of virulent abuſe, for all thoſe who have ſlandered the Proteſtant religion ever ſince: But *Luther* anſwered, and confuted, both theſe antagoniſts; as alſo two others, *John Faber*, afterwards biſhop of *Vienna*, and *Conradus Collinus*, a Dominican. *Luther* was deſirous of totally ſuppreſſing the monaſtic orders, and wrote a book called, "The common Trea-"ſury," for blending them with the public; which made his enemies ſay, he ſet himſelf up as a ſupreme legiſlator, and diſpoſer of the revenues of the church.

Zuinglius, at this time, was eſtabliſhing his doctrine in *Switzerland*: But differed from *Luther* in the doctrine of the ſacrament. Pope *Adrian* VI. died on the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1523, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age; without being able to reform the church. He was ſucceeded by the cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who aſſumed the name of *Clement* VII. The new pope ſent cardinal *Campegius* to the diet of *Nuremberg*, in *February*, 1524, when he had an audience of the aſſembly, and vainly endeavored to ſtop their complaints by promiſes. The diet declared for a free council, to allay the diſputes of *Luther*: But the legate procured a private aſſembly to be held at *Ratiſbon* in *July*, where it was agreed, that the edict of *Worms* ſhould be put into execution; and that thirty-five articles of certain conſtitutions, made for the Reformation of the *German* clergy in purſuance of the late complaints, ſhould be publiſhed. The doctrines of *Luther* were generally favored by the imperial cities, whoſe deputies held an aſſembly at *Spires*, and explained the decrees of *Nuremberg* in their favor, while the other ſat at *Ratiſbon*.

Luther expoſed the contradictions in the two laſt edicts; and the popiſh princes oppoſed Lutheraniſm, by putting thoſe edicts in execution. *Luther* was certainly right, in aſſerting, that the edicts of *Nuremberg* and *Spires* contradicted each other: For if the edict of *Worms*, which condemned

condemned *Luther* as a heretic, was to be obeyed; why ſhould the diet of *Nuremberg*, which ordered that edict to be executed, alſo order his books to be examined at *Spires*? And if an examination was to be made of his writings, why was he to be condemned as a heretic, before ſuch examination was made?

Luther publiſhed a book "Of the Duty and Dignity "of the civil Magiſtrate;" and wrote an elegy upon two Auguſtine monks, who were burnt for Lutheraniſm at *Bruſſels*. Their names were *Henry Voes*, and *John Eſch*. The greateſt error they were accuſed of, was, 'that men ought to truſt only in God.' They ſuffered with heroic conſtancy; and *Luther* compoſed a hymn in their praiſe, which was ſung in the reformed churches. The charitable catholics rejoiced at their death, and called them 'the devil's martyrs:' But *Eraſmus* had the courage to declare his diſlike of ſuch barbarous and unchriſtian proceedings; and obſerved, that the ſufferings of theſe men had brought over multitudes to Lutheraniſm. About this time *Luther* wrote a conſolatory epiſtle to three noble ladies at *Miſnia*, who were baniſhed from the duke of *Saxony*'s court at *Friburg* for reading his books. The diſputes between *Luther* and *Caroloſtadius* increaſed, and the latter retired from *Wittenberg* to *Ortamunden*, where he was followed by *Luther*, who accuſed him of making innovations in the public worſhip without the conſent of the magiſtrate; and the elector baniſhed *Caroloſtadius* out of his dominions. He ſettled at *Straſburgh*, where he publiſhed two books upon the Lord's Supper, to maintain that "the body of *Jeſus* "*Chriſt* is not in the ſacrament." *Zuinglius* would not abſolutely condemn his opinion: But he cenſured his conduct, and rejected his interpretation.

About this time, the Anabaptiſts ſprang up under *Muncer* and *Stork*, who were diſcovered to be fanatics, and were baniſhed *Saxony*. A rebellion enſued, which the popiſh writers attribute to the riſe of Lutheraniſm: But it has been fully proved, that theſe tumults were occaſioned by grievances of a civil nature. The peaſants refuſed to pay obedience to their ſuperiors, and deſolated whole countries in a moſt barbarous manner; but they were reduced, and returned to their duty, after more than one hundred thouſand of their aſſociates had been killed during this commotion, and their leaders had received the puniſhment they deſerved. Their principal tenets were theſe;

1. 'That every man hath the ſpirit.

2. 'That the ſpirit was nothing more than our natural 'reaſon and underſtanding.

3. 'That every man believes, or may believe.

4. 'That there is no hell to torment ſouls, but that 'the body only is condemned.

5. 'That every ſoul ſhall be ſaved.

6. 'That we are taught by the law of nature to do to 'others, as we would have them do to us; and that this 'principle is all we are to underſtand by the term *faith*.

7. 'That we do not ſin againſt the law by concupiſ-'cence, if in the will we do not follow that concupiſ-'cence.

8. 'That a man not having the holy Spirit hath no 'ſin; becauſe he is without reaſon, which is only another 'name for the holy Spirit.

9. 'That infants are not to be baptized.

10. 'That all things are to be held in common.'

Luther exerted himſelf againſt theſe fanatical people, and ſet forth a treatiſe, wherein he admoniſhed them to lay down their arms, and proved the neceſſity of obeying their magiſtrates. Theſe Anabaptiſts were enemies to popery, and a ſcandal to the Reformation. The exhortations of *Luther* on this occaſion, both to the rebellious peaſants, and to the tyrannical nobles, were excellent, and gave a high idea of his probity, plain-dealing, and good ſenſe. Lutheraniſm increaſed, and was eſtabliſhed in ſeveral cities, even before theſe ſeditions were ſuppreſſed in *Germany*. It was publicly profeſſed by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the duke of *Brunſwick*. It was received at *Straſburgh*, *Francfort*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*: And it prevailed in almoſt all the ſtates of the empire, except in the hereditary countries ſubject to the emperor.

Eraſmus had been frequently ſolicited by the pope, and the popiſh princes, to write againſt *Luther*: But he avoided the diſpute, till he was ſuſpected of being a Lutheran, and then he undertook to oppoſe him, in a book entitled, 'A Diatribe, or Conference about Free-'will,' againſt the opinion of *Luther* concerning liberty. The Lutherans themſelves have rejected that opinion: But *Luther* and *Eraſmus* were in the ſame condition and ſituation in one reſpect: They had innumerable adverſaries, and for the moſt part extremely contemptible. *Le Clerc* ſuppoſes that *Luther* was a Thomiſt: But we find, that he abhorred *Ariſtotle*, and deſpiſed the ſchool-

men

men in general; particularly both the Thomiſts and Scotiſts. If he was a favorer of any ſcholaſtic ſect, it was that of *Occam*, whom he eſteemed. Therefore, a judicious divine thinks, that *Luther* firſt received his doctrine of predeſtination from *Auguſtine*, of whom he was a great admirer. Certain it is, that ſcarce any man ever carried the doctrine of predeſtination to greater lengths, or wrote more poſitively in defence of it*. If there

* Witneſs his book *de ſervo arbitrio*, written againſt *Eraſmus*, who had attacked the doctrine of predeſtination. *Eraſmus* had ſaid: "What can be more uſeleſs, than to publiſh this paradox to the "world? namely, that whatever we do, is done, not by virtue of "our own free-will, but in a way of neceſſity, &c. What a wide "gap does the publication of this tenet open among men, for the "commiſſion of all ungodlineſs! What wicked perſon will reform "his life? Who will dare to believe himſelf a favourite of heaven? "Who will fight againſt his own corrupt inclinations? Therefore, "where is either the need, or the utility, of ſpreading theſe notions, "from whence ſo many evils ſeem to flow?"

To which, LUTHER replies: "If, my *Eraſmus*, you conſider theſe "paradoxes (as you term them) to be no more than the inventions of "men; why are you ſo extravagantly heated on the occaſion? In "that caſe, your arguments affect not *me*: For there is no perſon, "now living in the world, who is a more avowed enemy to the doc-"trines of men, than myſelf. But, if you believe the doctrines, in "debate between us, to be (as indeed they are) the doctrines of God; "you muſt have bid adieu to all ſenſe of ſhame and decency, thus "to oppoſe them. I will not aſk, Whither is the *modeſty* of *Eraſmus* "fled? but, which is much more important, Where, alas! are your "*fear* and *reverence* of the Deity, when you roundly declare, that "this branch of truth, which He has revealed from heaven, is, at "beſt, *uſeleſs*, and unneceſſary to be known? What! ſhall the glo-"rious Creator be *taught*, by *you* his creature, what is fit to be "preach'd, and what to be ſuppreſs'd? Is the adorable God ſo "very defective in wiſdom and prudence, as not to know, till *you* "inſtruct him, what would be uſeful, and what pernicious? Or "could not HE, whoſe underſtanding is infinite, foreſee, previous to "his revelation of this doctrine, what would be the *conſequences* of "his revealing it, till thoſe conſequences were pointed out by *you?* "You cannot, you dare not ſay this. If, then, it was the divine "pleaſure to make known theſe things in his word; and to bid his "meſſengers publiſh them abroad, and leave the conſequences of their "ſo doing to the wiſdom and providence of Him, in whoſe name they "ſpeak, and whoſe meſſage they declare; *who art thou*, O Eraſmus, "*that thou ſhouldeſt reply againſt God*, and ſay, to the Almighty, *What "doeſt thou?* St. PAUL, diſcourſing of God, declares peremptorily, "*Whom he will he hardeneth*: And again, *God willing to ſhew his "wrath*, &c. And the Apoſtle did not write this, to have it ſtifled "among a few perſons, and buried in a corner; but wrote it to the "Chriſtians at *Rome*: Which was, in effect, bringing this doctrine "upon the ſtage of the whole world; ſtamping an *univerſal impri-"matur* upon it; and publiſhing it to believers at large, throughout

there was any difference between *Luther* and the Thomiſts of the church of *Rome*, it was this, that *Luther* ſpake more ſimply, ſincerely, and openly than they; for he

" the earth.—What can ſound harſher, in the uncircumciſed ears of " carnal men, than thoſe words of *Chriſt*, *Many are called, but few* " *are choſen?* and elſewhere, *I know whom I have choſen.* Now, " theſe and ſimilar aſſertions of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, are the very " poſitions which you, O *Eraſmus*, brand as uſeleſs and hurtful. " You object, *If theſe things are ſo, who will endeavour to amend his* " *life?* I anſwer; Without the Holy Ghoſt, no man *can* amend his " life to purpoſe. Reformation is but varniſh'd hypocriſy, unleſs it " proceed from *grace*. The elect and truly pious are amended by " the Spirit of God: And thoſe of mankind, who are not amended " by Him, will periſh.—You aſk, moreover, *Who will dare to be-* " *lieve himſelf a favourite of heaven?* I anſwer; It is not in man's " own power to believe himſelf ſuch, upon juſt grounds, till he is " enabled from above. But the Elect ſhall be ſo enabled: They " ſhall believe themſelves to be what indeed they are. As for the " reſt, who are not endu'd with faith, they ſhall periſh; raging and " blaſpheming, as you do now. But, ſay you, *Theſe doctrines open* " *a door to ungodlineſs.* I anſwer; Whatever door they may open to " the *impious* and *prophane*; yet, they open a door of righteouſneſs " to the *elect* and *holy*, and ſhow them the way to heaven, and the " path of acceſs unto God. Yet you would have us *abſtain from the* " *mention* of theſe grand doctrines, and leave our people in the dark, " as to their election of God: The conſequence of which would be, " that every man would bolſter himſelf up with a deluſive hope of a " ſhare in that ſalvation, which is ſuppos'd to lie open to all; and, " thus, genuine humility, and the practical fear of God, would be " kick'd out of doors. This would be a pretty way indeed of *ſtopping* " *up the gap*, *Eraſmus* complains of! Inſtead of cloſing up the door " of licentiouſneſs, as is falſely pretended; it would be, in fact, " opening a gulph into the nethermoſt hell. Still you urge, *Where* " *is either the neceſſity, or utility of preaching predeſtination?* God him- " ſelf teaches it, and commands *us* to teach it: And that is anſwer " enough. We are not to arraign the Deity, and bring the motives " of his will to the teſt of human ſcrutiny; but ſimply to revere both " *Him* and *It*. He, who alone is all-wiſe and all-juſt, can, in reality " (however things appear to us), do wrong to no man; neither can " he do any thing unwiſely or raſhly. And this conſideration will " ſuffice, to ſilence all the objections of truly religious perſons. How- " ever, let us, for argument's ſake, go a ſtep farther. I will venture " to aſſign, over and above, *Two* very important reaſons, why theſe " doctrines ſhould be publicly taught: 1. For *the humility of our* " *pride*, and the manifeſtation of divine grace. God hath aſſuredly " promis'd his favour to the truly humble. By truly humble, I mean, " thoſe who are endu'd with repentance, and deſpair of ſaving them- " ſelves: For a man can never be ſaid to be really penitent and " humble, 'till he is made to know that his ſalvation is not ſuſ- " pended, in any meaſure whatever, on his own ſtrength, machi- " nations, endeavours, free-will, or works: But entirely depends on " the free pleaſure, purpoſe, determination, and efficiency of another; " even of God alone. Whilſt a man is perſuaded, that he has it

" in

he abſolutely denied there was any ſuch thing as free-will; whilſt they admitted it in words. This, perhaps, deceived *Eraſmus*, who imagined he was only diſputing againſt *Luther*, whilſt he was really diſputing as much againſt *Thomas Aquinas* and his followers, as againſt the Reformers. To attack *Luther* upon the ſingle point of liberty and neceſſity, was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him ſuperior to his adverſaries in other reſpects. *Eraſmus* very dextrouſly and artfully choſe this point of diſputation, that he might appear to the *Romaniſts* to write againſt *Luther*; and yet that he might avoid cenſuring his other doctrines oppoſite to the *Roman* church.

Eraſmus inſiſted, that the human will co-operates with the grace and aſſiſtance of God; and that a man ſhould uſe all his endeavors to attain to perfection. He ſhews

" in his power to contribute any thing, be it ever ſo little, to his " own ſalvation; he remains in carnal confidence: He is not a *ſelf-* " *deſpairer*, and therefore he is not duly humbled before God: So " far from it, that he hopes ſome favourable juncture or opportunity " will offer, when he may be able to lend an helping hand to the " buſineſs of his ſalvation.—On the contrary, whoever is truly con- " vinced that the whole work depends ſingly and abſolutely on the " will of God, who alone is the *author* and *finiſher* of ſalvation; ſuch " a perſon deſpairs of all *ſelf-aſſiſtance*: He renounces his own will, " and his own ſtrength: He waits and prays for the operation of " God: Nor waits and prays in vain. For the *Elect*'s ſake, therefore, " theſe doctrines are to be preach'd: That the choſen of God, being " humbled by the knowledge of his truths; ſelf-empty'd, and ſunk, " as it were, into nothing in his preſence; may be ſaved in *Chriſt*, " with eternal glory. This, then, is one inducement to the publi- " cation of the doctrine; that the penitent may be made *acquainted* " with the promiſe of grace, *plead* it in prayer to God, and *receive* " it as their own. 2. The *nature of the Chriſtian faith* requires it. " Faith has to do with things not ſeen.—And this is one of the higheſt " degrees of faith, ſtedfaſtly to believe that God is infinitely *merciful*, " tho' he ſaves (comparatively) but few, and condemns ſo many; " and that he is *ſtrictly juſt*, tho', of his own Will, he makes ſuch " numbers of mankind neceſſarily liable to damnation. Now, theſe " are ſome of the unſeen things, whereof faith is the evidence. " Whereas, was it in my power to *comprehend* them, or clearly to " make out, *how* God is both inviolably juſt, and infinitely merciful, " notwithſtanding the diſplay of wrath and ſeeming inequality in his " diſpenſations reſpecting the reprobate; *faith* would have little or " nothing to do. But now, ſince theſe matters cannot be adequately " comprehended by us, in the preſent ſtate of imperfection; there is " room for the exerciſe of faith. The truths, therefore, reſpecting " *predeſtination* in all it's branches, ſhould be taught and publiſh'd: " They, no leſs than the other myſteries of Chriſtian doctrine, being " proper objects of faith, on the part of God's people." See TOP- " LADY's *Zanchius*, p. 97, &c.

that man was created a free agent; but took a middle way between thoſe who deſtroy free-will entirely, and thoſe who attribute too much to it: He would have ſomething aſcribed to it, but more to grace.

Eraſmus ſent his treatiſe againſt *Luther* to the king of *England*, to *Wolſey*, *Warham*, and many more. *Luther* anſwered *Eraſmus* in his book "*De ſervo arbitrio*"; to which *Eraſmus* replied in two books, entitled, *Hyperaſpiſtæ*.

Luther had wrote a letter to *Eraſmus*, full of life, fire, and ſpirit; which vexed him not a little. He begins in the apoſtolical manner; "Grace and peace to you from "the Lord *Jeſus*." After modeſtly reproving him, for keeping fair with the papiſts, he ſays, "We ſaw that "the Lord had not conferred upon you the diſcernment, "courage, and reſolution to join with us, and freely "and openly to oppoſe thoſe monſters; and therefore we "dared not to exact from you, that which greatly ſur-"paſſeth your ſtrength and your capacity. We have even "borne with your weakneſs, and honoured that portion "of the gift of God which is in you." Then having beſtowed upon him his due praiſes, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy ſcriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he tells *Eraſmus*, that he had with-held ſome perſons from attacking him; and that he had reſtrained himſelf, though provoked. "What, ſays he, can I do now? Things "are exaſperated on both ſides; and I could wiſh, if it "were poſſible, to act the part of a mediator between "you, that they might ceaſe to attack you with ſuch "animoſity, and ſuffer your old age to reſt in peace in "the Lord. They would ſhew their moderation towards "you ſo much the more, ſince our affairs are advanced "to ſuch a point, that our cauſe is in no peril, although "even *Eraſmus* ſhould attack it with all his might." He deſires of *Eraſmus*, if he cannot or will not defend their ſentiments, to let them alone; and concludes with a high compliment on his authority and reputation.

Eraſmus anſwered this letter, and ſpeaks ambiguouſly of the Lutheran doctrine. *Luther* wrote another againſt the *Hyperaſpiſtæ*, wherein he accuſes *Eraſmus* of Arianiſm. The Minorite brethren had ſaid, that '*Eraſmus* laid the 'egg, and *Luther* hatched it:' But, ſays *Eraſmus*, 'I 'laid a hen-egg, and *Luther* hath hatched a very different 'bird.' It is to be lamented that theſe two eminent men had any miſunderſtanding; as they had both tranſlated

the

the holy ſcriptures, and were both inclined for a Reformation in the church. *Eraſmus* afterwards wrote ſome other treatiſes againſt the Reformers: Yet he honeſtly diſſuaded the *German* princes from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans; and declared himſelf againſt the cruel and ſanguinary methods of defending the cauſe of *Rome*. The *Italians* thought him a Lutheran; and the *Germans* called him a *Romaniſt*: But every man paſſed for an heretic at *Rome*, who did not join in every article with the pope againſt *Luther*. About this time, the violent and unhappy controverſy, concerning the euchariſt, was excited among the proteſtants. As many books were written upon the ſubject as would load ſeveral waggons; and were of no ſmall harm to the Reformation; which, like the growth of the *Roman* commonwealth, flouriſhed in the midſt of violent and continual diviſions.

Luther was this year occupied in tranſlating the book of *Job*, which he was inclined to think was wrote by *Solomon*. He complained of the difficulty of the taſk; and obſerved, ſomewhat jocoſely, that *Job* choſe to ſit on his dunghill, and to admit of no interpreters.

Luther's memorable proteſtation, upon the article of juſtification, muſt not be omitted. "I *Martin Luther*, "an unworthy preacher of the goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus* "*Chriſt*, thus profeſs, and thus believe; that this article, "THAT FAITH ALONE, WITHOUT WORKS, CAN JUS-"TIFY BEFORE GOD, ſhall never be overthrown neither "by the emperor, nor by the *Turk*, nor by the *Tartar*, "nor by the *Perſian*, nor by the pope, with all his "cardinals, biſhops, ſacrificers, monks, nuns, kings, "princes, powers of the world, nor yet by all the "devils in Hell. This article ſhall ſtand faſt, whether "they will or no. This is the true goſpel. *Jeſus* "*Chriſt* redeemed us from our ſins, and he only. This "moſt firm and certain truth is the voice of ſcripture, "though the world and all the devils rage and roar. "If *Chriſt* alone take away our ſins, we cannot do this "with our works; and as it is impoſſible to embrace "*Chriſt* but by faith, it is, therefore, equally impoſſible "to apprehend him by works. If then faith alone muſt "apprehend *Chriſt*, *before* works can *follow*, the conclu-"ſion is irrefragable; that faith alone apprehends him, "before and without the conſideration of works: And "this is our juſtification and deliverance from ſin. Then, "and not till then, good works follow faith, as its ne-"ceſſary and inſeparable fruit. This is the doctrine I

"teach;

" teach; and this the Holy Spirit and church of the " faithful have delivered. In this will I abide. Amen."

The judgement of this great man, upon ſynods and councils, is very remarkable: " I do not think it (ſays " he) very ſafe to call a council of our friends, for the " ſettlement of a unity in ceremonies; for it will occa- " ſion a bad example, though it be attempted with the " beſt zeal, as all councils of the church from the be- " ginning may ſerve to ſhew us. Thus, as in the " ſynod of the apoſtles, matters of action and tradition " were much more treated of than matters of faith; ſo, " in ſucceeding councils, were opinions and queſtions " always agitated, without entering upon faith; for " which reaſons I have a greater ſuſpicion and deteſ- " tation of the very ſhadow of a council, than I have " of free-will itſelf. If one church will not follow " another in thoſe external things, what need is there " to compel it by the decrees of councils, which ſoon " are perverted into inſtitutions and traps for the in- " tanglement of ſouls? Let one church, therefore, be " at liberty either to follow or not to follow another; " principally regarding, above all indifferent circum- " ſtances, the unity of the ſpirit, founded upon one " common faith in the word of God; which being main- " tained, the difference of outward rites is only to be " conſidered as a difference in the fleſh and the elements " of the world."—It would be happy for the cauſe of Chriſtianity, if all its profeſſors were like-minded, and it would ſave the goſpel much of that reproach, which infidels in all ages, upon this very account, have caſt upon it.

Luther laid aſide the friar's habit in *October*, 1524; and married *Catharine de Bore*, a lady of noble deſcent, who, with eight other nuns, was taken out of the nunnery at *Nimptſchen* in 1523, and carried to *Wittenberg*, by *Leonard Coppen*, of *Torgau*. *Luther* vindicated that action, and intended to marry *Catharine* to *Glacius* miniſter of *Ortamunden*, whoſe perſon ſhe diſliked; and ſo *Luther* married her himſelf, on the 13th of *June*, 1525, without conſulting his friends: But *Luther* ſays, he took a wife in obedience to his father's command. *Luther* was then forty-two, and his wife was twenty-ſix. He was ſo far from being aſhamed of entering into the holy ſtate of matrimony, that he exhorted the elector of *Mentz*, and the grand maſter of the Teutonic order, to follow his example; which was done by the latter, notwithſtanding the

the cenſure of the *Romaniſts*. This grand maſter was *Albert* margrave of *Brandenburgh*, for whom that part of *Pruſſia* which belonged to the Teutonic order was formed into a ſecular duchy. He embraced the Lutheran religion, renounced his vow of celibacy, and married *Anna Maria* of *Brunſwick*. He afterwards conformed to the *Augſburg* confeſſion, and founded an univerſity at *Koningſberg*, in 1544, that the proteſtant religion might be introduced and eſtabliſhed in *Pruſſia*, and all the profeſſors were to be Lutherans. In thoſe times, marriage ſoon became a recommendation among the Reformers, and was a certain proof that they had abjured popery; for if a converted clergyman did not marry, he cauſed a ſuſpicion that he had not renounced the doctrine of celibacy.

Luther was very fond of his wife, and uſed to call her his *Catharine*. She was handſome and modeſt: *Luther* did not pretend ſhe was without faults, but he believed ſhe was leſs faulty than other women; and when ſhe had borne him a ſon a little after, he ſaid he would not change his condition for that of *Cræſus*. He was heard to ſay, that he would not exchange his wife for the kingdom of *France*, nor for the riches of the *Venetians*; becauſe ſhe had been given him by God, at a time when he implored the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in finding a good wife; and had ſtrictly regarded her conjugal fidelity. But he profeſſed himſelf, that one great reaſon which induced him to marry was, to give an example of the doctrine he preached againſt celibacy, and to ſhew, that he was not afraid or aſhamed to do himſelf, what he exhorted and enjoined in others.

Eraſmus ſent word to *Nicholas Everard*, preſident of the court of *Holland*, that the Lutheran tragedy would end, like the quarrels of princes, in matrimony. He ſays, 'If the common ſtory be true, that antichriſt 'ſhall be born of a monk and a nun, as they pretend, 'how many thouſands of antichriſts are there in the 'world already? I was in hopes that a wife would have 'made *Luther* a little tamer: But he has publiſhed a book 'againſt me more virulent than ever.' *Eraſmus* was not well inſtructed in this affair, or he was too prone to give credit to the ſcandal which was publiſhed againſt *Luther*.

Luther had anſwered the king of *England* in a rough way, and was now perſuaded by his friends to write him a very humble letter, with ſome hope that his majeſty would favor the Reformation. *Henry* returned him a very haughty and churliſh anſwer: Upon which *Luther*, (as we have obſerved)

ſerved) who had too much ſpirit to bear affronts even from crowned heads, declared publicly that he was very ſorry for having demeaned himſelf ſo far: And that he would never more throw away any civilities and ſubmiſſions upon *Henry* VIII. cardinal *Cajetan*, prince *George* of *Saxony*, or *Eraſmus*, who had all paid his humility with inſults. The king of *England* was chiefly angry, becauſe *Luther* had ſaid, that his book upon the ſacrament was made by another, and put out in his name. *Luther* believed it was written by *Lee*, who was a zealous Thomiſt, and had been engaged in diſputes with *Eraſmus*, and was afterwards made archbiſhop of *York:* Therefore, *Luther* wrote another book, entitled, "An anſwer to the abuſive and ſlanderous book of the king of *England*." None ſuſpect the king wanted learning for ſuch a deſign: 'But it is probable ſome other gardener gathered the 'flowers, though king *Henry* had the honour to wear 'the poſie, carrying the credit in the title thereof.' The king was aſſiſted by biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Thomas More*; in return for which, he afterwards cut off their heads.

The diſturbances in *Germany* increaſed every day, and the emperor called another diet, which was held at *Spires* on the twenty-fifth of *June*, 1526. *Ferdinand*, and ſix other deputies, acted for the emperor, and were for executing the edict of *Worms:* But the elector of *Saxony*, and landgrave of *Heſſe*, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the defence of thoſe who followed the new doctrine. The emperor had a quarrel with the pope, who entered into a league againſt him with the *French* king, and the *Venetian* republic. *Charles* V. told *Clement* VII. he would appeal to a general council, and vindicate himſelf. The next year his troops invaded *Italy*, plundered *Rome*, and took the pope priſoner, who was obliged to ſubmit to ſome hard conditions before he was ſet at liberty.

A motion was made in the conſiſtory at *Rome* to tempt *Luther* with a great ſum of money, and buy him off from oppoſing popery: But one of the cardinals cried out, '*Hem! Germana illa beſtia non curat aurum, ſed auram.*'

The diſputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about the ſacrament, continued till the emperor aſſembled another diet at *Spires* in *March*, 1529, when long and warm debates were held about religion. The *Romaniſts* again inſiſted, that the ban ſhould be executed upon the Lutherans; which was oppoſed by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the dukes of *Lunenberg*, the landgrave of

of *Heſſe*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, who declared again for a council, either general or national. But the *Romaniſts* prevailed, and confirmed the decree of the former diet of *Spires*; againſt which the Lutheran princes, and fourteen cities, joined in a formal proteſt, whereby they appealed, from all that ſhould be done, to the emperor, a future council, or to unſuſpected judges; and accordingly they ſent deputies to the emperor, with a petition that this decree might be revoked. This was the remarkable proteſtation, which gave the name of PROTESTANTS to the Lutherans in *Germany*. The proteſters acted with ſo much ſteadineſs and reſolution, that the emperor was much ſtartled at it, and determined to uſe moderation for the preſent.

The ſame year, the landgrave of *Heſſe* brought *Luther* and *Zuinglius* to a conference at *Marpurg*; when the Lutherans produced ſuch articles as they objected againſt in the doctrine of the Zuinglians. After ſome debates, articles were drawn up, in which they agreed about the Trinity, original ſin, juſtification by faith, the efficacy of baptiſm, and the authority of the magiſtrates: But they diſagreed about the ſacrament, in the ſenſe and meaning of the words; though they aſſented, that the communion ſhould be adminiſtered in both kinds; and they denied tranſubſtantiation, as alſo the ſacrifice of the maſs.

At this time, *Solyman* the Magnificent invaded *Germany*, and beſieged *Vienna*: But ſoon retired with great loſs. The emperor *Charles* returned to *Germany*, and appointed another diet to be held at *Augſburg*, which was opened on the twentieth of *June*, 1530. It was given out, that the emperor would tread the goſpellers under his feet; which made the proteſtant princes inclined to meet him in arms: But *Luther* prevailed on them to meet in peace. The princes appointed *Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Juſtus Jonas*, and *Pomeran*, to draw up their form of doctrine, to lay before the diet, where *Luther* was too obnoxious to appear, and was left in the caſtle of *Coburg*, near at hand, that he might be conſulted on occaſion. *Eraſmus* excuſed himſelf from appearing at this diet, becauſe he knew upon whoſe judgement the emperor relied; upon divines, in whoſe opinion whoſoever ſhould dare to open his mouth in favor of piety, was a Lutheran, and worſe than a Lutheran.

The imperial chancellor opened the diet by declaring, that the emperor had ſummoned this aſſembly, that every

one might conſult upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be made, and offer in writing what he thought convenient, concerning religion. The proteſtant princes petitioned the emperor to permit their confeſſion of faith to be read in a full diet, which he refuſed; but granted them leave to read it in his preſence before a ſpecial aſſembly of princes, and other members of the empire. This confeſſion of faith, which was afterwards called, 'The 'AUGSBURG CONFESSION,' was delivered to his imperial majeſty both in *Latin* and *German*, with the authority whereon each article was founded. It was ſigned by the elector of *Saxony*; *George* margrave of *Brandenburgh*; *Erneſt* and *Francis*, dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenberg*; *Philip* landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the princes of *Anhalt*; as alſo by the deputies of *Nuremberg* and *Ruthlingen*.

The emperor ſhed tears when this confeſſion was read; which were doubtleſs owing to the truth of the doctrines contained in it, and the moderation that *Melancthon* had ſhewn in reviſing the whole. It was divided into two parts: The one contained twenty one articles upon the principal points of religion: And the other was concerning the ceremonies of the church. The emperor diſmiſſed the aſſembly, when they had heard the confeſſion; and the *Romaniſts* agreed to draw up a confutation of it, which was undertook by *Faber*, *Eckius*, *Cochlæus*, *Conradus de Wimpina*, *Conradus Collinus*, and other popiſh divines, who examined the proteſtants confeſſion of faith ſtep by ſtep, and anſwered all the articles; ſome of which were approved, and others condemned; but ſome were partly received, and partly rejected, as will be ſeen in the life of *Melancthon*.

Luther, in his retirement, was not a little afraid to what lengths the pacific ſpirit of *Melancthon* might induce him to yield to the papiſts, and therefore wrote to him to be careful of what conceſſions he ſhould make them; "for (ſays he) they will take them in the large, the "larger, and largeſt ſenſe, but hold their own in the "ſtrict, ſtricter, and ſtricteſt. In ſhort, I have but a "ſmall opinion of this projected concord in doctrine: "I believe it truly impoſſible, unleſs the pope will "renounce his popedom." With regard to the *Romiſh* confutation of the proteſtant articles, he ſaid; "I "thank God, who ſuffered our adverſaries to compoſe "ſo wretched a confutation. *Chriſt* will reign for-"ever. Let the devils, if they will, turn monks and "nuns; for truly no ſhape would better become them

"than

" than that, in which they have ſo long held forth " themſelves, for the adoration of the world."

This confutation, however, was read before the diet, and the *Romaniſts* ſaid they hoped the proteſtants would return to the communion of the church, as they agreed in ſeveral points which had been formerly conteſted. The elector of *Saxony* anſwered, that the proteſtants were always ready to come to an union in religion, in any thing which was not prejudicial to their conſciences. In conſequence of this, the *Romaniſts* appointed ſeventeen perſons to treat about religion with the proteſtants; and this conference was held at *Augſburg* on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*. The popiſh deputies ſaid, that *Luther* would not ſubmit to the judgement of a council: But the proteſtants declared, they would refer themſelves to the determination of a council, to which they appealed; and alſo preſented to the emperor an apology for their confeſſion, which put an end to the diet at *Augſburg*, and the proteſtant princes returned home in *October*, without an accommodation with the *Romaniſts*.

The ſacramentarians alſo preſented their confeſſion of faith to the emperor at this diet; which was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito:* But this confeſſion was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans, and was anſwered by *Faber* and *Eckius*; in conſequence of which, the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their errors, and threatened to compel them by his authority, if they refuſed.

A ſymbolical repreſentation was exhibited before the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* at *Augſburg*, when the Lutherans preſented their confeſſion of faith to that aſſembly. As the princes were at table, a company of perſons offered to act a ſmall comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and firſt entered a man in the dreſs of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of ſmall wood, of ſtraight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth and retired: On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled alſo like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the ſtraight; but having labored long to no purpoſe, he went away out of humour, and ſhaking his head: On his back appeared the name of *Eraſmus*. A third, dreſſed like an Auguſtinian monk, came in with a chafing-diſh full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he

made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of LUTHER. A fourth entered dreſſed like an emperor, who, ſeeing the crooked wood all on fire, ſeemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his ſword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the briſker: On his back was written *Charles* V. Laſtly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and triple-crown, who ſeemed extremely ſurprized to ſee the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed exceſſive grief: then looking about on every ſide, to ſee if he could find any water to extinguiſh the flame, he caſt his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water; and in his hurry, he unfortunately ſeized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze ſo violently that he was forced to walk off: On his back was written *Leo* X. This farce wanted no commentary.

Luther wrote ſome books againſt popery, during the ſitting of the diet; particularly a treatiſe upon the ſecond *Pſalm*, in which he applied to the princes met at *Augſburg*, what was ſaid in that *Pſalm* concerning the aſſembly and conſpiracy of the princes of the world againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*. The emperor procured a decree in the diet, which allowed the proteſtant princes till the fifteenth of *April* following, to conſult about their ſubmiſſion to it; and his imperial majeſty promiſed to iſſue out his ſummons for a council to begin the next year. The proteſtant princes remained firm to their confeſſion of faith, and the emperor publiſhed the decree of the diet on the ſixteenth of *November*, which ordered, that no alterations or innovations ſhould be made in the faith or religious worſhip of the church; and that none ſhould be admitted to the imperial chamber, who diſobeyed this decree.

The elector of *Saxony* was ſummoned by the emperor to be preſent at *Cologne*, on the twenty-ninth of *December*, at the election of *Ferdinand* to be king of the *Romans:* But the elector appointed the other proteſtant princes to meet him at *Smalkald*, on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, where they entered into a confederacy to defend themſelves againſt the emperor and the *Romaniſts*, who were determined to put the decree, made at the diet of *Augſburg*, rigorouſly into execution.

The court of *Rome* was greatly diſturbed at what had been tranſacted at the diet at *Augſburg*; and the pope employed his nuncios to diſſuade the emperor from holding a council: But the emperor urged the neceſſity of

it; and the pope, on the firſt of *December*, 1530, wrote a circular letter to all the Chriſtian princes, informing them, that a council ſhould be held, and deſiring them to countenance ſo holy a cauſe by their perſonal attendance. The proteſtant princes alſo wrote circular letters to the European ſovereigns, and particularly to the kings of *England* and *France*, requeſting their intereſt and protection in obtaining a Reformation, which had been attempted by *John Colet* in *England*, by *John Gerſon* and *Nicholas Clemangis* in *France*, and by *Luther* in *Germany*. The kings of *England* and *France*, declared for a general council, peace, and Reformation; which encouraged the confederate princes to meet again at *Smalkald* on the twenty-ninth of *March*, 1531, when they renewed their league; and *Luther* compoſed a treatiſe againſt the diet of *Augſburg*, to prove that it was lawful to reſiſt the magiſtrates, if they commanded any perſons to aſſault thoſe who would not ſubmit to the decree.

The proteſtant princes held another aſſembly at *Francfort* on the fourth of *July*; and the emperor, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1532, by the treaty of *Nuremberg*, agreed that all the diſputes concerning religion ſhould ceaſe, until a free general council was held, which was to be within a year. The proteſtants inſiſted, that no innovation in doctrine ſhould be made from their *confeſſion*, nor any ceremonies introduced contrary thereto; which was granted by the emperor, and the proteſtant princes agreed to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the *Turks*.

The elector of *Saxony* died in *Auguſt*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *John Frederic* in his dominions, and zeal for the proteſtant cauſe. The pope ſent his nuncio, in *January*, 1531, to the new elector, to ſettle with him the conditions of holding a council: And the proteſtant princes met upon this occaſion at *Smalkald*, on the twenty-fourth of *June*, when they deſired that the council might be free, and be held in *Germany*, where theſe differences in religion firſt began: But the pope refuſed to comply with their requeſt.

Luther diſſuaded the elector of *Saxony* from making an alliance with the *Switzers*, and perſiſted to unite more zealouſly than ever againſt the ſacramentarians: But *Bucer* undertook to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians. *Luther* met *Bucer* and *Capito* at *Wittenberg*, on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, 1536, when they entered into a long debate upon their faith and doctrine concerning the ſacrament; and they delivered to *Luther* the confeſ-

ſion of faith of the churches of *Switzerland*; but they could not agree in their articles of *the form of union* about the ſacrament. *Luther* explained himſelf concerning the Lord's Supper, by ſaying, he had never taught that *Jeſus Chriſt* came down from heaven to the earth, either viſible or inviſible; and that he left it to the almighty power of God to effect how the body and blood of *Chriſt* are offered in the Lord's Supper, keeping himſelf entirely cloſe to the words of the ſcripture, *This is my body, this is my blood.* He obſerved, that as they could not underſtand each other, it was convenient they ſhould be friends, and entertain a good opinion reciprocally of themſelves, till the ſpirit of contention ſhould ceaſe among them; and ſo he committed to the care of *Bucer* and *Capito* to finiſh what they had begun.

About the beginning of the year 1527, *Luther* was attacked by a very ſevere illneſs, which brought him near to his grave. He applied himſelf to prayer, made a confeſſion of his faith, and lamented grievouſly his unworthineſs of martyrdom, which he had ſo often and ſo ardently deſired. In this ſituation he made a will, for he had a ſon and his wife was again with child, in which he recommended his family to the care of heaven: "Lord God, ſays he, I thank thee, that thou wouldeſt "have me poor on earth and a beggar. I have neither "houſe, nor land, nor poſſeſſions, nor money, to leave. "Thou haſt given me a wife and children: Take them, "I beſeech thee, under thy care and preſerve them, as "thou haſt preſerved me." He bequeathed his deteſtation of popery to his friends and brethren; agreeably to what he often uſed to ſay, "*Peſtis eram vivus, moriens "ero mors tua, papa*"; i. e. Living, I was the plague of the pope; and dying, I ſhall be his death.

Luther, from about this period, having laid the great foundation of the Reformation, was chiefly employed in raiſing and completing the ſuperſtructure. The remainder of his life was ſpent, in exhorting princes, ſtates, and univerſities, to confirm the great work, which had been brought about through him; and in publiſhing from time to time ſuch writings, as might encourage, direct, and aſſiſt them in doing it. The emperor threatened temporal puniſhment with armies; and the pope eternal pains with bulls and curſes; but *Luther*, armed with the intrepidity of grace, over and above his own courageous nature, regarded neither the one nor the other. His friend and aſſiſtant *Melancthon* could not be ſo indifferent; for

for *Melancthon* had a great deal of ſoftneſs, moderation and diffidence in his conſtitution, which made him very uneaſy and alarmed at theſe formidable appearances. Hence we find many of *Luther*'s letters were written on purpoſe to comfort him under theſe anxieties: "I am (ſays "he, in one of theſe letters) much weaker than you in "private conflicts, if I may call thoſe conflicts private, "which I have with the devil; but you are much weaker "than me in public. You are all diſtruſt in the public "cauſe; I, on the contrary, am very confident; becauſe "I know it is a juſt and true cauſe, the cauſe of God "and of *Chriſt*, which need not tremble or be abaſhed. "But the caſe is different with me in my private con-"flicts, feeling myſelf a moſt miſerable ſinner, and there-"fore have great reaſon to look pale and tremble. Upon "this account it is, that I can be almoſt an indifferent "ſpectator amidſt all the noiſy threats and bullyings of "the papiſts; for if we fall, the kingdom of *Chriſt* falls "with us: And if it ſhould fall, I had rather fall with "*Chriſt* than ſtand with *Cæſar*." So again a little far-ther: "You, *Melancthon*, cannot bear theſe diſorders, "and labour to have things tranſacted by reaſon, and "agreeably to that ſpirit of calmneſs and moderation, "which your philoſophy dictates. You might as well "attempt *cum ratione inſanire*, to be mad with reaſon. "Don't you ſee, that the matter is entirely out of your "power and management, and that even *Chriſt* himſelf "forbids your meaſures to take place? If the cauſe be "bad, indeed; let us renounce it: But if it be good; "why do we make God a liar, who hath promiſed to "ſupport us? Does he make his promiſes to the wind, "or to his people?"

About the year 1533, he had a terrible controverſy with *George* duke of *Saxony*, who had ſuch an averſion to *Luther*'s doctrine, that he obliged his ſubjects to take an oath, that they would never embrace it. However, ſixty or ſeventy citizens of *Leipſic* were found to have deviated a little from the catholic way, in ſome point or other; and they were known previouſly to have conſulted *Luther* upon it: Upon which duke *George* complained to the elector *John*, that *Luther* had not only abuſed his perſon, but alſo preached up rebellion among his ſubjects. The elector ordered *Luther* to be acquainted with this, and to be told at the ſame time, that if he did not clear himſelf from the charge, he could not poſſibly eſcape puniſhment. But *Luther* eaſily refuted the accuſation by proving, that he

he had been ſo far from ſtirring up his ſubjects againſt him, on the ſcore of religion, that, on the contrary, he had exhorted them rather to undergo the greateſt hardſhips, and even ſuffer themſelves to be baniſhed. Indeed, it appears from all his conduct and writings, that no man more abhorred that impious principle of ſubverting kingdoms and ſtates, under a pretence of advancing the cauſe of God or his goſpel. The Almighty is ſurely able to effect his own will in this caſe: And it is the duty of Chriſtians to ſuffer and obey it.

In this year, 1533, *Luther* wrote a conſolatory letter to the citizens of *Oſchatz*, who had been baniſhed for the goſpel; in which letter he uſes theſe words; "The devil "is the hoſt in the world; and the world is his inn. "Go where you will in the world, you will be ſure to "find this ugly hoſt walking up and down in it."

In the year 1534, he printed, and in the next year publiſhed, his tranſlation of the bible into *German*; in which latter year, he began publicly to preach upon the book of *Geneſis*, which taſk he ended with his life, as he is ſaid to have foretold.

In the year 1538, aroſe the vile ſect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith. The principal perſon amongſt them was *Joannes Iſlebius Agricola*. *Luther* had the honor not only of confuting, but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his ſenſes and his duty.

In the year 1540, *Luther* printed and prefaced the confeſſion of *Robert Barnes*, his intimate friend, and a learned divine, who was burnt this year at *London* for the goſpel. They became acquainted through *Barnes*'s coming to *Wittenberg* about the buſineſs of king *Henry* the Eighth's divorce.

Luther was continually baited at by a world of furies; and he was particularly ſet up by providence to effect a Reformation. He publiſhed ſeventy-five propoſitions againſt the divines of *Louvain*; and alſo a ſhort confeſſion of faith; after which he was ſent for to his native country, to compoſe a difference between the counts of *Mansfield*. He preached his laſt ſermon at *Wittenberg* on the ſeventeenth of *January*, 1546; and, on the twenty-third, ſet out for *Iſleben*, where he was honorably entertained by the count, who eſcorted him to his apartments with one hundred horſe. *Luther* attended the buſineſs upon which he came from the twenty-ninth of *January*,

to

to the ſeventeenth of *February*, when he ſickened a little before ſupper of his uſual illneſs. This was an oppreſſion of humors in the opening of the ſtomach, with which *Melanĉthon*, who was with him, had ſeen him frequently afflicted. His pain increaſed, and he went to bed, where he ſlept till midnight, when he awaked in ſuch anguiſh that he found his life was near at an end. He then prayed in theſe words: "I pray God to preſerve the doctrine of his goſpel among us; for the "pope and the council of *Trent* have grievous things in "hand." After which, he ſaid; "O heavenly Father, "my gracious God, and Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, "thou God of all conſolation, I give thee hearty thanks, "that thou haſt revealed to me thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, "whom I believe, whom I profeſs, whom I love, whom "I glorify, and whom the pope and the multitude of "the wicked do perſecute and diſhonor.—I beſeech thee, "Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, receive my ſoul. O my heavenly "Father, though I be taken out of this life, and muſt "lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know, that "I ſhall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be "taken out of thy hands. *God ſo loved the world, &c.* "Lord, I render up my ſpirit into thy hands, and come "to thee. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit: "Thou, O God of truth, haſt redeemed me!" *Albert* count of *Mansfield*, *Melanĉthon*, *Juſtus Jonas*, and ſeveral other friends, attended him in his laſt moments, joining him in prayer, that God would preſerve the doctrine of his goſpel among them. *Melanĉthon* ſays of *Luther*, that having frequently repeated his prayers, he was called to God, 'unto whom he ſo faithfully commended his ſpirit, 'to enjoy, no doubt, the bleſſed ſociety of the patriarchs, 'prophets, and apoſtles, in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.'

Luther died on the eighteenth of *February*, 1546, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. A thouſand fables have been invented concerning his death; nor would his enemies forbear publiſhing lies on this ſubject long after he had left this world. Some have ſaid, that he died ſuddenly; others that he killed himſelf; and ſome have impudently proceeded ſo far as to give out that he was taken away by the devil. Nor are they people of mean figure or credit, who vent theſe calumnies, but the moſt famous writers, as *Cochlæus*, *Beſſæus*, *Bozius*, *Fabianus*, *Juſtinian*, and *Bellarmine*. This, ſays *Bayle*, reflects on the whole body of popery; for ſuch fables ought not to

paſs the preſs. Father *Maimbourg* has rejected all theſe fooliſh ſtories; but he has been miſtaken in a notable fact. Speaking of *Luther*, he ſays, the elector of *Saxony* cauſed his body to be conveyed with a moſt magnificent pomp to *Wittenberg*, where he erected for him a monument of white marble, ſurrounded with the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with reſpect to *Germany*. He was honorably interred at *Wittenberg*: But *Seckendorf* has ſhewn that no ſuch ſtatues were placed round his tomb.

The virulent partizans of the church of *Rome* tell us, that *Luther* was not only no divine, but even an outrageous enemy and calumniator of all kinds of ſcience; and that he committed groſs, ſtupid, and abominable errors againſt the principles of divinity and philoſophy. They accuſe him of having confeſſed, that after ſtruggling for ten years together with his conſcience, he at laſt became a perfect maſter of it, and fell into Atheiſm: And add, that he frequently ſaid, he would renounce his portion in heaven, provided God would allow him a pleaſant life for a hundred years upon earth. And leſt we ſhould wonder, that ſo monſtrous and ſuch unheard-of impiety ſhould be found in a mere human creature, they make no ſcruple to ſay, that an Incubus begat him. Theſe, and many more ſuch ſcandalous imputations, Mr. *Bayle* has been at the pains to collect, under the article LUTHER, in his dictionary; and has treated them with all the contempt and juſt indignation they deſerve. But let us leave theſe impotent railers, and attend a little to more equitable judges. *Luther*, ſays Mr. *Warton*, in his appendix to Dr. *Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria*, was 'a man 'of prodigious ſagacity and acuteneſs, very warm, and 'formed for great undertakings; being a man, if ever 'there was one, whom nothing could daunt or intimi-'date. When the cauſe of religion was concerned, he 'never regarded whoſe love he was likely to gain, or 'whoſe diſpleaſure to incur. He treated the pope's 'bulls, and the emperor's edicts, juſt alike; that is, he 'heartily deſpiſed both. In the mean time, it muſt be 'owned, that *Luther* often gave a greater looſe to his 'paſſions than he ought, and did not in his writings pay 'that deference to crowned heads which it is always 'neceſſary to pay: But every man has his foible, and 'this was *Luther*'s. However, he was very diligent in 'his application to letters, and very learned, conſidering 'the times he lived in. His chief purſuit was in the

'ſtudy of the ſcriptures, upon a great part of which he 'wrote commentaries. He reformed the Chriſtian religion from many errors and ſuperſtitions, with which 'it had been long corrupted; and reduced it, as well as 'he could, to its primitive purity. If in ſome places 'he appears not quite ſo orthodox, we muſt impute it 'to the times, and not to him; for it is no wonder, that 'one who attempts to cleanſe ſuch a ſtable of *Augeus* as 'the church of *Rome*, ſhould not eſcape free from ſpots 'and blemiſhes. He kept primitive antiquity conſtantly 'before his eyes, as his guide and rule; and, as *Eraſmus* 'has obſerved, many things are condemned as heretical 'in the writings of *Luther*, which are thought very or'thodox and pious in the books of *Auguſtine* and *Ber'nard*. *Eraſmus* alſo ſays, that *Luther* wrote many 'things rather imprudently than impiouſly. His ſtile 'was rough and harſh, for in thoſe days every body 'could not write like *Eraſmus*, *Politian*, *Bembus*, &c. 'who were always reading *Tully*, *Livy*, and *Terence*. Yet 'how uncouth and inelegant ſoever his ſtyle may be, it 'every where breathes a genuine zeal and piety, which 'is more ſolicitous about things than words.'

Luther left a widow, three ſons, and two daughters. His family was not extinct, when *Seckendorf* publiſhed his hiſtory, towards the latter end of the laſt century. Whilſt the troops of *Charles* V. were at *Wittenberg*, in the year 1547, the *Spaniards* ſolicited the emperor to pull down *Luther*'s monument, and wanted to dig up his bones: But the emperor had more generoſity and prudence, than to conſent to a procedure ſo baſe and infamous.

Luther had a very ſharp and ſatirical ſtile: But his commentary on the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, was his favorite work, which he uſed to call his wife, his *Catharine de Bore*. It was a very great imprudence to publiſh ſuch a collection as the *Sermones Menſales*, or *Colloquia Menſalia*; for *Luther*'s table-talk is the ſubject of the book. It was publiſhed, in 1571, by *Henry Peter Rebenſtock*, miniſter of *Eiſcherheim*: But *Luther* was not the author of that book, the publication of which was the effect of an inconſiderate zeal.

His favorite doctrine was juſtification by faith alone, and not by works, moral, legal, or evangelical: But we muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that he perpetually inculcated the abſolute neceſſity of good works. Accord-

ing to him, a man is juſtified only by faith; but he cannot be juſtified without works; and where thoſe works are not to be found, there is aſſuredly no true faith. He was once ſomewhat inclined to the opinion, that ſouls after death ſleep till the reſurrection: But he afterwards ſaid, that the ſouls of the faithful are in a ſtate of felicity; and this ſeems to have been his laſt and ſettled opinion. He thought that the *Jewiſh* nation would never be converted; and that St. *Paul*'s expreſſions concerning this ſubject were miſunderſtood.

Luther was a magnanimous perſon even by the conceſſion of his enemies; and undertook ſuch things as the world may reaſonably admire, having oppoſed himſelf alone to the whole earth. His followers called themſelves Lutherans much againſt his mind: But they recede from him in many things, as may be ſeen by their writings.

Melanchon ſays, 'I *Pomeranus* is a grammarian; I am a 'logician; and *Juſtus Jonas* is an orator: But *Luther* 'is good at every thing; the wonder of mankind; for 'whatever he ſays, or writes, it penetrates the heart, and 'makes a laſting impreſſion.'

It has alſo been ſaid of *Luther*, that it was a great miracle a poor friar ſhould be able to ſtand againſt the pope: It was a greater that he ſhould prevail: And the greateſt of all, that he ſhould die in peace, as well as *Eraſmus*, when ſurrounded by ſo many enemies.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great Reformer, was ſoon extended through all *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *England*, and other countries, under different modifications.

Luther's works were collected after his death, and printed at *Wittenberg* in ſeven volumes folio. *Catharine de Bore* ſurvived her huſband a few years, and continued the firſt year of her widowhood at *Wittenberg*, though *Luther* had adviſed her to ſeek another place of reſidence. She went from thence in the year 1547, when the town was ſurrendered to the emperor *Charles* V. Before her departure, ſhe had received a preſent of fifty crowns from *Chriſtian* III. king of *Denmark*; and the elector of *Saxony*, and the counts of *Mansfelt*, gave her good tokens of their liberality. With theſe additions to what *Luther* had left her, ſhe had ſcarce wherewithal to maintain herſelf and her family. She returned to *Wittenberg*, when the town was reſtored to the elector, where ſhe lived

lived in a very devout and pious manner, till the plague obliged her to leave it again in the year 1552. She ſold what ſhe had at *Wittenberg*, and retired to *Torgau*, with a reſolution to end her life there. An awful providence befel her in her journey thither, which proved fatal to her. The horſes growing unruly, and attempting to run away, ſhe leaped out of the vehicle ſhe was conveyed in; and, by leaping, got a fall, of which ſhe died about a quarter of a year after, at *Torgau*, upon the twentieth of *December*, 1552. She was buried there in the great church, where her tomb and epitaph are ſtill to be ſeen; and the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, which was then at *Torgau*, becauſe the plague raged at *Wittenberg*, made a public programma concerning the funeral pomp.

Upon *Luther*'s tomb the univerſity of *Wittenberg* directed the following inſcription:

MARTINI LUTHERI S. THEOLOGIÆ
D. CORPUS H. L. S. E. QUI ANNO
CHRISTI MDXLVI. XII. CAL.
MARTII EISLEBII IN PA-
TRIA S. M. O. C. V. AN.
LXIII. M. III. D. X.

TRANSLATION.

'In this place lies buried the body of MARTIN LUTHER, doctor of divinity, who died at *Iſleben*, his birth-place, on the twelfth of the calends of *March*, in the year 1546; when he had lived ſixty-three years, three months, and ten days.'

Beza's epigram upon *Luther* has been much admired; and therefore we will preſent it to our Readers.

Roma orbem domuit; Romam ſibi papa ſubegit:
Viribus illa ſuis, fraudibus iſte ſuis.
Quantò iſto major Lutherus, major et illâ:
Iſtum illamque uno qui domuit calamo!
I nunc! Alciden memorato, Græcia mendax;
Lutheri ad calamum ferrea clava nihil.

The learned Reader will excuſe the following unequal tranſlation.

Rome

Rome tam'd the world; yet *Rome* the pope hath aw'd;
She roſe by force, but he by holy fraud.
Greater than both how much was *Luther*, when
He vanquiſh'd both with nothing but a pen!
Go, fabling *Greece*, and bid *Alcides* know,
His club, as *Luther*'s pen, gave no ſuch blow.

Our ſerious Readers will, perhaps, be pleaſed with the inſertion of ſome remarkable ſayings and obſervations of this great man, which we will extract from that able and faithful biographer, *Melchior Adam*. *Eraſmus* confeſſed, 'that there was more ſolid divinity contained in one leaf 'of *Luther*'s commentaries, than could be found in many 'prolix treatiſes of ſchoolmen, and ſuch kind of authors.'

Speaking of the pope's uſing the maſs for departed ſouls, *Luther* obſerved, that "he with his maſs was not "ſatisfied to thruſt himſelf into all corners of the earth, "but he muſt needs go tumbling down into the very "boſom of hell."

He uſed to call the indulgence-merchants, *purſe-threſhers*.

There were many plots laid againſt his life, which the bloody papiſts ſought after by all means. Poiſon, daggers, piſtols, were intended; when fire and faggot could not be uſed, through the elector's protection. A *Poliſh Jew* was hired for 2000 crowns to poiſon him. "The "plot (ſays *Luther*) was diſcovered to me by the letters "of my friends. He is a doctor of phyſic, and dares to "attempt any thing: He would go about this buſineſs "with incredible craft and agility. He is juſt now ap-"prehended."——However, God preſerved him from the malice of his enemies. It ſhews, however, what papiſts can attempt (ſays *Melchior Adam*); and if we wanted further proof of it, the words of *Aleander*, the pope's legate, are quite ſufficient. 'Though you *Ger-'mans* (ſaid he), who pay the leaſt of all people to the '*Roman* ſee, have ſhaken off the pope's yoke; yet we 'will take care, that ye ſhall be devoured with civil 'wars, and periſh in your own blood.'—A pious reſolution indeed!

When *Luther*'s bold manner of expreſſing himſelf was cenſured, he replied; "Almoſt all men condemn my tart-"neſs of expreſſion; but I am of your opinion, (ſays he "to his friend) that God will have the deceits of men "thus powerfully expoſed. For I plainly perceive, that "thoſe things, which are ſoftly dealt with in our cor-

"rupt

" rupt age, give people but light concern, and are pre-
" ſently forgotten.—If I have exceeded the bounds of
" moderation, the monſtrous turpitude of the times has
" tranſported me. Nor do I tranſcend the example of
" *Chriſt*, who, having to do with men of like manners,
" called them ſharply by their own proper names, ſuch
" as, *an adulterous and perverſe generation, a brood of*
" *vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil*, who could *not*
" *eſcape the damnation of hell.*"——*Eraſmus*, with all his refinement, could own, ' That God had ſent in *Luther*
' a ſharp phyſician, in conſideration of the immenſity of
' the diſeaſes, which had infected this laſt age of the
' world.'

Luther cauſed the *Pſalms*, uſed in worſhip, to be tranſlated into *German*. " We intend (ſays he to *Spalatinus*),
" after the example of the prophets and primitive fathers
" of the church, to turn the *Pſalms*, for ſpiritual ſing-
" ing, into the vulgar tongue for the common people;
" ſo that the word of God may remain among the people
" even in their ſinging. Upon this account, we ſeek
" for ſome poets: And as you poſſeſs the copiouſneſs
" and elegance of the *German*, which you have greatly
" cultivated; I would requeſt your aſſiſtance in this
" buſineſs, in tranſlating ſome of the *Pſalms* into *Ger-*
" *man* verſe, according to the incloſed example. My
" wiſh is, to avoid all difficult and courtly terms, and
" to uſe the ſimpleſt and moſt common phraſes, ſo that
" they are fit and proper, for the edification of the
" loweſt among the people. Let the ſenſe be clear,
" and as cloſe as poſſible to the original. To preſerve
" the ſenſe, when you cannot render word for word, it
" may be right to uſe ſuch a phraſe as will moſt per-
" fectly convey the idea. I confeſs, I am not ſuffi-
" ciently qualified myſelf; and therefore would requeſt
" you to try how near you can approach to *Heman*,
" *Aſaph*, and *Jeduthun*."

He uſed to ſay of himſelf and the other miniſters; " We are only planters and waterers, in adminiſtring
" the word and ſacraments; but the *increaſe* is not in our
" power."

Concerning our righteouſneſs, he obſerved; " Thou,
" Lord *Jeſus*, art my righteouſneſs; but I am altoge-
" ther ſin: Thou haſt taken what was mine, and haſt
" given me what was thine; thou haſt taken what thou
" waſt not, and haſt given me what I was not before."

Reſpecting

Reſpecting ceremonies, he ſaid; "I condemn no ceremonies, but ſuch as oppoſe or obſcure the goſpel."

With regard to human learning, he thus expreſſed himſelf; "I am perſuaded, that true divinity could not well be ſupported without the knowledge of letters: Of this we have ſad proof, for while learning was decayed and in ruins, theology fell too, and lay moſt wretchedly obſcured. I am ſure; that the revelation and manifeſtation of the word of God would never have been ſo extenſive and glorious as it is, if preparatorily, like ſo many *John Baptiſts* ſmoothing the way, the knowledge of languages and good learning had not riſen up among us.——They are moſt exceedingly miſtaken, who imagine, that the knowledge of nature and true philoſophy is of no uſe to a divine."

He adviſed, in the caſe of temptations, in this manner; "I would comfort thoſe, that are tried in their faith and hope towards God, in this way; firſt, let them avoid ſolitarineſs, keep always in good company, ſing the *Pſalms*, and converſe upon the holy ſcriptures. Secondly, Though it be the moſt difficult point to work upon the mind, yet it is the moſt preſent remedy, if they can, through grace, perſuade themſelves, that theſe grievous thoughts are not their own, but *Satan*'s; and that, therefore, they ſhould earneſtly endeavour to turn the heart to other objects, and quit theſe evil ſuggeſtions: For to dwell upon them, or fight with them, or to aim to overcome them, or to wait for an end of them; is only to irritate and ſtrengthen them, even to perdition, without relief."

It is well known, that *Luther* earneſtly defended *Chriſt*'s corporal preſence in the ſacrament; but it is ſaid, that he was of a contrary ſentiment a little before his death, and owned it. For as he was preparing to make his laſt journey to *Iſleben*, he confeſſed to *Melanthon*, on the twenty-third of *January*, 1546, "that he had gone too far in the ſacramentarian controverſy." *Melanthon* perſuaded him to explain himſelf by ſome public writing; but to this he objected, "that by ſo doing he ſhould make all his doctrine doubtful; but that he [*Melanthon*] might do as he thought fit, after his deceaſe." This ſpeech was made before ſeveral witneſſes.

Luther frequently ſaid; "That a preacher ſhould take care not to bring three little fly dogs into his profeſſion; *viz.* PRIDE, COVETOUSNESS, and ENVY." To which he added to preachers; "When you obſerve

"the

" the people hear moſt attentively; be aſſured, they will " return the more readily. Three things make a divine, " *meditation*, *prayer*, and *temptation*. And three things " are to be remembered by a miniſter; *turn over and over* " *the bible*; *pray devoutly*; *and be never above learning*.— " They are the beſt preachers for the common people, " who ſpeak in the meaneſt, loweſt, humbleſt, and moſt " ſimple ſtyle."

In private life, *Luther* was an example of the ſtricteſt virtue. At dinner or ſupper, he would often dictate matter of preaching to others, or correct the preſs; and ſometimes amuſe himſelf with muſic, in which he took great delight. Though a large man, he was a very moderate eater and drinker, and not at all delicate in his appetite, for he uſually fed upon the ſimpleſt diet. He much delighted in his garden, and was very fond of cultivating it with all kinds of plants. In ſhort, he was never idle.

Though he had not much himſelf, he very freely beſtowed of what he had upon others. A poor ſtudent, aſking money of him, he deſired his wife to give ſome, who excuſing herſelf on account of their poverty; he took up a ſilver cup and gave it to the ſcholar, bidding him to ſell it to the goldſmith, and keep the money for his occaſions. When a friend ſent him two hundred pieces of gold, he beſtowed them all on poor ſcholars. And when the elector gave him a new gown, he wrote in anſwer, " That too much was done; for if we receive " all in this life, we ſhall have nothing to hope for in " the next." He took nothing of printers, for his works, to his own uſe, ſaying, " 'Tis true, I have no money, " but am indeed poor; yet I deal in this moderate man- " ner with printers, and take nothing from them for my " variety of labours, except ſometimes a copy or two. " This, I believe, may be due to me, when other au- " thors, even tranſlators, for every ſheet have their ſtipu- " lated price." When he had ſome money ſent him, he wrote thus to a friend; " I have received by *Taubenheim* " an hundred pieces of gold; and at the ſame time *Schart* " has ſent me fifty; ſo that I begin to fear, leſt God ſhould " give me my portion here. But I ſolemnly proteſt, " that I would not be ſo ſatisfied from HIM: I will " either preſently return, or get rid of them. For what " is ſo much money to me? I have given half of it to " *Prior*, and made him very happy."

He had great tenderneſs for his family. When he ſaw *Magdalen* his eldeſt daughter at the point of death, he read to her this paſſage from the xxvith of *Iſaiah*; *Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe: Awake and ſing, ye that dwell in the duſt; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers and ſhut thy doors about thee: Hide thyſelf as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpaſt.* "My daughter, "do thou enter (ſays he) into thy chamber with peace: "I ſhall ſoon be with thee; for God will not permit me "to ſee the judgements, that hang over *Germany*." And upon this he poured forth a flood of tears. Yet afterwards, when he attended the funeral, he contained himſelf, ſo as not to appear to weep.

What he ſaid of the covetouſneſs of the *Germans* and of the prevailing ſcarcity in his time, may be applied to ſome other profeſſing people beſides them. "We are "in dread of famine; and famine we ſhall feel, without "remedy. And as we, without neceſſity, and like im-"pious and faithleſs heathens, have been diſtracted with "carefulneſs, ſolicitous leſt we ſhould be deſtroyed by "famine, and utterly neglecting the word and work of "God: ſo he will permit the evil day ſhortly to come, "which will bring with it a moſt heavy load of ſorrows, "beyond our power either to ſuſtain or remove."

Being once aſked, *Whether we ſhould know each other in heaven?* he anſwered; "How was it with *Adam?* He "had never ſeen *Eve*; for when God formed her, he "was in a deep ſleep; yet when he awaked and ſaw her, "he did not aſk, Who ſhe was? or from whence ſhe "came? but immediately ſaid, that ſhe was fleſh of his "fleſh, and bone of his bone. How, then, did he know "this? Being filled with the Holy Spirit, and endued "with the true knowledge of God, he was able to de-"termine upon the nature of things.—In like manner, "we ſhall be perfectly renewed hereafter through *Chriſt*; "and ſhall know, with far greater perfection than can "be conceived of here, our deareſt relations, and indeed "whatever exiſts; and in a mode too much ſuperior to "that of *Adam* in paradiſe."

He was of a proper ſtature and of a robuſt body, with ſuch a piercing vivacity in his eyes, that but few could look upon him directly, when he intentively looked upon them. He had but a ſoft voice, and that not very clear; ſo that when mention was made, one day at table, of

Paul's

Paul's voice, that it was rather weak; he obſerved of his own, that it could not deliver his words but with a low pronunciation. 'Yes, (ſaid *Melancthon*) but that feeble 'voice of thine is powerfully perceived both far and 'near.'

Sturmius ſays, that he ſaw a letter written by *Luther* to *Wolfgang Capito*, in which he affirmed, that ſcarce any of his writings pleaſed himſelf, except his catechiſm, and his book *de ſervo arbitrio*, "or free-will a ſlave." Of this laſt work the late Mr. *Toplady* had begun a tranſlation, and indeed carried it on a conſiderable way; but being prevented from finiſhing it by his death (it having been long delayed through other avocations), we are deprived of this valuable companion to *Zanchius* in an *Engliſh* dreſs.

We will conclude this account of *Luther* with the high encomium, paid to his memory by *Wolfgang Severus*, preceptor to the emperor *Ferdinand*:

Japeti de gente prior majorque Luthero
Nemo fuit: Sed nec credo futurus erit.

GEORGE WISHART.

GEORGE WISHART, or *Georgius Sophocardus*, as *Buchanan* tranſlated it, was born in *Scotland*, and brought up at a grammar-ſchool: From whence he went to the univerſity. After which he travelled into ſeveral countries, and at laſt came to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Bennet-College*.

He was a moſt famous and ſucceſsful preacher of the goſpel, and in many places of *Scotland*, through which he preached, he was bleſſed with many ſeals of his miniſtry: And though he was much perſecuted by the cruel cardinal *Beton*, he ſtill continued to preach in public, and perſeveringly to go about doing good.

He was (ſays the excellent Mr. *Robert Fleming*) one of the moſt extraordinary ambaſſadors of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that can be inſtanced. He was alſo the great friend, and (it is believed) ſpiritual father of the famous *John Knox*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the memorials of *Wiſhart*'s life, that have been tranſmitted down to us.

Wiſhart ſpent a conſiderable time abroad for his improvement in literature, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his great learning and abilities both in philoſophy and divinity. His deſire to promote true knowledge and ſcience among men, as is uſually the caſe, accompanied the poſſeſſion of it in himſelf. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors both in his own chamber and in the public ſchools.

He appears to have left *Cambridge* in the year 1544, and to have returned into his own country with the ambaſſadors of *Scotland*, who came into *England* to treat with *Henry* the eighth, about the marriage of his ſon prince *Edward* with their young queen *Mary*, who was afterwards the mother of *James* the firſt, and put to death by queen *Elizabeth*. *Wiſhart* firſt preached at *Montroſe*, and then at *Dundee*, to the admiration of all that heard him. In this laſt place, he made a public expoſition of the epiſtle to the *Romans*, which he went through with ſuch grace and freedom in ſpeaking the truth, that the papiſts began to be exceſſively alarmed. At length, upon the inſtigation of cardinal *Beton*, one *Robert Miln*, a principal man at *Dundee*, and formerly a profeſſor of religion, prohibited his preaching; forbidding him to trouble their town any more, for he would not ſuffer it. This was ſpoken to him in the public place: Whereupon he muſed a ſpace, with his eyes lifted up to heaven; and afterwards, looking ſorrowfully on the ſpeaker and people, he ſaid, "God is my witneſs, that I never minded "your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is "more dolorous to me than it is to yourſelves: But I "am aſſured, to refuſe God's word, and to chaſe from "you his meſſenger, ſhall not preſerve you from trouble, "but ſhall bring you into it: For God ſhall ſend you "miniſters that ſhall neither fear burning nor baniſh-"ment. I have offered you the word of ſalvation. "With the hazard of my life I have remained among "you: Now ye yourſelves refuſe me; and I muſt leave "my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be "long proſperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit

"of

" of truth: But if unlooked-for trouble come upon " you, acknowledge the cauſe, and turn to God, who is " gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the " firſt warning, he will viſit you with fire and ſword." And then he came down from the pulpit.

After this he went into the weſt of *Scotland*, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, at the inſtigation of the aforeſaid cardinal, came with his train to the town of *Air* to reſiſt *Wiſhart*, and would needs have the church himſelf to preach in. Some oppoſed it; but *Wiſhart* ſaid, " Let him alone; his ſermon will not do much hurt. " Let us go to the market-croſs." And ſo they did, where he made ſo notable a ſermon, that his very enemies themſelves were confounded.

Wiſhart remained with the gentlemen of *Kyle*, preaching ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; but coming to *Macklene*, he was by force kept out of the church. Some would have broken in; upon which he ſaid to one of them, " Brother, *Jeſus Chriſt* is as mighty " in the fields as in the church; and himſelf often " preached in the deſert, at the ſea-ſide, and other places. " The like word of peace God ſends by me: The blood " of none ſhall be ſhed this day for preaching it."

Then going into the fields, he ſtood upon a bank, where he ſtayed in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought ſo wonderfully by that ſermon, that one of the moſt wicked men in all the country, the laird of *Sheld*, was converted by it; his eyes flowing with ſuch abundance of tears that all men wondered at it.

Soon after news was brought to *Wiſhart*, that the plague was broke out in *Dundee*; which began within four days after he was prohibited to preach there, and raged ſo extremely, that it is almoſt beyond credit how many died in the ſpace of twenty four hours. This being related to him, he would needs, notwithſtanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, go thither; ſaying, " They are now in troubles and need comfort. " Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to " magnify and reverence the word of God, which be- " fore they lightly eſteemed."

There he was with joy received by the godly. He choſe the *Eaſtgate* for the place of his preaching; ſo that the healthy were within, and the ſick without the gate. His text was, *He ſent his word and healed them*, &c. Pſalm

cvii. 30. In this ſermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgements that enſue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happineſs of thoſe of his elect, whom he takes to himſelf out of this miſerable world. The hearts of his hearers were ſo raiſed by the divine force of this diſcourſe, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who ſhould then be called, not knowing whether they might have ſuch a comforter again with them. After this, the plague almoſt quite ceaſed; though, in the midſt of it, *Wiſhart* conſtantly viſited thoſe that lay in the greateſt extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of *Dundee*, he ſaid; "that God had almoſt put an end to that plague, "and that he was now called to another place." He went from thence to *Montroſe*, where he ſometimes preached, but ſpent moſt of his time in private meditation and prayer, in which he was ſo earneſt that night and day he frequently continued in it.

It is ſaid, that before *Wiſhart* left *Dundee*, and while he was engaged in the labors of love to the bodies as well as to the ſouls of thoſe poor afflicted people, the cardinal corrupted a deſperate popiſh prieſt, called *John Weighton*, to ſlay him. And on a day the ſermon being ended, and the people departed, the prieſt ſtood waiting at the bottom of the ſtairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. *Wiſhart* having a ſharp piercing eye, and ſeeing the prieſt as he came down, ſaid to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The prieſt being terrified, fell down upon his knees, and confeſſed his intention, and craved pardon. A noiſe being hereupon raiſed, and it coming to the ears of thoſe who were ſick, they cried, 'Deliver the traitor 'to us, or we will take him by force;' and they burſt in at the gate. But *Wiſhart* taking the prieſt in his arms, ſaid, "Whatſoever hurts him ſhall hurt me; for he hath "done me no miſchief, but much good, by teaching me "more heedfulneſs for the time to come." And ſo he appeaſed them, and ſaved the prieſt's life.

Soon after his return to *Montroſe*, the cardinal again conſpired his death, cauſing a letter to be ſent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of *Kinnier*, in which he was deſired with all poſſible ſpeed to come to him, becauſe he was taken with a ſudden ſickneſs.

neſs. In the mean time the cardinal had provided ſixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of *Montroſe*, in order to murder him as he paſſed that way.

The letter coming to *Wiſhart*'s hand by a boy, who alſo brought him a horſe for the journey; *Wiſhart*, accompanied by ſome honeſt men his friends, ſet forward; but ſuddenly ſtopping by the way, and muſing a ſpace, he returned back, which they wondering at, aſked him the cauſe, to whom he ſaid, "I will not go. I am forbidden of God. I am aſſured there is treaſon. Let "ſome of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you "find." Which doing, they made the diſcovery; and haſtily returning, they told Mr. *Wiſhart:* Whereupon he ſaid, "I know I ſhall end my life by that blood-thirſty "man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

The time approaching when he ſhould meet the gentlemen at *Edinburgh*, he took his leave and departed. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called *James Watſon*, of *Inner-Goury*. In the night-time he got up, and went into a yard; which two men hearing, they privately followed him. There he walked in an alley for ſome ſpace, breathing forth many groans: Then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increaſed: Then he fell upon his face; when thoſe that watched him heard him lamenting and praying: And thus he continued near an hour: Then getting up he went to his bed again. Thoſe who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and aſked him where he had been? But he would not anſwer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, ſaying, 'Be plain with us, 'for we heard your mourning, and ſaw your geſtures.' Then he, with a dejected countenance, ſaid, "I had "rather you had been in your beds." But they ſtill preſſing upon him to know ſomething, he ſaid, "I will "tell you: I am aſſured that my warfare is near at an "end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I ſhrink "not when the battle waxeth moſt hot."

When they heard this they fell a weeping, ſaying, 'This is ſmall comfort to us.' Then ſaid he, "God "ſhall ſend you comfort after me. This realm ſhall be "illuminated with the light of *Chriſt*'s goſpel, as clearly "as any realm ſince the days of the apoſtles. The houſe "of God ſhall be built in it; yea, it ſhall not lack, in "deſpite of all enemies, the top-ſtone; neither will it "be long before this be accompliſhed. Many ſhall not

"ſuffer

" ſuffer after me, before the glory of God ſhall appear " and triumph in deſpite of Satan. But alas, if the " people afterwards ſhall prove unthankful, then fearful " and terrible will the plagues be that ſhall follow."

He then went forward upon his journey and came to *Leith*, but hearing nothing of the gentlemen, who were to meet with him, he kept himſelf retired for a day or two. He then grew penſive, and being aſked the reaſon of it, he anſwered; " What do I differ from a dead " man? Hitherto God hath uſed my labours for the " inſtruction of others, and to the diſcloſing of dark- " neſs: And now I lurk as a man aſhamed to ſhew his " face." His friends perceived that his deſire was to preach, whereupon they ſaid to him, ' It's moſt com- ' fortable to us to hear you, but becauſe we know the ' danger wherein you ſtand, we dare not deſire it.' But, ſaid he, " If you dare hear, let God provide for me as " beſt pleaſeth him;" and ſo it was concluded that the next day he ſhould preach in *Leith*. His text was of the parable of the ſower, *Matt.* xiii. The ſermon ended, the gentlemen of *Lothian*, who were earneſt profeſſors of *Jeſus Chriſt*, would not ſuffer him to ſtay at *Leith*, be- cauſe the governor and cardinal were ſhortly to come to *Edinburgh*; but took him along with them; and ſo he preached at *Brunſtone*, *Longniddry*, and *Ormiſtone*; then was he requeſted to preach at *Inveresk* near *Muſelburgh*, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongſt them Sir *George Douglas*, who after ſermon ſaid publicly, ' I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that ' I have been at this ſermon: But let them know that ' I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, ' and the preacher, to the uttermoſt of my power.' This much rejoiced thoſe that were preſent.

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who, ſtanding at the church-door, whiſpered to ſuch as came in: Which *Wiſhart* obſerving, ſaid to the people, " I pray you make room for theſe " two men, it may be they come to learn;" and turning to them, he ſaid, " Come near, for I aſſure you, you " ſhall hear the word of truth, which this day ſhall ſeal " up to you either your ſalvation or damnation;" and ſo he proceeded in his ſermon, ſuppoſing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they ſtill continued to diſturb all the people that ſtood near them, he ſaid to them the ſecond time, with an angry countenance; " O " miniſters of Satan, and deceivers of the ſouls of men;

" will

" will ye neither hear God's truth yourſelves, nor ſuffer " others to hear it? Depart and take this for your por- " tion; God ſhall ſhortly confound and diſcloſe your " hypocriſy within this kingdom; ye ſhall be abomin- " able to men, and your places and habitations ſhall be " deſolate." This he ſpake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he ſaid, " Theſe men have pro- " voked the Spirit of God to anger;" and then he pro- ceeded to the end of his ſermon.

He preached afterwards at *Branſtone*, *Languedine*, *Ormiſtone*, and *Invereſk*; where he was followed by a great confluence of people: And he preached alſo in divers other places, the people much flocking after him; and he, in all his ſermons, foretold the ſhortneſs of the time that he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

Being come to *Haddington*, his auditory began much to decreaſe, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of *Bothwel*, who was moved to oppoſe him at the inſtigation of the cardinal. Soon after, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the weſt-country gentlemen; and having read it, he called *John Knox*, who had diligently waited upon him ſince he came into *Lothian*; to whom he ſaid, " That he was weary of the " world, becauſe he ſaw that men began to be weary of " God: For, ſaid he, the gentlemen of the weſt have " ſent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at " *Edinburgh*." *John Knox*, wondering that he ſhould enter into conference about theſe things immediately be- fore his ſermon, contrary to his cuſtom, ſaid to him; 'Sir, ſermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the 'preſent to your meditations.'

Wiſhart's ſad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At laſt he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very ſmall, he began in this manner; " O Lord, " how long ſhall it be, that thy holy word ſhall be de- " ſpiſed, and men ſhall not regard their own ſalvation? " I have heard of thee, O *Haddington*, that in thee there " uſed to be two or three thouſand perſons at a vain and " wicked play; and now, to hear the meſſenger of the " eternal God, of all the pariſh can ſcarce be numbered " one hundred preſent. Sore and fearful ſhall be the " plagues that ſhall enſue upon this thy contempt. With " fire and ſword ſhalt thou be plagued; yea, thou *Had-* " *dington* in ſpecial, ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſs thee; and you, " the preſent inhabitants, ſhall either in bondage ſerve " your enemies, or elſe you ſhall be chaſed from your

" own habitations; and that becauſe you have not known, " nor will know, the time of your viſitation."

This prophecy was accompliſhed not long after, when the *Engliſh* took *Haddington*, made it a garriſon, enforced many of the inhabitants to fly; oppreſſed others, and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the *Engliſh* were at laſt forced to quit it, who at their departure burnt and ſpoiled great part of it, leaving it to be poſſeſſed by ſuch as could firſt ſeize upon it, which were the *French* that came as auxiliaries to *Scotland*, with a few of the antient inhabitants; ſo that *Haddington*, to this day, never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

That night was *Wiſhart* apprehended in the houſe of *Ormeſton*, by the earl of *Bothwel*, ſuborned thereto by the cardinal. The manner was thus: After ſermon he took his laſt farewel of all his friends in *Haddington*; *John Knox* would fain have gone with him; but he ſaid, " Re- " turn to your children, and God bleſs you: One is " ſufficient for one ſacrifice." Then went he to the laird of *Ormeſton*'s with ſome others that accompanied him. After ſupper he had a comfortable diſcourſe of God's love to his children; then he appointed the 51ſt *Pſalm* to be ſung, and ſo retired to his chamber.

Before midnight the houſe was beſet; and the earl of *Bothwel* called for the laird of the houſe, and told him that it was in vain to reſiſt, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power; but if he would deliver *Wiſhart* to him, he would promiſe upon his honor that he ſhould be ſafe, and that the cardinal ſhould not hurt him. *Wiſhart* ſaid, " Open the gates, the will of " God be done;" and *Bothwel* coming in, *Wiſhart* ſaid to him, " I praiſe my God that ſo honourable a man as " you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am per- " ſuaded that for your honour's ſake you will ſuffer no- " thing to be done to me but by order of law: I leſs " fear to die openly, than ſecretly to be murdered." Then ſaid *Bothwel*, ' I will not only preſerve your body ' from all violence that ſhall be intended againſt you ' without order of law; but I alſo promiſe in the pre- ' ſence of theſe gentlemen, that neither the governor nor ' cardinal ſhall have their will of you; but I will keep ' you in mine own houſe, till I either ſet you free, or ' reſtore you to the ſame place where I receive you.' Then ſaid the lairds, ' My lord, if you make good your

' promiſe,

'promiſe, which we preſume you will, we ourſelves will 'not only ſerve you, but we will procure all the profeſ-'ſors in *Lothian* to do the ſame, &c.' Theſe promiſes being made in the preſence of God, and hands being ſtricken by both parties, the earl took *Wiſhart*, and ſo departed.

Wiſhart was carried to *Edinburgh*; but gold and women eaſily corrupt fleſhly men; for the cardinal gave *Bothwel* gold; and the queen, that was too familiar with him, promiſed him her favor, if he would deliver *Wiſhart* into *Edinburgh* caſtle, which he did; and ſhortly after he was delivered to the blood-thirſty cardinal: Who, becauſe it was forbidden by their canon-law for a prieſt to ſit as a judge upon life and death; ſent to the governor, requeſting him to appoint ſome lay-judge to paſs ſentence of death upon *Wiſhart*.

The governor would eaſily have yielded to his requeſt, if *David Hamilton*, a godly man, had not told him, that he could expect no better an end than *Saul*, if he perſecuted the truth which formerly he had profeſſed, &c. Hereupon the governor ſent the cardinal word, that he would have no hand in ſhedding the blood of that good man. The cardinal, being angry, returned this anſwer, that he had ſent to him of mere civility, and that he would proceed without him; and ſo to the great grief of the godly, the cardinal carried *Wiſhart* to Saint *Andrew*'s, and put him into the tower there; and, without any long delay, he cauſed all the biſhops, and other great clergymen to be called together to Saint *Andrew*'s.

On *February* the twenty-eighth, 1546, *Wiſhart* was brought before them, to give an account of his ſeditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it. The cardinal cauſed all his retinue to come armed to the place of their ſitting, which was the abby-church, whither when *Wiſhart* was brought, there was a poor man lying at the door, that aſked his alms, to whom he flung his purſe. When he came before the cardinal, there was a dean appointed to preach; whoſe ſermon being ended, *Wiſhart* was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge: And one *Lawder*, a prieſt, ſtood over againſt him, and read a ſcroll full of bitter accuſations and curſes, ſo that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and ſwallowed up *Wiſhart* quick: But he ſtood with great patience, without moving or once changing his countenance. The prieſt, having ended his curſes, ſpat at *Wiſhart*'s face, ſaying, 'What anſwereſt thou? thou runagate, traitor,

'thief, &c.' Then *Wiſhart* fell upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he ſaid, "Many and "horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words "abominable to hear, have ye ſpoken here this day; "which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever "thought a great abomination, &c." Then did he give them an account of his doctrine, anſwering every article, as far as they would give him leave to ſpeak.

But they, without any regard to his ſober and godly anſwers, preſently condemned him to be burnt. After which ſentence, he, falling upon his knees, ſaid;

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou ſuffer the "rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe "their fury upon thy ſervants, which do further thy "word in this world; whereas they on the contrary ſeek "to deſtroy the truth, whereby thou haſt revealed thyſelf "to the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that "thy true ſervants muſt needs ſuffer, for thy name's "ſake, perſecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this "preſent world; yet we deſire, that thou wouldeſt pre-"ſerve and defend thy church, which thou haſt choſen "before the foundation of the world, and give thy peo-"ple grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants "in this preſent life."

Then were the common people put out, the biſhops not deſiring that they ſhould hear the innocent man ſpeak; and ſo they ſent him again to the caſtle, till the fire ſhould be made ready. In the caſtle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confeſſion to them; to whom he ſaid, "I will make no confeſſion to you, "but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I "will ſpeak with him." Then was the ſub-prior ſent for, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the ſub-prior wept, who, going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for *Wiſhart*'s life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, ſaying; 'We knew long ago 'what you were.'

The captain of the caſtle with ſome friends, coming to *Wiſhart*, aſked him if he would break his faſt with them: "Yea, ſaid he, very willingly, for I know you be "honeſt men." In the mean time he deſired them to hear him a little; and ſo he diſcourſed to them about the Lord's Supper, his ſufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aſide all rancor and malice, as becomes the members of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who

continually

continually intercedes for us with his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and bleſſing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, ſaying, "eat this, remember that *Chriſt* died for us, and "feed on it ſpiritually;" ſo taking the cup, he bad them "remember that *Chriſt*'s blood was ſhed for them, &c." Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and ſo retired into his chamber.

Preſently came two executioners to him from the cardinal; one put on him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about ſeveral parts of his body; and ſo they brought him forth to the place of execution; over againſt which place, the caſtle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cuſhions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence were to feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal, fearing leſt *Wiſhart* ſhould be reſcued by his friends, cauſed all the ordnance in the caſtle to be bent againſt the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to ſtand ready all the time of his burning. Then were his hands bound behind his back, and ſo he was carried forth. In the way ſome beggars met him, aſking him his alms for God's ſake: To whom he ſaid, "My hands are bound wherewith I was wont "to give you alms: But the merciful Lord, who of his "bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchſafe "to give you neceſſaries both for your bodies and "ſouls." Then two friars met him, perſuading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly ſaid, "Ceaſe, tempt me not, I entreat you:" And ſo with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; then falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated; "O thou Saviour of the world, have "mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my "ſpirit into thy holy hands." Then turning to the people, he ſaid; "Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, I be-"ſeech you, be not offended at the word of God for the "torments which you ſee prepared for me; but I exhort "you that ye love the word of God for your ſalvation, "and ſuffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for "the word's ſake, which is your undoubted ſalvation "and everlaſting comfort. I pray you alſo ſhew my "brethren and ſiſters, who have often heard me, that "they ceaſe not to learn the word of God, which I "taught them according to the meaſure of grace given "me, for no perſecution or trouble in this world what-

" ſoever; and ſhew them, that the doctrine was no old " wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had " taught men's doctrine, I ſhould have had greater " thanks from men: But for the word of God's ſake I " now ſuffer, not ſorrowfully, but with a glad heart and " mind. For this cauſe I was ſent, that I ſhould ſuffer " this fire for *Chriſt*'s ſake; behold my face, you ſhall " not ſee me change my countenance: I fear not the " fire; and if perſecution come to you for the word's " ſake, I pray you *fear not them that can kill the body, and* " *have no power to hurt the ſoul, &c.*" Then he prayed for them, who accuſed him; ſaying, " I beſeech thee, " Father of heaven, forgive them that have, of ignorance " or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them " with all my heart; I beſeech *Chriſt* to forgive them, " that have condemned me this day ignorantly." Then turning to the people again, he ſaid; " I beſeech you, " brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of " God, that they may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn " to do good, or elſe there ſhall ſhortly come upon them " the wrath of God which they ſhall not eſchew." Then the executioner upon his knees, ſaid, 'Sir, I pray 'you forgive me, for I am not the cauſe of your death;' *Wiſhart*, calling him to him, kiſſed his cheeks, ſaying, " Lo here is a token that I forgive thee: My heart, do " thine office." And ſo he was tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled.

The captain of the caſtle, coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his ſin; to whom *Wiſhart* ſaid, " This fire torments my body, " but no whit abates my ſpirits:" Then, looking towards the cardinal, he ſaid, " He, who, in ſuch ſtate " from that high place, feeds his eyes with my tor- " ments, within few days ſhall be hanged out at that " ſame window, to be ſeen with as much ignominy, as " he now leans there with pride:" And ſo his breath being ſtopped, he was conſumed by the fire, near the caſtle of St. *Andrew*'s, in the year 1546.

This prophecy was fulfilled, when, after the cardinal was ſlain, the provoſt, raiſing the town, came to the caſtle gates, crying, 'What have you done with my lord car- 'dinal? Where is my lord cardinal?' To whom they within anſwered, 'Return to your houſes, for he hath 'received his reward, and will trouble the world no 'more:' But they ſtill cried, 'We will never depart till 'we ſee him:' Then did the *Leſlies* hang him out at

that

that window to ſhew that he was dead; and ſo the people departed.

But we will relate more particularly, from the *Scotch* hiſtorian, the circumſtances of the cardinal's death. God (ſays he) left not the death of this holy man long unrevenged: For the people generally exclaimed againſt the cruelty uſed upon him; eſpecially *John Leſley*, brother to the earl of *Rothes*, and *Norman Leſley* his couſin, fell foul upon the cardinal for it: But he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for all *Scotland*, ſaying; 'Tuſh, a fig for 'the fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics. 'Is not the lord governor mine, witneſs his eldeſt ſon 'for a pledge at my table? Have I not the queen at my 'devotion? Is not *France* my friend? Why ſhould I 'fear any danger?' Yet he had laid a deſign to cut off ſuch as he feared and hated, which was diſcovered after his death by letters and memorials found about him. He kept himſelf for his greater ſecurity in his caſtle; and on a *Friday* night there came to the town of Saint *Andrew's*, *Norman Leſley*, *William Kircaldy*, *John Leſley*, and ſome others; and on the *Saturday* morning they met together not far from the caſtle, waiting till the gate was opened, and the draw-bridge let down, for the receiving in ſome lime and ſand, to repair ſome decays about the caſtle; which being done, *Kircaldy*, with ſix more, went to the porter, falling into diſcourſe with him, till the *Leſlies* came alſo with ſome other company. The porter, ſeeing them, would have drawn up the bridge, but was prevented; and whilſt he endeavored to keep them out at the gate, his head was broken, and the keys taken from him. The cardinal was aſleep in bed, for all night he had for his bedfellow, Mrs. *Mary Ogleby*, who was a little before gone from him out at the poſtern gate; and therefore the cardinal was gone to his reſt.

There were about one hundred workmen in the caſtle, who, ſeeing what was done, cried out; but, without hurt, they were turned out at the wicket gate. Then *William Kircaldy* went to ſecure the poſtern, leſt the cardinal ſhould make an eſcape that way. The reſt, going to the gentlemen's chambers, who were above fifty, without hurting them, turned them all out at the gate. They, who undertook this enterprize, were but eighteen men. The cardinal, being awakened with the noiſe, aſked out at the window, 'what was the matter?' Anſwer was made, that *Norman Leſley* had taken his caſtle. Then did he attempt to have eſcaped by the poſtern; but finding

ing

ing that to be kept, he returned to his chamber; and, with the help of his chamberlain, fell to barricadoing the door with cheſts, and ſuch things. Then came up *John Leſley*, and commanded him to open the door: The cardinal aſked, 'who was there?' He anſwered, *John Leſley*. The cardinal ſaid, 'I will have *Norman*, for he is my 'friend.' 'Content yourſelf, ſaid the other, with thoſe 'that are here:' And ſo they fell to breaking open the door. In the mean time, the cardinal hid a box of gold under ſome coals in a ſecret corner. Then he ſaid to them; 'Will ye ſave my life?' *John Leſley* anſwered, 'It may be, that we will.' 'Nay, ſaid the cardinal, 'ſwear unto me by God's wounds that you will; and 'then I will open the door.' Then ſaid *John*, 'that 'which was ſaid, is unſaid;' and ſo he called for fire to burn down the door; whereupon the door was opened, and the cardinal ſat him down in his chair, crying; 'I 'am a prieſt, I am a prieſt; ye will not ſlay me!' Then *John Leſley* and another ſtruck him once or twice: But Mr. *James Melvin*, a man that had been very familiar with *Wiſhart*, and of a modeſt and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choler, plucked them back, ſaying; 'This work and judgement of God, although it 'be ſecret, ought to be done with great gravity.' And ſo preſenting him the point of his ſword, he ſaid, 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of 'ſhedding the blood of that noble inſtrument of God, 'Mr. *George Wiſhart*, who, though he was conſumed by 'the fire before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon 'thee; and we from God are ſent to revenge it; for 'here, before my God I proteſt, that neither the hatred 'of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of 'any hurt thou couldſt have done me, moveth me to 'ſtrike thee; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill 'remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, and 'his holy goſpel;' and ſo he thruſt him through the body, who falling down, ſpake never a word, but 'I 'am a prieſt, I am a prieſt: Fie, fie, all is gone.'

The death of this tyrant was grievous to the queen mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as alſo to the *Romaniſts*, though the Reformed were freed from their fears in a great meaſure thereby.

The conduct, however, of theſe *Leſleys* is, by no means, to be juſtified; for killing men without law, is undoubtedly *murder*, and a defiance of all civil inſtitutions. And,

And, in a Chriſtian view, it is ſtill more unjuſtifiable; for we are taught to ſuffer, and not to revenge, but to commit ourſelves to HIM, who judgeth righteouſly. It was alſo what *Wiſhart* himſelf would have condemned; as evidently appears by his meek and tender conduct to the prieſt, who would have ſtabbed him, as we have above related. *Vengeance is mine; I will repay, ſaith the Lord.* The judgement was certainly juſt upon the cardinal; but God, in the diſpenſations of his juſtice, uſually lets wicked inſtruments looſe, and even *Satan* himſelf, to accompliſh his aweful deſigns. Chriſtians have a better buſineſs allotted them.

The *Scotch* hiſtorian's account of *Wiſhart*'s perſon and manner of life is ſo extraordinary, that we flatter ourſelves it will not be unacceptable to our Readers:

'*Wiſhart*, ſays he, was tall of ſtature, and of a melancholy conſtitution: He had black hair, a long beard, was comely of perſonage, and well-ſpoken, courteous, lowly, lovely, willing to teach, deſirous to learn. As for his habit, he wore a frize gown, a black fuſtian doublet, plain hoſe, coarſe canvaſs for his ſhirts, falling bands, &c. all which apparel he gave to the poor, ſome weekly, ſome monthly, ſome quarterly; ſaving a *French* cap that he wore, which he kept a twelvemonth. He was modeſt, temperate, fearing God, hating covetouſneſs. His charity was extraordinary; he forbore his food one meal in three, and one day in four; that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon ſtraw; and he had coarſe new canvaſs ſheets, which, when once foul, he gave away. He had by his bedſide a tub of water, in which in the dark night he bathed himſelf. He taught with great modeſty and gravity.'

FREDERIC MYCONIUS.

FREDERIC MYCONIUS was born at *Lichtenfeldt*, in *Franconia*, *December* the twenty-ſixth, in the year 1491, of religious parents, and bred up at ſchool there till he was thirteen years of age, and then was ſent to *Annaberg*, where he ſtudied till he was twenty. About that age he entered into a monaſtry of Franciſcans, without the knowledge of his parents. To this ſtep he was led, by the ſuperſtition of the times, not for the love of eaſe, (ſays *Melchior Adam*) and much leſs for the ſake of his belly or pleaſures; but with a view to ſerve God, and to obtain, by his own righteouſneſs, the remiſſion both of his own ſins and of others. For the monks perſuaded men, 'That their vow was equivalent 'to baptiſm; that it was the ſtate of perfection; that 'the monaſtic rules and ordinances [*verbo* DEI *multis paraſangis anteire*] were very far to be preferred to the 'word of God; that the habit of their order was much 'holier than all other garments; and that whoſoever 'ſhould be buried in the cowl of a monk, would infallibly obtain the remiſſion of one-third part of all his 'ſins;' with much other goodly doctrine of the ſame profitable kind.

The firſt night after his entry, *Myconius* had a remarkable dream, which proved prophetical, but is too long for inſertion here. In this monaſtry he read the ſchoolmen and *Auguſtine*'s works. He read alſo, at meal-times, the bible with *Lyra*'s notes, which he continued for ſeven years together, and with ſuch exactneſs, that he had it almoſt by heart: But at length, deſpairing of making any conſiderable attainments in learning, he turned himſelf to the mechanical arts. About which time the arrant vagabond *Tetzelius* brought his indulgences into *Germany*, boaſting of the virtue of them, and exhorting all men,

as

as they loved their own ſalvation, and the ſalvation of their deceaſed friends, that they ſhould buy them, &c. *Myconius* had been taught, by his father, the Lord's prayer, the creed, the decalogue, and had been admoniſhed to pray often; that the blood of *Chriſt* only could cleanſe us from ſin; that if only three perſons were to be ſaved by this blood, he ſhould endeavor to be one of them; and that pardon of ſin and eternal life could not be bought with money, &c. From this circumſtance, it has been ſuppoſed that *Myconius*'s father had ſecretly embraced the doctrine of the *Waldenſes*. *Myconius*, however, was greatly troubled, not knowing whether to believe his father or the prieſts; but underſtanding, that there was a clauſe in the indulgences, that they ſhould be *freely given to the poor*, he went to *Tetzelius*, and begged him to give him one, for that he was a poor ſinner, and one that needed a free pardon of his ſins, and a participation of the merits of *Chriſt*. *Tetzelius* wondered to hear him ſpeak Latin ſo well, which was what few prieſts could do in thoſe days, and he therefore conſulted with his colleagues, what was beſt to be done, who adviſed him to give *Myconius* a pardon: But, after a long debate, *Tetzelius* concluded, 'That the pope wanted money, with-'out which he could not part with an indulgence.' *Myconius* urged the above-mentioned clauſe in the bull; upon which *Tetzelius*'s colleagues deſired he might have one given him, pleading his learning, ingenuity, poverty, &c. and that it would be a diſhonor both to God and the pope to deny him one: But ſtill *Tetzelius* abſolutely refuſed. Upon this one of them whiſpered to *Myconius*, to give a little money for one, which he refuſed to do: They fearing the event, and believing that he was ſuborned by others, offered him money to buy one with; but he would not accept of it, ſaying, "That, if he "choſe to buy one, he could ſell a book for that pur-"poſe, but he deſired one for God's ſake, which if they "denied him, he wiſhed them to conſider how they could "anſwer it to God, &c." But prevailing nothing, he went away rejoicing, that there was yet a God in heaven to pardon ſinners freely, &c. according to that promiſe, *As I live, ſaith the Lord, I deſire not the death of a ſinner*, &c.

A little time after this [*viz.* in the year 1516] he took orders, and read privately *Luther*'s books with *John Voit*, till he made profeſſion of the truth, which gave great offence to the other friars, who ſeverely threatened him

for it. About this period, while *Luther* was attacking the errors and blaſphemies of the church of *Rome* at *Wittenberg*, and the light of the goſpel began to ſhine, he received a call to be a preacher at *Vinaria*, which he accepted of, and where at firſt he mixed ſome popiſh errors with the truth; but being further enlightened by the SPIRIT's teaching in reading the ſcriptures and *Luther*'s works, he at length began to preach boldly againſt popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly; which ſpread with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, not only through *Saxony*, but through all *Europe*, 'as if,' ſays our biographer, 'the angels had been the carriers of it.' Afterwards, in the year 1524, he was called to *Gotha*, to teach and govern the *Thuringian* churches, where he lived with his colleagues twenty-two years in much peace and concord; of which himſelf ſays, "*Cucurrimus, certavimus, laboravimus, pugnavimus, vicimus, & viximus ſemper conjunctiſſimè, &c.*" i. e. "We ran, we ſtrove, we fought, we conquered, and we lived together always in the greateſt harmony and love." He was remarkable for the great pains he took to pacify and keep quiet the boors, or common people; and is ſaid to have made ſuch an oration to great numbers of them, that were pulling down ſome noblemen's houſes, that they all went away in peace. The ſame year he married, and, by the bleſſing of God, had a numerous poſterity.

At this early period, the ſound of the goſpel was happily ſpread over moſt parts of *Germany*; and the following illuſtrious perſons were ſcattered over it and the bordering countries; *Luther, Zuinglius, Melancthon, Pomeran, Amsdorf, Urbanus Regius, Snepfius, Brentius, Vitus Theodorus, John Alpin, Herman Bonn, John Heſs, Ambroſe Moiban, Briſman, Speratus, Poliander, P. Rhodius, Hausmann, N. Medlerus, J. Cæſius, J. Langus*; and many others.

He accompanied the elector of *Saxony* in many of his journies into the *Low Countries*, and other places, where he preached the goſpel openly and faithfully, though often at the hazard of his life. About this time, our king *Henry* VIII. had fallen out with the pope, for not divorcing him from his wife *Catharine*, aunt to *Charles* V. emperor of *Germany*, and king of *Spain*, becauſe of whoſe greatneſs the pope durſt not do it. The king then ſent over to the *German* princes, eſpecially to the duke of *Saxony*, to confederate againſt the pope, and to join with him in an agreement reſpecting religion; upon which account *My-*

conius was ſent over to *England*, partly about religious matters, but principally about a match between king *Henry* and *Anne* of *Cleve*. *Myconius* upon his arrival ſoon diſcovered the king's hypocriſy reſpecting religion, not only by the ſix articles about that time eſtabliſhed, but alſo by his impriſoning of *Latimer*, beheading lord *Cromwel*, burning Dr. *Barnes*, &c. and by his ſeizing all the abbey-lands; all which gave him ſuch offence that he left *England*. Upon his return home, he was called by *Henry* of *Saxony* to viſit and reform, (in conjunction with *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Cruciger*, and others) the churches of *Miſnia*. The occaſion of this reformation-viſit was; *George* duke of *Saxony*, laying on his death-bed, ſent to his brother *Henry* (all his own ſons being already dead) deſiring him, as he was to be his ſucceſſor, not to make any innovations in religion; at the ſame time he promiſed him, by his ambaſſadors, golden mountains if he would comply with his requeſt. To whom *Henry* anſwered, 'This embaſſage of your's is juſt like the devil's 'dealing with *Chriſt*, when he promiſed him all the 'world if he would fall down and worſhip him: But, 'for my own part, I am reſolved not to depart from the 'truth which God hath revealed unto me.' But before the return of the ambaſſador, duke *George* was dead: Upon which *Henry*, notwithſtanding all the oppoſitions of the papiſts, carried on the Reformation in the churches. This reformation-work being finiſhed, *Myconius* viſited all the churches in *Thuringia*; and, with the help of *Melanchon* and ſome others, he provided them paſtors and ſchoolmaſters, and procured ſtipends to be ſettled upon them for their maintenance.

In the year 1541, he fell into a conſumption, of which he wrote to *Luther*, "That he was ſick, not to death, but "unto life:" Which interpretation of the text pleaſed *Luther* exceedingly; who wrote for anſwer, 'I pray '*Chriſt* our Lord, our ſalvation, and our health, &c. 'that I may not live to ſee thee and ſome others of our 'colleagues to die, and go to heaven, and leave me here 'amongſt the devils alone. I pray God, that I may firſt 'lay down this dry, exhauſted, and unprofitable taber-'nacle: Farewel, and God forbid, that I ſhould hear of 'thy death while I live; but may God grant thee to out-'live me: This is my prayer, and my wiſh, and may it 'be granted me; amen; for I aſk it for the glory of 'God's holy name, and not for my own eaſe or profit.' Awhile after, *Myconius* recovered according to this prayer,

prayer, though his diſeaſe ſeemed to be deſperate, and outlived it ſix years, even till the year after *Luther*'s death; upon which *Juſtus Jonas* remarks, in ſpeaking of *Luther*, *Iſte vir potuit quod voluit*; That man could have of God whatever he pleaſed. *Myconius*, a little before his death, wrote an excellent letter to *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, in which he praiſed God for raiſing up three ſucceſſively in that family, namely, *Frederic*, *John*, and *John Frederic*, to undertake the patronage of *Luther*, &c. He was a man of ſingular piety, of ſolid learning, of an excellent judgement, of a burning zeal, and of an admirable candor and gravity. He died of a relapſe into his former diſeaſe, on the ſeventh of *April*, in 1546, having lived fifty-five years, three months, and ſeventeen days. And he died as he had lived, glorifying God for all the mercies which had been received by him and by the church in the bleſſed Reformation. He was a dear friend to *Luther*; and *Luther* was not leſs ſo to him. In their lives, they were united; and, in their deaths, they were not long divided; for *Myconius* ſurvived his magnanimous friend only ſeventy-ſeven days.

Stigelius wrote the following epitaph for his tomb.

Quo duce, Gotha, tibi monſtrata eſt gratia CHRISTI;
Hic pia Myconii contegit oſſa lapis.
Doctrinâ et vitæ tibi moribus ille reliquit
Exemplum: Hoc ingens, Gotha, tuere decus.

He is ſaid to have publiſhed the following works: *Expoſitio in Evang. Marci. Enarrationes in Pſalmum* ci. *Expoſitiones in Evang. ſecundùm Matthæum, Lucam, & Johannem. Commentaria in Eſaiam, Jeremiam, & Jonam. Narratio de vitâ & morte Zuinglii. Sermo de liberis rectè educandis: De crapulâ; & Ebrietate: De fœnore & uſurâ, &c.*

JOHN DIAZIUS.

THIS learned, pious, and conſtant ſufferer, in the cauſe of God and truth, was born and educated in *Spain*, and from thence was ſent to *Paris* to

to complete his ſtudies; but it pleaſed God, in the reading of the books of *Luther* and ſome other proteſtant divines, ſo to enlighten his mind and to teach him the knowledge of the truth from the ſcripture, that he began to ſee and abhor the hereſies and abominations of the church of *Rome*. In order therefore to further himſelf in the knowledge and ſtudy of the goſpel, he went to *Geneva*, where he became intimately acquainted with *Calvin*, and was very dear to him. From *Geneva* he went to *Straſburgh*, where *Bucer*, obſerving his learning, piety, and diligent application to ſtudy, obtained leave of the ſenate for him to be joined with him to go to the diſputation at *Ratiſbon*. When he came thither, he viſited *Peter Malvinda* a *Spaniard*, the pope's agent in *Germany*, who, finding that he came in company with *Bucer* and other proteſtant divines, was much ſurprized, but more upon obſerving the great change that had taken place in him ſince he knew him at *Paris*. *Malvinda* was alſo exceedingly uneaſy that the proteſtants had got a *Spaniard* amongſt them, preſuming they would triumph more in him than in many *Germans*; and therefore tried all ways and means to draw him back to the church of *Rome*; ſometimes making large proffers and promiſes to him, at other times threatening him with ſevere puniſhments, and mixing both with earneſt intreaties. But when he found he was unſucceſsful in all his endeavors, he ſent for his brother *Alphonſus Diazius*, one of the pope's lawyers, from *Rome*; who, hearing that his brother was turned proteſtant, came with all ſpeed into *Germany*, bringing a notorious cut-throat with him, reſolving either to draw him back to popery, or to deſtroy him.

When *Alphonſus* came to *Ratiſbon*, his brother *John* was gone to *Newberg* about the printing of *Bucer*'s book; to which place *Alphonſus* followed him; and there they maintained many diſputations upon religious matters: But *Alphonſus*, finding his brother *John* ſo ſtedfaſt in the belief of the truths of the goſpel, that neither the pope's agent by his promiſes or threats could terrify him, nor he, by his perſuaſions and pretenſions of brotherly love, could prevail upon him, to return to popery; he feigned to take a moſt friendly and affectionate leave of him, and departed. But, ſoon after, he returned with his ruffianly murderer, and, by the way, they bought an hatchet of a carpenter. *Alphonſus* ſent the ruffian in firſt, diſguiſed, with letters to his brother, himſelf following behind: And while *John Diazius* was reading the letters,

this

this bloody murderer cleft his head with the hatchet; and taking horſe they both rode away. This cruel act was perpetrated in the year 1546. *Alphonſus*, another inhuman *Cain*, was highly applauded by the papiſts for his deed. But God did not ſuffer this unnatural cruelty to go unpuniſhed; for, not long after, he was ſo exceedingly tormented with horrors and dread of conſcience, that being at *Trent*, when the general council was held there, he died, like *Judas*, by hanging himſelf.

We thought this account of a *Spaniard*, though ſhort, might be the more deſirable, as the country of his birth was ever famous for bigotry and ſuperſtition, and hath been remarkably barren in the real profeſſion of the goſpel. Indeed, it hath not, of late ages, been much diſtinguiſhed for men of great liberality or learning, and, at this day, partakes leſs of civil and religious liberty than any other kingdom in *Europe*. The people there know ſtill leſs of that ſpiritual and heavenly liberty, with which *Chriſt* makes his people free: And their bloody and horrid inquiſition will do what it can to keep them ignorant of it. All the *acts of faith* (as they ſhamefully call the executions of this abominable tribunal) are begun in ignorance and infamy, and end in cruelty and blood.

Spain has, however, produced ſome few learned men of the *firſt* claſs, within the three paſt centuries: But theſe have, almoſt without exception, been bigots of the church of *Rome*, and employed their talents in ſupporting the papal juriſdiction. It is a pleaſure to ſee an example to the contrary; and, therefore, our Readers will not think it an impertinent digreſſion to relate, that *Cyprian de Valera* was of this country, became a ſincere as well as learned proteſtant, made a voyage to *England* for improvement, and returned with the bible tranſlated into *Spaniſh*; copies of which, with copies of a *Spaniſh* tranſlation of *Calvin*'s inſtitutes, he diſperſed among his countrymen.——The word of God is indeed a *pearl of great price*; but the grace of God alone can make it *precious* to the ſoul, and render thoſe, who read it, *wiſe unto ſalvation*. Happy for his countrymen, if the ſame light, which bleſſed his mind, had illuminated their's!

CASPAR

CASPAR CRUCIGER.

CASPAR CRUCIGER, was born at *Leipſick* in *Miſnia*, 1504, of religious parents, who brought him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, as well as in all uſeful learning. He was naturally inclined to melancholy, loved retirement, was much in meditation, and of few words. In the midſt of company he was frequently abſent, and collected within himſelf. The diſcovery of this temper in him, in his childhood, gave his parents occaſion to conclude, that he would be dull in underſtanding, and of a ſlow capacity. But judgements of this kind have been very frequently erroneous; for ſome, who have promiſed but little in their infancy, have turned out the firſt of men; while others, who have made an early ſhew, have yielded only diſappointment to the fond expectation of their friends. *Cruciger*, when put under the tuition of an able maſter, ſoon afforded proofs of a reach and ſtrength of genius, which ſurprized every body who knew him. Nothing was too difficult, in human ſcience, for his comprehenſion; and his induſtry equalled the clearneſs of his judgement, and the penetration of his mind. Having acquired the *Latin* language, he ſtudied the *Greek*, together with *Camerarius*, under *Richard Croke*, an *Engliſhman*. At this time it was ſaid of him, 'That though he ſeemed dull to every body, he 'acquired more knowledge than all his fellow-ſtudents 'put together.' Yet, with all his attainments, he was meek, modeſt, and humble in his deportment, tinctured with no arrogance or oſtentation; patient, chaſte and pious. He was beloved by his tutor, as though he had been his ſon, and indeed had the affection and eſteem of the whole academy, where he ſtudied.

Having made great proficiency in letters, he went to the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, to ſtudy divinity, with a view of being more uſeful to the church: There he

acquired the *Hebrew* language, and became very ſkilful in it; for whatever he ſtudied, he ſtudied profoundly. He then was called from *Wittenberg* to govern the ſchool at *Magdeburg*, where he taught with great ſucceſs and applauſe till the year 1527, when he was invited back again to *Wittenberg*, to preach and expound the ſcriptures; which he did with ſo much judgement and uſe, that they conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. At that univerſity, he alſo ſtudied and practiſed phyſic and botany, both of which he greatly delighted in. He was very helpful to *Luther* in his tranſlation of the bible. To *Luther* he was extremely dear, both for the probity of his manners, and the ſoundneſs of his doctrine. He is ſaid to write ſo ſwiftly, that he was requeſted to take down the diſputation at *Worms*, in 1540, which he did with ſo much eaſe and exactneſs, that, at the ſame time, he ſuggeſted to *Melanæthon* many things which he had not anſwered to his adverſary, and ſeveral hints with which he confuted the arguments of *Eckius* his opponent. This being obſerved by *Granvel Bane*, who there perſonated the emperor, it cauſed him to ſay, 'That the Lutherans 'had a clerk that was more learned than all the papiſts.' And the following lines of *Martial* were frequently applied to him, upon account of this extraordinary faculty.

Currant verba licet, manus eſt velocior illis:
Nondum lingua ſuum, dextra peregit opus.

'Though words can ſwiftly run,
'His pen could move more faſt:
'The tongue had ſcarcely done,
'But hand the work had paſt.'

He frequently made notes of *Luther*'s ſermons, while he was preaching them, and could recite them *per extenſum*, or as they were delivered, afterwards.

He always oppoſed the errors of the fanatical Anabaptiſts of that day, and was very careful to preſerve the truth from corruption: He had a great averſion to ſophiſtical and ambiguous phraſes, which had often cauſed much trouble in the church; and he took ſuch frequent delight in contemplating the foot-ſteps of God in the creation, that he would often ſay with St. *Paul*, 'That God was 'ſo near unto us, that he might be almoſt felt with our 'hands.' In the latter part of his time he ſtudied the mathematics, in which he made ſo great a progreſs that few excelled him. He was alſo a moſt accompliſhed optician:

tician: In ſhort, he maſtered almoſt the whole compaſs of human learning, and, what was better, applied all he learned to the uſe of thoſe about him. To the ſick, he was a phyſician, under God, both for body and ſoul; and a friend to all men. At length, by intenſe and inceſſant application to ſtudy, he brought upon himſelf a diſeaſe, which, though it waſted his body away, did not impair his intellects. He laid ſick three months, all which time he gave the moſt lively demonſtrations of his faith, patience, and piety. Every thing he ſaid ſpoke the deepeſt reſignation to the divine will, and that full aſſurance of faith, with which he waited for glory. Nor did he give up his ſtudies during his ſickneſs, but turned into *Latin Luther*'s books concerning the laſt words of *David*; and often read the *Pſalms*, and ſometimes other authors. His common converſation with his friends was upon the principles of religion, the affairs of the church, immortality, and our ſweet communion in heaven.

A little before his death he called to him his two young daughters, and cauſed them to repeat their prayers before him, and then himſelf prayed with great fervency, for himſelf, the church, and theſe his orphans, earneſtly and often repeating theſe words; "I call upon thee, O omnipotent God, eternal and only Father of our Lord "*Jeſus Chriſt*, maker of heaven and earth, of mankind "and of thy church, and upon thy co-eternal Son our "Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* and upon the Holy Spirit, thou only "wiſe, faithful, juſt, true, merciful and holy God; "have mercy upon me, and forgive me all my ſins for "*Chriſt*'s ſake, who was crucified and raiſed again for "us, the Word and everlaſting image of thy perſon, whom "thou madeſt to be a propitiation, and alſo mediator "and interceſſor for thy people, by thy wonderful and "unſpeakable covenant; O ſanctify me by thy Holy "Spirit, and preſerve the remnant of thy church in theſe "lands, nor ſuffer the light of thine own goſpel to be "put out. Make my dear orphans veſſels of mercy. "Lord, I call upon thee; and though it be with a languid "and feeble faith, yet with faith notwithſtanding. I "truſt in thy promiſe, O thou Son of God, which thou "didſt ſeal by thy blood and by thy reſurrection. Help, "help me, Lord *Jeſus*, and ſupport and warm my boſom "with faith to the end!" Having repeatedly uttered theſe words, he inculcated upon his children his paternal advice, reſpecting the welfare of their ſouls, and ſpent the remainder of his time in prayer; and ſo quietly ended his

days at *Wittenberg*, on *November* the ſixteenth, in 1548, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. Conſidering the mutability of all ſublunary things, he uſed often to ſay,

"*Omnia prætereunt, præter amare deum.*"

All things muſt periſh, but God's love:
That only, nothing can remove.

He publiſhed ſome theological commentaries, upon the goſpel of St. *John*, upon the firſt epiſtle of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, upon the *Pſalms*, and upon two controverted articles in the *Nicene* creed. He wrote a tract of the "Method of teaching," which has been aſcribed to *Melanchon*. And the Chriſtian church is obliged to *Cruciger*'s nimble pen for many remains of *Luther*, which had otherwiſe been loſt.

PAULUS FAGIUS.

PAULUS FAGIUS, in the *German* language, called *Buchlin*, a learned divine, was born at *Reinzabern* in *Germany*, in the year 1504, and received the foundation of his learning in that town, under his father *Peter Buchlin*, who was chief ſchoolmaſter there. He was ſent to *Heidelberg* at eleven years of age, and at eighteen to *Straſburgh*; where not being properly ſupported, by reaſon of his parents narrow circumſtances, he had recourſe to teaching others, in order to find himſelf books and neceſſaries. The ſtudy of the *Hebrew* growing into vogue in *Germany*, *Fagius* applied himſelf to it; and by the help of *Capito*'s two books of rules and inſtructions for learning the *Hebrew*, and of *Elias Levita* a learned *Jew*, became a very great proficient in it. This branch of learning led him into a ſtrict acquaintance with *Capito*, *Hedio*, *Bucer*, *Zellius*, and other learned Reformers. In the year 1527, he took upon him the care of a ſchool at *Iſna*; where he married a wife, and had ſeveral children. Afterwards,



From an Original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Afterwards, quitting the ſchoolmaſter, he entered into the miniſtry, and became a ſedulous preacher. This was about the year 1537. *Petrus Buffierius*, one of the ſenators of *Iſna*, being informed of his perfect knowledge in the holy tongue, and of the natural biaſs which he had to learning, erected a printing-houſe at his own coſt and charge, to the end that *Fagius* might publiſh, whatever he might deem uſeful to religion and to poſterity: But the event did not anſwer the charges *Buffierus* had been at. *Fagius*, however, proſecuted his ſtudies with continued zeal, and was allowed to be one of the greateſt *Hebræans* of his time. He often employed his knowledge to the confutation of the *Jews*, with whom he had ſtrenuous debates. Mr. *Leigh* notes of him, that, as the *Jews* ſay of *Moſes Ben Maimon* (or *Maimonides*), from *Moſes* to *Moſes* not one has riſen up like this *Moſes*; ſo the *Germans* might add of *Paulus Fagius*, that from *Paul* to *Paul* not one, in this way, has appeared like this *Paul*.

In the year 1541, the plague began to ſpread at *Iſna*; when *Fagius* underſtanding, that the wealthieſt of the inhabitants were about to leave the place, without having any regard to the poorer ſort, he rebuked them openly, and admoniſhed them of their duty; that they ſhould either continue in the town, or liberally beſtow their alms before they went, for the relief of thoſe they left behind; adding that, during the time of their viſitation, he would himſelf in perſon viſit thoſe that were ſick, would adminiſter ſpiritual comfort to them, pray for them, and be preſent with them day and night: All which he did, and yet eſcaped the diſtemper. At the ſame ſeaſon, the plague was hot in *Straſburgh*, and, among many others, took off *Wolfgang Capito*; upon which *Fagius* was called by the ſenate to ſucceed him; and here he continued preaching till the beginning of the *German* wars. Then *Frederic* the ſecond, the prince elector palatine, intending a Reformation in his churches, called *Fagius* from *Straſburgh* to *Heidelberg*, and made him public profeſſor there: But the emperor prevailing againſt the elector, the Reformation was put a ſtop to. During his reſidence there, he publiſhed many books for the promotion of *Hebrew* learning; which were greatly approved by *Bucer*, *Hedio*, *Zellius*, and others, who were the firſt planters of the goſpel in thoſe parts, and who alſo employed him to read divinity lectures on week-days, and to officiate for them in other parts of their

paſtoral function, when they were hindered themſelves by ſickneſs or other important avocations. Even *Scaliger* confeſſed him to be the moſt learned of all the Chriſtians of his time in the *Hebrew* tongue.

His father dying in the year 1548, and the perſecution in *Germany* threatening pains, penalties and baniſhments to all, who did not profeſs the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; he and *Bucer* came over to *England*, upon receiving letters from archbiſhop *Cranmer*, in which they had repeated aſſurances of a kind reception and a handſome ſtipend, if they would continue there. They arrived in *April*, 1549; were cordially entertained for ſome time in the palace at *Lambeth*; and were deſtined at length to reſide at *Cambridge*; where they were to perfect a new tranſlation and illuſtration of the ſcriptures; *Fagius* taking the Old Teſtament, and *Bucer* the New, for their ſeveral parts. But this was all put an end to, by the ſudden illneſs and death of both theſe gracious and learned profeſſors. *Fagius* fell ill at *London* of a quartan fever, but would be removed to *Cambridge*, upon a preſumption of receiving benefit from the change of air. He died there upon the 13th of *November*, 1550, aged 45; and *Bucer* did not live above a year after him. See *Bucer*'s life. *Melchior Adam* ſays, that *Fagius* ſlept with great reſignation in *Chriſt*, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned; which laſt circumſtance is not mentioned by any of the *Engliſh* hiſtorians.

Both their bodies were dug up and burnt in the reign of queen *Mary*, both becauſe they had maintained the doctrine of predeſtination with the other Reformers, and becauſe they, in their writings, had highly commended thoſe Reformers. *Fagius* was tall in ſtature, ſomewhat black-viſaged; his countenance appeared ſtern, yet ſuch as commanded reverence; he was of an affable and courteous diſpoſition, affectionate, meek, and lowly; an excellent orator, and a great ſtudent, as appears by his works; which are, 1. A tranſlation of *Theſbites Elias*. 2. Apothegms of the *Hebrew* fathers. 3. Moral ſentences of *Ben Syra*, alphabetically digeſted, with notes. 4. The tranſlation of *Tobias Hebraicus*. 5. *Hebrew* prayers uſed by the *Jews* on their ſolemn feſtivals. 6. An expoſition of the *Hebrew* ſayings on the four firſt chapters of *Geneſis*, with the *Chaldee* paraphraſe of *Onkelos*. 7. Tranſlation of a book called, of the truth of faith; compiled by a converted *Jew*, to prove the verity of the Chriſtian religion. 8. Commentaries on certain Pſalms by *Kimchi*. 9. An

Hebrew

Hebrew preface to *Elias Levita's Chaldee* lexicon. 10. The Targum, with notes. 11. An introduction to the *Hebrew* tongue. And many others.

Melchior Adam has preſerved the heads of his valedictory ſermon, when *Fagius* left *Straſburgh*; in which, among other exhortations, he deſired his hearers; "not to raiſe "a diſturbance, nor attempt by human force, to keep "the miniſters of the goſpel among them, now attacked "by perſecution; but to read their bibles, to edify one "another, and to continue in the doctrine which had "been faithfully preached to them; to honour the mini-"ſters for their work's ſake, who were not ſent to ſerve "their own bellies, nor to pleaſe men; that the cauſes "of the preſent evil were, 1. That wherever God raiſed "a church, the devil would build a chapel by it. 2. "That the profeſſors of the goſpel had been too remiſs "and ſecure, ſo that the devil had ſown his tares. 3. "That they had been too little thankful for the divine "bleſſing of God's word. 4. That God would try his "own, and, by the trial, ſeparate the chaff from the "grain." He added concerning himſelf: "I hear the "trumpet of ſedition, upon this occaſion; but, I bleſs "God, I have inſtigated no man to follow it. This "cannot truly be ſaid of me. What I would confeſs is, "that I have been too little diligent in preaching the "goſpel among you; for which I implore pardon of my "God. Pray for me, that I may abide faithful in all "afflictions. I am *but* a man: And even *Peter* fell."— Thus humbly did this gracious man think and ſpeak of himſelf! He knew his own heart; and knew too, that nothing but almighty grace could keep that heart from falling. This is a point of wiſdom, which comes alone from heaven, and which is given to all the faithful in leading them thither.

MARTIN

MARTIN BUCER,

THE MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS proteſtant divine was born at *Scheleſtadt*, in *Alſace*, in 1491, and died at *Cambridge* in 1551. He was one of the ableſt miniſters of that century, and there were but few eccleſiaſtical negociations in which he was not employed. He wrote ſeveral books, and compoſed many lectures, in which he labored with great zeal, and much dexterity, to pacify the differences between the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He wiſhed that both parties had been leſs rigid; and that great affair might have happily ſucceeded, if all the heads had been perſons of a reconciling temper like himſelf.

Bucer was a man of immenſe learning. From his earlieſt youth he applied himſelf to acquire a thorough knowledge of the *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He read *Eraſmus*'s books with great attention. Meeting afterwards with ſome of *Luther*'s treatiſes, and comparing the doctrine there delivered with the ſcripture, he began to doubt of his *Romiſh* principles. His uncommon learning and eloquence, which was aſſiſted by a ſtrong and muſical voice, recommended him to the elector palatine, who made him one of his chaplains.

Bucer met *Luther* at the diet of *Worms* in 1521, when they paſſed ſeveral days in familiar converſation; after which *Bucer* embraced the doctrine of *Luther*, and openly profeſſed it from that time. Two years after, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in *Straſburgh*; and he ſubſcribed a book with them, which they publiſhed in 1524, ſetting forth the reaſons that induced them to renounce popery: But he wrote ſome tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians againſt *Brentius* and *Pomeranus*, who were Lutherans. He aſſiſted, in



From an original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza

BRITISH MUSEUM

in 1529, as deputy of the church of *Straſburgh*, in the conferences of *Marpurg*, where they endeavored to pacify the diſſentions between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians: But it was falſe, that he begun by being a ſacramentarian, for he followed *Luther* as the inſtrument of his converſion from the beginning.

The biſhop of *Meaux* endeavors to make *Bucer* paſs for a diſſembler, and alledges the teſtimony of *Calvin* for it. 'Whether *Bucer* had a formal deſign to triſle with the 'world by affected equivocations, or whether any con-'fuſed idea of reality made him believe, that he might 'ſincerely ſubſcribe to expreſſions ſo evidently contrary 'to the figurative ſenſe, is left to the judgement of the 'proteſtants. It is certain that *Calvin*, his friend, and 'in ſome meaſure his diſciple, when he would expreſs a 'blameable obſcurity in a profeſſion of faith, ſaid, that 'there was nothing ſo perplexed, ſo obſcure, ſo ambigu-'ous, ſo winding in *Bucer* himſelf.' It was ſaid by *Juſtus Jonas*, that there was in *Zuinglius* ſomething ruſtic, and a little arrogant: In *Oecolampadius* a wonderful good nature and clemency: In *Hedio* no leſs humanity and good nature: In *Bucer* a fox-like cunning, imitating prudence and ſagacity. But the biſhop of *Meaux* would not rely on the diſadvantageous judgement that this divine of *Saxony* made of *Bucer*, after the conferences of *Marpurg* in 1529.

All the works of *Bucer* were very moderate: But, it is ſaid, by one who was an Arminian in his heart, that *Calvin* caſtrated ſome of them at his pleaſure at *Geneva*. However, we are told, that '*Bucer* uſed, as often hap-'pens among learned men as long as they live, to reviſe 'his lucubrations, to add, or take away, and even to 'retract ſome things.' *Bucer* declares this concerning himſelf, in his preface to his commentaries on the goſpels, in theſe words: "This diſturbs ſome, becauſe they make "no doubt but many will be offended, that I now ſeem "not very conſiſtent with myſelf. Becauſe the Lord "has given me to underſtand ſome places more fully "than I formerly did, which as it is ſo bountifully given "to me, why ſhould I not impart it liberally to my "brethren, and ingenuouſly declare the goodneſs of the "Lord? What inconſiſtency is there in profiting in the "work of ſalvation? And who, in this age, or in the "laſt, has treated of the ſcripture, and has not experi-"enced, that, even in this ſtudy, one day is the ſcholar "of another?" Afterwards he produces the example of

Auguſtine in his retractions, and wiſhes that more books of retractions were publiſhed. If *Bucer* himſelf declares that he retracted many things of his former meditations, by what conſequence, or even with what conſcience, can any one aſſert, that the later editions of his works are corrupted; if every thing, in ſome places of them, is not found expreſſed in the very ſame words? *David Paræus* made a confeſſion like this of *Bucer*; for which he was inſulted by a jeſuit of *Mentz*.

Luther did not admire *Bucer*; and yet *Bucer* has been ranked with *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Cranmer*, as one of the promoters of the Reformation, to whom the proteſtants are more obliged than to *Eraſmus*, whoſe timidity offended the Reformers, by his obſtinately adhering to the interpretations of the church, upon whoſe authority he founded his faith and belief of the canonical ſcriptures. In a civil letter to *Bucer*, in 1527, *Eraſmus* ſets forth his reaſons why he could not join with the reformed; and gives them a very bad character; though he declares his eſteem for *Bucer*, who, like *Eraſmus*, endeavored to pacify the religious diſputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like *Eraſmus*, was inſulted by both parties.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that 'Bucer was a very learned, 'judicious, pious, and moderate perſon. Perhaps, he 'was inferior to none of all the Reformers for learning: 'But for zeal, true piety, and a moſt tender care of 'preſerving unity among the foreign churches, *Me-* 'lanctbon and he, without any injury done to the reſt, 'may be ranked apart by themſelves. At *Ratiſbon* he 'had a conference with *Gardiner*, who was then ambaſ- 'ſador from king *Henry* VIII. in which *Gardiner* broke 'out into ſuch a violent paſſion, that, as he ſpared no 'reproachful words, ſo the company thought he would 'have fallen on *Bucer* and beat him. He was in ſuch 'diſorder, that the little vein between his thumb and 'fore-finger did ſwell and palpitate, which *Bucer* ſaid he 'had never before that obſerved in any perſon in his life.' Even *Cochlæus* acknowledged, that *Bucer* and *Melanctbon* were very learned men. And cardinal *Contarene*, on his return out of *Germany* from the diſputation at *Ratiſbon*, being aſked his judgement of the *German* divines, anſwered; 'They have, among others, *Martin Bucer*, 'endowed with that excellency of learning both in the- 'ology and philoſophy, and, beſides, of that ſubtlety 'and happineſs in diſputation, that he alone may be ſet

'againſt

'againſt all our learned men.' *John Gropper*, likewiſe, ambaſſador of the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, ſaid of him, after the aſſembly at *Regenſpurg*, 'That he was the fitteſt 'man in the world to reform religion, becauſe he was 'not only very learned and exemplary in his life, but a 'great lover of peace and concord.'

The Sacramentarians preſented their confeſſion of faith at the diet of *Augſburgh*, in 1530. It was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito*, and approved by the ſenate of *Straſburgh*. They held, that men are only juſtified by the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and faith; but that faith ought to be attended with charity: And they allowed only of two ſacraments, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper.

The Lutherans and Zuinglians differed about the Lord's Supper, and were ſeparated as to communion. The Lutherans denied having any union with the Sacramentarians; and *they* were not able to bear the opinion of *Luther:* But there was a third party gathered out of both, who were ſenſible that they were not obliged to hold up their diviſions, and labored to perſuade them that their opinions were not ſo different, as was commonly thought, and that they might eaſily re-unite. *Bucer*, then a miniſter at *Straſburgh*, was at the head of this party, and undertook, purely out of a deſire of uniting the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up a confeſſion of faith, which both ſides might approve. The taſk was difficult to perform. *Luther*, and his followers, had always aſſerted, that the body and blood of *Chriſt* were really with the bread and wine in the Euchariſt. *Zuinglius*, and his adherents, on the contrary, held, that the bread and wine were only ſigns of the body and blood of *Chriſt*.

Theſe two propoſitions were directly contrary. *Bucer* found out a medium, which he thought might ſatisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the ſame ſubſtance, that they ever were, without any alteration; but, by receiving them, they received the ſubſtance of the real body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſpiritually, and by faith. He made uſe of the ſame ſort of expreſſions, as were made by the four imperial cities, *Straſburgh*, *Conſtance*, *Memminghen*, and *Lindau*, and preſented to the diet of *Augſburg*. He made alſo the ſame declaration to *Luther*, to perſuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the Euchariſt: But *Luther* knew the opinion of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to *Bucer*. He wrote a letter to the ſenate of *Francfort* upon this occaſion, in which having

ing clearly ſhewn the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he ſays, that the Zuinglians play after a ſtrange manner with the words of *Jeſus Chriſt:* That they are a double-tongued generation, who ſay that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are really in the ſacrament; but, when they explain themſelves, ſay, that it is ſpiritually, not corporeally; and ſo continue in the error, that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. The miniſters of *Francfort* made an apology againſt this letter, and made uſe of *Bucer*'s expreſſions, affirming that believers receive the true body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nouriſhment of their ſouls: That though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature, yet it cannot be ſaid, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except the bread and wine, but that it is the ſacrament of the true body and blood, which God has given us for the nouriſhment of our ſouls. The Zuinglians ſuſpected, on the other ſide, that *Bucer* was departed from their opinion; ſo that in his journey to *Zurick*, which he made in *May*, 1533, he was forced to remove that ſuſpicion, by aſſuring them, that he was of the ſame opinion which he maintained in the conference of *Bern*. He added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the opinion of *Luther* did not differ from *Zuinglius*, but in terms; and that the preſence of the body of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which he aſſerted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the doctrine of *Zuinglius*.

The miniſters of *Augſburg* alſo complained of *Bucer*, and accuſed him of having changed his opinion, by acknowledging that the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* was eat corporeally and ſubſtantially in the Lord's Supper, and exhorting others to ſubſcribe the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, and the apology. They plainly told him, that they would acknowledge no other preſence of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Lord's Supper, than that of which he ſpeaks in the ſixth chapter of St. *John*. *Bucer* replied, that the imperial cities had not, in the aſſembly of *Schweinfort*, departed from the confeſſion of faith, which they had given into the diet at *Augſburg*; and that, by ſubſcribing to the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, they had not aſſerted a corporeal eating, but only promiſed to teach nothing contrary to that confeſſion, which, in the article of the Lord's Supper, might agree with the doctrine of *Zuinglius*.

The miniſters of *Straſburgh* importuned the *Switzers* to draw up a confeſſion of their faith about the Lord's Supper.

Supper. It was compoſed at *Baſil* in theſe words. 'We 'acknowledge, that our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* inſtituted his 'holy Supper in remembrance of his paſſion, to publiſh 'his death with thankſgiving, to ſhew our Chriſtian 'charity, and union in the true faith. And as in bap-'tiſm the water retains its own nature; ſo in the Lord's 'Supper, in which the true body and true blood of *Jeſus* '*Chriſt* is ſignified and tendered to us with the bread and 'wine by the miniſter of the church, the bread and the 'wine remain. Now we firmly believe, that *Jeſus Chriſt* 'is the nouriſhment of faithful ſouls to eternal life, and 'that our ſouls are nouriſhed and watered by true faith in '*Jeſus Chriſt*, with his fleſh and his blood.' They added, in the margin of that confeſſion, ſome words, by which they reſtrained what they ſeemed to ſay, in favor of the real preſence, to a ſacramental and ſpiritual preſence by faith.

What oppoſition ſoever there was between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, *Bucer* would not deſpair of effecting an union; and, to that end, he obtained that a ſynod of the miniſters of the cities of *Upper Germany* ſhould meet at *Conſtance*, in 1534. The miniſters of *Zurick* were invited; but not being able to come, they ſent a confeſſion of their faith, in which they expreſſed their ſenſe of the ſacrament in the ſame words they had uſed at the conference at *Bern*; where they had declared, that they could not re-unite with *Luther*, unleſs he would acknowledge that they eat the fleſh of *Jeſus Chriſt*, no otherwiſe, than by faith; for, according to his human nature, he is only in heaven, and is only in the euchariſt by faith after a ſacramental manner, which makes things preſent not carnally and ſenſibly, but ſpiritually, and to be received by faith. This form, approved by the churches of *Baſil*, *Schaffhauſen*, and *Gall*, was received by the ſynod of *Conſtance*, and put into the hands of *Bucer* for him to communicate to *Luther* and *Melancthon*. *Bucer* had a conference with the latter at *Caſſel*, in the preſence of the landgrave, and told him, "that we received truly "and ſubſtantially the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, "when we receive the ſacrament: That the bread and "wine are exhibiting ſigns; and, by receiving them, "the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are given to us, "and received by us: That the bread and body of *Jeſus* "*Chriſt* are united, not by a mixture of ſubſtance, but "becauſe it is given with the ſacrament." *Melancthon* was inclinable enough to accept this expoſition: But,

becauſe he acted in the names of others, he would not conclude any thing, and obliged himſelf to give a fair account of *Bucer*'s words. *Luther* alſo began to be more tractable, after *Bucer* had made this declaration; and, in ſeveral letters, ſhewed great inclination for an agreement, and to confer about the means of coming to an union.

The miniſters and magiſtrates of the reformed cantons of *Switzerland*, met at *Baſil* in *January*, 1536, to draw up a confeſſion of faith. *Bucer* and *Capito* went thither and propounded an union with the Lutherans, aſſuring them that *Luther* was much mollified as to the Zuinglians, and deſired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them; and therefore prayed them, ſo to moderate the expreſſions of their confeſſion of faith, which they were about to draw up, eſpecially in the articles about the euchariſt, and the efficacy of the ſacraments, as that they might forward the union, by omitting ſuch words, as might occaſion a conteſt. This they partly obtained of the miniſters of *Switzerland*, from the confeſſion of faith which they had compoſed. They owned, that the ſacraments of baptiſm and the Lord's Supper were not mere ſigns, but made up of ſigns, and things ſignified. That the water was the ſign in baptiſm, and the thing ſignified was regeneration and adoption: That, in the euchariſt, the bread and wine are the ſigns, and the thing ſignified is the communion of the body of *Chriſt* received by faith: That the body and blood of *Chriſt* is offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, that *Jeſus Chriſt* may live in them, and they in *Jeſus Chriſt*; not that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally preſent; but becauſe they are ſymbols, by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* to nouriſh the ſoul ſpiritually. This confeſſion of faith was alſo approved in a ſecond aſſembly of the magiſtrates and miniſters of the proteſtant cantons of *Switzerland*, held at *Baſil* in *March* of the ſame year.

The miniſters of *Straſburgh* gave notice to thoſe of *Baſil* and *Zurick*, that they had appointed a ſynod to meet at *Eiſenach*, on the fourteenth of *May*, where *Luther* would be preſent to treat of an union about the article of the Lord's Supper; and intreated them to ſend ſome of their divines. The *Switzers* thought it inconſiſtent to ſend any perſons from them; but ſent their confeſſion of faith to *Bucer* and *Capito*, that they might preſent it to the ſynod. *Bucer* and *Capito* carried it to *Eiſenach*, where the

the miniſters, ſent by the chiefs of *Upper Germany*, were aſſembled. *Luther* could not be there; and therefore they went to him at *Wittenberg*, where they arrived on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, and had a conference with him. *Luther* required of them, that they would plainly acknowledge, that the bread and wine in the ſacrament were the body and blood of our Lord, and that the good and bad receive them alike. When they met again, the next day, *Luther* aſked them whether they would not revoke their opinion? *Bucer* anſwered him, that their faith and doctrine concerning the ſacrament was, that, by the inſtitution, and the operation of our Lord, and according to the natural ſenſe of the words, the true body and true blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* were made preſent, given, and received, with the viſible ſigns of bread and wine: That they alſo believed, that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are offered by the miniſters of the church to all thoſe that receive them: And that they are not only received by the heart and mouth of the godly for ſalvation, but by the mouth of the unworthy for their condemnation; which they yet deſire may be underſtood of the members of the church. *Luther* replied, he did not believe the body and blood of *Chriſt* were united with the bread and wine by any natural union, nor that they were locally included in the bread and wine; but he admitted a ſacramental union of the bread and body, and wine and blood. Then having conſulted privately with the *Saxon* divines, he returned to *Bucer* and his brethren, and told them, that if they did believe, and would teach, that the true body and true blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, were offered, given, and taken in the Lord's Supper, and not mere bread and wine; and that this perception and exhibition were made really, and not after an imaginary manner, they were agreed among themſelves, and he would acknowledge and embrace them as brethren in *Jeſus Chriſt*.

This confeſſion of faith was ſigned by the miniſters of the cities of *Upper Germany*. Afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of *May*, they conferred with *Pomeranus* about images, the ceremonies of the maſs, prieſts veſtments, tapers, the elevation and adoration of the ſacrament, which were yet uſed in *Saxony*. *Pomeranus* ſaid, that *Luther* confeſſed theſe things were amiſs: But that he had hitherto continued them up on account of the weak, and was thinking to aboliſh them on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month. *Bucer* and *Capito* delivered to *Luther* the confeſſion of faith of the churches of *Switzerland*, that he might examine it.

He

He took notice of ſome words, which, as he ſaid, might offend the weak. Nevertheleſs he declared, that he would acknowledge them for his brethren, if they would ſign the form of the union, which had been drawn up. *Bucer*, having undertaken to cauſe it to be received by them, returned to *Straſburgh*, and made ſuch an explication of the words, by ſoftening them, that he reduced them to a ſenſe, which was not contrary to the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. Theſe articles were ſucceſsful at *Straſburgh*; yet they had not the ſame fate in *Switzerland*, where *Bucer* had ſent this form of union. It was there thought obſcure, doubtful, and captious; and they would not ſubſcribe to it; ſo that *Bucer* and *Capito* were obliged to go themſelves to an aſſembly of the proteſtant cantons, which was held at *Baſil* in *September*. *Bucer* there related, that *Luther* had not diſapproved the confeſſion of the *Switzers:* But both parties judged it convenient to draw up a form of union; and he undertook to ſhew, that the doctrine of it was not different from their confeſſion of faith; and he exhorted them to ſign it, that the union might be complete. The *Switzers* could not be prevailed on to do it; and all that *Bucer* could obtain was, that they would draw up a declaration of the opinions of the churches of *Switzerland*, in which they would explain the articles of the agreement, and ſend them to *Luther*.

In this declaration, which is very long, the articles of the form of union about the Lord's Supper are delivered in ſuch expreſſions, as wholly favor the judgement of *Zuinglius*, and are oppoſite to the real preſence. They there ſay, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is the food of our ſouls, and that his body is really eaten, and his blood really drank, not carnally, ſubſtantially, and corporeally, but ſpiritually, and by faith, by believing the promiſes of God, that the elements of the bread and wine, in the adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, are ſigns which repreſent *Jeſus Chriſt* to us, and put us in mind of his myſteries: That his preſence in the Supper is not a corporeal preſence, but a cœleſtial one; and that his body is united to the bread only in a ſacramental manner: That the bread and wine are figures of the body of *Chriſt*, which is diſcerned by the mind in the ſacrament: That thoſe who eat the bread at the Lord's Supper, by a ſincere faith, receive the benefits which God hath promiſed; but that they, who eat without faith, receive their own judgement and condemnation. This declaration was compoſed in a ſynod at *Zurick*, held in *October*, and approved in another

another aſſembly, which met in *November* following at *Baſil*, from whence it was ſent to *Luther*, and preſented by *Bucer* at the aſſembly at *Smalkald*, in 1537. *Luther* approved all the articles, excepting that which contained the Lord's Supper.

The *Switzers* called a ſynod on purpoſe, in *March*, 1538, to conſult about an anſwer to *Luther*'s letter; and *Bucer* and *Capito* were ſent thither, to deliver his judgement. The miniſters of *Zurick* alledged, that *Luther*, in his writings, and in the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, had maintained the real preſence, and poſitively condemned the opinion of the Zuinglians. That theſe writings of *Luther* were public, and the words clear; nor could they allow of his doctrine, unleſs they were certain he had altered his opinion, and embraced the truth. *Bucer* was much amazed at this objection, and anſwered, that it was very unfit to preſs it at this time, ſince they had long known what was contained in *Luther*'s writings, and had never urged it before in the whole courſe of the treaty: That, now things were near an end, they had contrived to propound it, and revive the old quarrel to prevent the concluſion of the whole affair. The miniſters of *Zurick* replied, they never deſired the miniſters of *Straſburgh* to concern themſelves with the treaty: That *Bucer* and *Capito* came to find them, and aſſured them, that *Luther*'s opinion about the ſacrament agreed with theirs, and that they might unite with him, if they would frame a confeſſion of faith, which ſhould contain their opinion, and the conditions on which they would come to an agreement with *Luther:* That they had drawn up a confeſſion at *Baſil*, and delivered their opinion about the Lord's Supper fully: That if *Luther* had approved of their confeſſion of faith, there would have needed no more to be done towards an agreement; but, inſtead of that, *Bucer* had brought them other articles from *Wittenberg*, and prayed them to ſign thereto: That they had offered to do it, provided *Luther* liked the explication which *Bucer* gave of them: That at laſt, they had ſent a declaration of their opinions, which they were reſolved to abide by, and would not conſent to any thing new or obſcure. *Bucer*, the next day, made a long diſcourſe, in which he labored to prove, that there was no other difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about their opinion concerning the Lord's Supper, but in words, and expreſſions. However, the miniſters of *Zurick* continued to declare, that they would keep cloſe to the confeſſion

of *Baſil*, and the diſpute at *Bern*; that the words, which *Luther* had always uſed, were directly contrary to their opinions; that they could not explain themſelves in any other terms without force, becauſe they were clear and without ambiguity: That it was not reaſonable to judge of the opinion of any man, rather by the declaration of another, than from his own words: That *Luther*, in his laſt letter, had named *Bucer* and *Capito*, for his interpreters; but it was to be feared that in the iſſue he would blame them for being too eaſy, and going too far, and ſo would not conſent to the declaration they ſhould make. Then the miniſters of *Zurick* came to debate the matter with *Bucer*, and brought him to grant, that theſe words, *this is my body*, were figurative: That the ſacramental union of the body of *Chriſt* with the bread, conſiſted only in this, that the bread ſignified the body: That the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is eſſentially at the right-hand of the Father, and after a ſpiritual manner in the ſacrament. They diſputed upon this queſtion: Whether the preſence of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the Lord's Supper, was miraculous? *Luther* had ſaid, in his laſt letter, that the preſence was inexplicable, and an effect of the divine omnipotence. The miniſters of *Zurick* would not allow any miracle to be in the Lord's Supper, and maintained that it was eaſy to explain after what manner *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſpiritually preſent by operation and efficacy. They urged *Bucer* to ſign the articles, on which they were agreed: But he deſired time; and drew up a long inſtrument, in form of a verbal proceſs, containing what had been ſaid on both ſides, which was diſapproved by the aſſembly.

The chancellor of *Zurick*, being ſenſible if they went on diſputing there would be no end, turned his ſpeech to the miniſters of *Zurick*, and ſaid; 'Do you believe that 'we receive the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the 'ſacrament, or no?' They all anſwered, 'We believe 'it.' Then turning himſelf to *Bucer* and *Capito*, he ſaid to them; 'Do you own that the body and blood of *Jeſus* 'Chriſt is received into the ſouls of believers by faith 'and ſpirit?' They anſwered; "We believe, and con-"feſs it." 'To what purpoſe then, (replied the chan-'cellor) are all your diſputes, which have laſted theſe 'three days?' The miniſters of *Zurick* added, that they held no other doctrine, than that which they had expreſſed in their confeſſion of faith, and their declaration: And the miniſters of *Straſburgh* ſolemnly declared, that they would not oblige them to embrace any thing con-

trary to it; much leſs draw any perſon from that doctrine.

Upon theſe declarations it was agreed, that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to *Luther*, which was drawn up and read two days after in the aſſembly. The *Switzers* were very careful it ſhould be expreſſed, that, in their joining with *Luther*, they would not change their opinion about the Lord's Supper; for they declared, they did not enter into that union, till they were aſſured, by *Bucer* and *Capito*, that *Luther* approved their confeſſion of faith made at *Baſil*, with the expoſition they had given of it; and becauſe he had declared to them, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was at the right-hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper; and that he did not grant any preſence of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the euchariſt, nor any manducation contrary to the Chriſtian faith. They alſo declared, that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper: but only ſo far as they were truly taken and received by faith; and that they would not recede from their confeſſion of faith, and their declaration: That as *Luther* was of the ſame opinion, they were filled with extreme joy, that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, and avoid all diſcord. This letter was dated the fourth of *May*, 1538.

Bucer was embarraſſed between the opinions of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* concerning the euchariſt: One appeared to him too ſtrong, the other too weak. The doctrine of the Lutherans ſeemed to him to attribute too much reality to the preſence of *Jeſus Chriſt* in the ſacrament of the euchariſt. He could not digeſt the conſequences of it: But he alſo thought, that the opinion of the Zuinglians was too narrow, and did not come up to the ideas, which the ſcripture and antient tradition imprint on our minds. They gave him great uneaſineſs; and he wrote to *John à Laſco*, overſeer of the churches of *Eaſt Frieſeland*, to enquire, whether *à Laſco*, beſides a power of ſignifying, acknowledged a power of exhibiting *Chriſt* himſelf; and that the Lord, in the communion of his body and blood, is given and received; whereby we are members of him in part, and fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us; and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himſelf operates in his miniſtry, and when the words and ſymbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himſelf, by free diſpenſation through his miniſters, which

they call an union, not ſenſual, local, or natural; but ſacramental, and of the covenant on account of theſe texts of ſcripture, which ſpeak of the myſtery of the incorporation of the church, and of the communion, and eating and drinking of the fleſh and blood of *Chriſt*.

Bucer alſo ſaid, that *Luther* was ſatisfied, if the Zuinglians owned in the holy ſupper any thing more than bare ſigns of *Chriſt* abſent. "I am grieved, ſays he, and "not without reaſon, that we, to whom the Lord hath "ſo bountifully revealed the other myſteries of his "kingdom, have not been able, now in thirty-four "years, to agree concerning this moſt ſacred and moſt "general myſtery, which all Chriſtians ought to under-"ſtand, as well as uſe."

The Lutherans ſaid, that *Bucer* died in the Calviniſtical faith. *Joſias Simler*, profeſſor at *Zurick*, in an oration on the life and death of *Peter Martyr*, teſtifies that *Bucer* ſtudied ſuch expreſſions throughout the whole conteſt, as nothing certain could be concluded from, that ſo, pleaſing both parties, he might gradually compoſe the difference. However, *Bucer* and *Martyr* continued good friends, and were fully perſuaded of each other's oxthodoxy.

Bucer has been accuſed of approaching too near the papiſtical doctrine of the merit of good works*; but this does

* The late Mr. *Toplady*, in his *Hiſtoric Proof*, has defended *Bucer* from this imputation. See p. 363. His words are: 'It has been 'affirmed, that *Bucer* held the doctrine of juſtification by works, and 'believed human obedience to be meritorious in the ſight of God. 'That he was once of this opinion, is not at all wonderful, when 'we conſider that he was born and educated in the boſom of the '*Romiſh* church, with whom the tenet of legal juſtification is a fun-'damental principle. And, for a conſiderable time after God had 'called him out of papal darkneſs, his improvements in divine know-'ledge were progreſſive. His ſpiritual growth reſembled the gradual 'vegetation of an oak; not the rapid proficiency of a muſhroom. '*Bucer* ſeems to have expreſſed himſelf the moſt incautiouſly, in the 'diſputation at *Leipſic*, A. D. 1539; yet, even then, he roundly de-'clared, that "thoſe GOOD WORKS, to which ſo great a reward is "given, ARE THEMSELVES THE GIFT OF GOD." And that 'paſſage, which *Voſſius* quotes from *Bucer*, falls extremely ſhort of 'proving that the latter was, even at the early period in which he 'penned it, an aſſertor of juſtification by performances of our own. 'Impartiality obliges me to ſubjoin that celebrated paſſage, which ſo 'many Arminians and merit-mongers have ſince caught at, as if it 'made for the popiſh doctrine of juſtification. "I cannot but wiſh," 'ſaid *Bucer*, in the year 1529, "a more ſound judgement to ſome "perſons, who have diſturbed many in this our age with this para-

"dox,

does not appear in his diſpute with *Malvenda* and other popiſh divines at the conference at *Ratiſbon* in 1546, where (according to *Sleidan*) he maintained; "That a "man

"dox, That we are ſaved by faith only: Though they ſaw the thing "was carried ſo far, as to confine righteouſneſs only to the opinion "of the mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity, "who refuſe to cure this evil, by one word or two? It is only to ſay, "that, when FAITH is formed, we are JUSTIFIED; and that, "through faith, we obtain a diſpoſition to GOOD WORKS, and, con-"ſequently, a righteouſneſs: Or, that FAITH IS THE FOUNDA-"TION AND ROOT OF A RIGHTEOUS LIFE, as *Auguſtine* ſaid."

'Is there a ſingle ſentence, in this paragraph, to which the ſtricteſt 'Calviniſt would not conſent? Obſerve the order, in which *Bucer* 'arranges faith, juſtification, and obedience. *Faith* goes before; '*juſtification* follows faith; and practical *obedience* follows juſtifica-'tion: We firſt *believe*; we no ſooner believe, than we are *juſtified*; 'and the faith, which juſtifies, diſpoſes us to the after-performance of '*good works*: Or, in other words, *juſtifying faith* "is the *root* and "*foundation* of a *righteous life*." Says not every Calviniſt the ſame?

'As *Bucer* advanced in years and experience, he learned to expreſs 'his idea of juſtification with ſtill greater clearneſs and preciſion, 'than he had done on ſome paſt occaſions. Finding that the enemies 'of grace had greedily lain hold of ſome inadvertent phraſes, and 'taken ungenerous advantage of ſome well-meant conceſſions, which 'he had made, before his evangelical light was at the full; he 'deemed it neceſſary, to *retract* ſuch of his poſitions as countenanced 'the merit of works; and to place juſtification on the ſcriptural baſis 'of the Father's gratuitous goodneſs, and the Son's imputed righte-'ouſneſs: Still, however, taking care to inculcate, that the *faith*, by 'which we receive the grace of God and the righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*, 'is the certain ſource of all *good works*.—For being thus honeſt to his 'convictions, he was loaded, by his adverſaries, with accumulated 'ſlander and reproach. How modeſtly, and forcibly, he vindicated 'his conduct, may be judged from the following paſſage: "The "Lord, (ſays *Bucer*) has given me to underſtand ſome places [*of* "*ſcripture*] more fully than I formerly did: Which, as it is ſo boun-"tifully given to me, why ſhould I not impart it liberally to my "brethren, and ingenuouſly declare the goodneſs of the Lord? What "inconſiſtency is there, in profiting in the work of ſalvation? And "who, in this age, or in the laſt, has treated of the ſcripture, and "has not experienced, that, even in this ſtudy, one day is the ſcho-"lar of another?"

'Indeed, no ſtronger proof need be given, of *Bucer*'s ſoundneſs in 'the article of juſtification, than the rapture and admiration with 'which he mentions the *Engliſh* book of HOMILIES. No ſooner, 'ſays Mr. *Strype*, were the homilies compoſed, and ſent abroad; but 'the news thereof (and the book itſelf, as it ſeemed, already tranſ-'lated into *Latin*) came to *Straſburgh*, among the proteſtants there: 'Where it cauſed great rejoicing. And *Bucer*, one of the chief mi-'niſters there, wrote a gratulatory epiſtle hereupon to the church of '*England*, in *November*, 1547, which was printed in the year after. 'Therein, that learned and moderate man ſhewed, "How theſe "pious ſermons were come among them, wherein the people were ſo

"godlily

" man is not juſtified before God through his own " works or merits, but that he is freely juſtified through " *Chriſt* by faith, when he believeth, both that he is " received into grace, and that his ſins are pardoned " through *Chriſt*: That *Chriſt*, by his death, made ſatis- " faction for our ſins; and that God doth impute faith " for righteouſneſs:" All which he proved and illuſ- trated by teſtimonies from ſcripture, and confuted the arguments of *Malvenda*.

That *Bucer* was alſo, in the other points, a ſtrict Re- former, let his own words teſtify: " Predeſtination, " (ſays he) is neither more nor leſs than pre-limitation, " or fore-appointment: And God, who conſigns every " thing to its proper uſe, worketh all things agreeably " to its pre-determination; and, accordingly, ſeparates " one thing from another, ſo as to make each thing " anſwer to its reſpective uſe. If you deſire a more " extenſive definition of this predeſtination, take it thus; " predeſtination is an appointment of every thing to its " proper uſe; by which appointment, God doth, before " he made them, even from eternity, deſtine all things " whatever to ſome certain and particular uſe. Hence " it follows, that even wicked men are predeſtinated. " For, as God forms them out of nothing, ſo he forms " them to ſome determinate end: For he does all things, " knowingly, and wiſely. *The Lord hath made all things* " *for himſelf, even the wicked for the day of evil.* [Prov. " xvi. 4.] Divines, however, do not uſually call this " *predeſtination*; but, *reprobation*.——'Tis certain, that " God makes a good uſe of evil itſelf: And every ſin we " commit, hath ſomething in it of the good work of " God.——Scripture does not heſitate to affirm, that " there are ſome perſons, whom God delivers over to a

" godlily and effectually exhorted to the reading of the holy ſcrip- " tures; and FAITH was ſo well explained, whereby we become " Chriſtians; JUSTIFICATION, whereby we are ſaved; and the " other chief heads of Chriſtian religion are ſoundly handled. And " therefore, (as he added) theſe foundations being rightly laid, there " could nothing be wanting in our churches, requiſite towards the " building hereupon ſound doctrine and diſcipline." 'He com- 'mended much the homilies of FAITH, the nature and force of which 'was ſo clearly diſcuſſed; and wherein it was ſo well diſtinguiſhed 'from the faith that was dead. He much approved of the manner 'of treating concerning the miſery and death, we are all lapſed into, 'by the ſin of our firſt parent; and how we are reſcued from this 'perdition, ONLY by the GRACE of GOD, and by the MERIT and 'reſurrection of his Son.'

" reprobate

" reprobate ſenſe, and whom he forms for deſtruction:
" Why, therefore, ſhould it be deemed derogatory from
" God, to aſſert, that he not only does this, but reſolved
" beforehand to do it?"

Nothing can be more plain and nervous, than the following remarks of *Bucer*, reſpecting God's obduration of *Pharaoh*. Whether the remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my province to enquire. " The
" apoſtle ſays, *Who may reſiſt the will of God?* By the
" word *will*, *Paul* gives us to underſtand, that God
" actually willeth thoſe very things, unto which men
" are hardened by him. When *Paul* adds, *Who may*
" *reſiſt?* he, in fact, points out the neceſſity, which
" they, whom God hardens, are under of doing thoſe
" things. When God would harden *Pharaoh*, in order
" that he might not obey the commandment, it was the
" actual will of God that *Pharaoh* ſhould not obey.
" Yea, God himſelf wrought in *Pharaoh* to oppoſe the
" commandment ſent to him. *Pharaoh* therefore did
" what in reality he willed him to do; yea, he did no more
" than what God himſelf had wrought in him: Nor
" was it in *Pharaoh*'s power, to act otherwiſe than he
" did." Such was the doctrine taught by this able and indefatigable divine. Willing, however, to obviate any exceptions, which thoſe perſons might raiſe, who had not ſtudied theſe deep points ſo carefully and ſo extenſively as he had been enabled to do; he, preſently after, ſhelters both his doctrine and himſelf under the following words, and the correſpondent practice, of the great apoſtle whom he had quoted before: " *Nay but,*
" *O man,* [*Who art thou that replieſt againſt God?*] St.
" *Paul* does not accommodate, nor ſoften down, a ſingle
" ſyllable of what he had juſt aſſerted. The ſacred pen-
" man does not deny, that they, who are hardened by
" God, periſh according to the will of God. The
" apoſtle does not admit it to be even poſſible, that a
" perſon, who is hardened from above, can perform what
" is good. *Paul* [inſtead of ſetting himſelf to anſwer
" our reaſonings on the matter] contents himſelf with
" merely giving us a ſolemn caution, not to ſit in judge-
" ment on the decrees of God: Aſſuring us, that we
" cannot arraign the Deity at our own bar, without
" being guilty of the uttermoſt boldneſs and impiety."
If *Bucer* was not a Calviniſt, where ſhall we find one? I cannot prevail on myſelf to defraud the Readers of a few more citations, which may be found in another

moſt

moſt valuable work of *Bucer*, entitled, "A continued "Interpretation of the Four Goſpels." And they are the rather ſubjoined, as the book itſelf is exceeding ſcarce, and poſſibly may be in the hands of very few of our Readers. "They, who are at any "time able to fall quite away from *Chriſt*, did never "really belong to him. Conſequently, they never truly "believed, nor were indeed pious, nor had the holy "Spirit of adoption: On the contrary, all their per-"formances were nothing but hypocriſy, how ſanctified "and ready ſoever unto good works they, for a time, "pretended to be. They, whom *Chriſt* loves, are loved "by him even unto the end: And he doth not caſt away "thoſe whom the Father giveth him; neither can any "ſnatch them from his hand. Therefore, admitting "that theſe may fall, yet they cannot fall utterly; for "they are elect unto life: And God's election cannot "be made void by any creature whatever. Seeing, then, "that *the purpoſe of God, according to election, may ſtand, "not of works, but of him that calleth*: [Rom. ix. 2.] "He not only elected his own people, *before they were "born, and had done either good or evil*, [Rom. ix. 11.] "but even *before the very foundation of the world.* [Eph. "i. 4.] Hence, our Lord ſaid, concerning his apoſtles, "*I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou haſt "given me; for they are thine:* That is, they were choſen "by thee unto life.

"As, therefore, on the one hand, *Chriſt never knew* "[i. e. never loved] the reprobate, whatever deceitful "appearance of virtue they might have; ſo, on the "other, he *always knew* [i. e. always loved] the elect, "how ungodly ſoever they might ſeem for a time. "Conſequently, as theſe [i. e. the elect] are predeſti-"nated and called, they ſhall, ſooner or later, be "formed anew, according to the likeneſs of *Chriſt:* "While thoſe [i. e. the reprobate] ſhall be ſtripped of "that artificial maſk, under which they paſſed for chil-"dren of God; and be made to appear in their own "proper colours."—On thoſe words of *Chriſt*, *ye believe not, becauſe ye are not of my ſheep*; *Bucer* thus remarks: "They were not of our Lord's ſheep, i. e. they were "not in the number of thoſe who were given to him by "the Father; they were not elected unto life. There-"fore it was, that they were totally deſtitute of God's "good Spirit, and were utterly immerſed in fleſh: "Neither were they able to believe in our Lord, nor to "embrace him as a Saviour."—A little farther on, we find

find this admirable commentator obſerving as follows: "*My ſheep hear my voice, &c.* In theſe words, our Lord "expreſsly teaches, that all good things are dependent "on God's election: And that they, to whom it is once "given to be ſheep, can never periſh afterwards. *Chriſt* "here tells us, that they alone *hear his voice:* That is, "they, who are indeed his ſheep, are made partakers of "faith. Now, whence is it, that ſome people are "*Chriſt*'s ſheep, or ſuſceptible of his doctrine, while "others are not? Undoubtedly, becauſe the former are "inſpired by the good Spirit of God, whereas the latter "are not inſpired at all.—But whence is it, that the "former are indued with the Holy Spirit, and not the "latter? For this reaſon: Becauſe the former were "given to *Chriſt*, to be ſaved by him; but the latter "were not given to him. Let us therefore allow "God the honour of being the beſtower of his own "Spirit, without ſuppoſing him to need or receive any "of our aſſiſtance. *Chriſt* adds, *And I know them:* i. e. "They are committed to my truſt; I have them in ſpe-"cial charge. And doubtleſs, from hence it is, that "his ſheep follow him; and live the life which never "ends. The Father gave them to him, that he might "endue them with life eternal: And they can no more "be *plucked from Chriſt*'s hand, than from the hand of "the Father, who is mightier and *greater than all. Chriſt* "and the Father are *one:* Their power and ſtrength are "the ſame. Conſequently, as none can pluck the elect "from the Father's hand, ſo neither from the hand of "*Chriſt.*——We are to obſerve moreover, that it flows "only from God's election, that we are the ſheep of "*Chriſt* and follow him. We muſt obſerve, too, that "ſuch can never entirely fall away. For, the Father "and the Son being undivided, their hand, that is, their "power, muſt be undivided alſo: And, out of their "hand, none ſhall never ſnatch thoſe whom that hand "has once laid hold on for ſalvation. Now, unto "whomſoever it ſhall be given to hear the voice of "*Chriſt*, and to follow him; they may be ſaid to be "thus lain hold on. [by the hand, or power, of divine "grace], ſeeing, none but the ſheep are able to hear and "follow the Redeemer. And, if they are ſheep now, "they are ſo held in the hand of *Chriſt* and of the Fa-"ther, as never to periſh, but to have eternal life."

Bucer was at the diet of *Ratiſbon*, in 1541, with *Melancthon* and *Piſtorius:* And he alſo accompanied *Brentius*,

Major, and *Schneppius*, at the conference of *Ratiſbon* in 1545. He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on both occaſions againſt *Cochlæus*, and the other diſputants for the Romaniſts: But he was much troubled to ſee the diſpute between the Lutherans and Zuinglians hotter than ever. He wrote to *Luther*, to pacify him. He told him, that theſe diviſions would not advance the Reformation; and aſſured him, that the miniſters of the imperial cities and *Switzerland* held to the terms of the act of agreement.

Bucer, at the ſame time, drew up a new confeſſion of faith about the euchariſt, in which he aſſerted, that we ought to acknowledge, that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are given us in the Lord's Supper, for our nouriſhment and drink; and that the euchariſt bread and wine are the communion of his body and blood; ſo that we not only receive the Holy Spirit, or the virtue of the body of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf. After this explication, he added ſeveral other conſiderations, to let us know, that manducation is not real, and is only done by faith: But he acknowledged, that the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* are really and truly given in the Lord's Supper, if it is celebrated according to the inſtitution of *Chriſt*, and we have a firm faith in the words in which it was given.

Bucer, in his diſcourſes and writings, always made profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, accommodated to the eſtabliſhment in *England*. It is falſe, that he made a ſeparate ſect. He continued always united with one of the Proteſtant communions; though the ſtricter part of each party did not approve his remiſsneſs.

He offended *Luther*, by inſerting ſome things in his eccleſiaſtical poſtill, which made for the Helvetic opinion, concerning the Holy Supper; therefore *Luther*, in his book '*de verbis inſtitutionis*,' vehemently complained of *Bucer*, that he had corrupted his book of homilies, which, he ſaid, was the beſt of all that he had wrote, and which even pleaſed the papiſts. *Bucer* was at no loſs for an excuſe; and might have alledged the maxim which *Eraſmus* attributed to him, "That a deceit which hurts "nobody, and is uſeful to many, is an action of piety." *Eraſmus* endeavored to refute him in this, on occaſion of a work, which *Bucer* had dedicated to the dauphin under a fictitious name.

Bucer had a great quarrel with *Pomeranus*, for having cauſed *Luther*'s commentary on the *Pſalms* to be printed with alterations. He was deſirous to have his own commentaries

mentaries on the *Pſalms* read by the Romaniſts, and publiſhed them under the name of *Arethius*, which is a *Greek* word, anſwering to *Martin*; and *Felinus*, a *German* word, expreſſing the ſignification of *Bucer* in *Latin*. If he had put his true name to them, which was hated by the monks, the reading of them would have been forbidden in the popiſh countries. The prieſts, in the inquiſition in *Spain*, imagined that *Bucer*'s book "*adverſus* "*merita bonorum operum*," was publiſhed as a work of the biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *de miſericordiâ Dei*.

It is ſaid, the firſt Reformers clamored loudly againſt the peripatetic philoſophy, which was founded by *Ariſtotle*, commonly called the prince of philoſophers. We are told, that *Thomas Aquinas* made uſe of *Ariſtotle*'s method, with ſuch great ſucceſs, in explaining the doctrines of the church of *Rome*, that *Bucer*, one of the greateſt enemies to the *Roman* church, uſed to ſay, "Suppreſs *Thomas*'s works, and I will deſtroy the church "of *Rome*." If he ſaid this, he ſaid it with but very little reaſon; as a curſory examination of *Aquinas* is ſufficient to ſhew.

It is well known, that the doctrine of the ſacraments was purified from the *Romiſh* idolatry, and from ſcholaſtical phraſes, by *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*; and that the loſs, which the canton of *Zurick* ſuſtained in the fight, wherein *Zuinglius* was killed, broke the league lately concluded between the cantons of *Switzerland*, the city of *Straſburgh*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*. Whereupon *Martin Bucer*, being too timorous, was afraid that the whole party would ſink, unleſs he ſtrengthened, with a new alliance, the towns of *Upper Germany*, and particularly *Straſburgh*, where he taught. He caſt his eye upon the potent duke of *Saxony*; and the better to gain him, he endeavored to make every body believe, that the opinions of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Lord's Supper, were the ſame in the main, and that a mere diſpute about words had prevented their agreement. He further ſaid, that it was better to uſe the expreſſions of *Luther*, than of *Zuinglius*; becauſe the latter ſpoke too meanly of the euchariſt, and the other in a ſublime manner. He inſpired the ſame thoughts into *John Calvin*, who had gone from *France* to *Straſburgh*. This intrigue of *Bucer* introduced the Lutheran expreſſions into the towns of *Upper Germany*, eſpecially after the fatal concordate of *Wittenberg*. The divines, who taught in *Saxony*, under the elector *Chriſtian*, uſed themſelves to

thoſe phraſes of conſubſtantiation, *phraſibus illis ſynuſiaſticis aſſueverant*; ſo that being expelled after that prince's death, and retiring into the palatine, they took the miniſters who uſed *Zuinglius*'s expreſſions in that country to be heterodox, which occaſioned a diſſenſion; but it was ſo happily, and ſo quickly, ſuppreſſed, that from that time forward there was viſibly a better underſtanding between the divines of the univerſity and the reſt.

We are told, that *Bucer* repented of having mediated the formulary of concord in 1536. "*Bucerus dixit ſe* "*pœnas dare quod cauſam publicam homo privatus voluiſſet* "*componere, & tam multa prava dogmata conciliare.*" *Peter Martyr*, who heard him ſay ſo in *England*, told *Bullinger* of it; *Daniel Toſſanus* had it from *Bullinger*, and *Pozelius* from *Daniel Toſſanus*, in the preſence of *Scultetus*, who inſerted it in the hiſtory of his life. *Calvin*'s friends accuſed *Bucer* of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called Buceriſm, in oppoſition to Calviniſm. This Buceriſm conſiſted principally in his approving epiſcopacy. But *Calvin* denied, that he ever laid this to *Bucer*'s charge; and wiſhed that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifeſt from his writings, eſpecially from the form of Reformation, preſcribed to *Herman*, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and what he wrote for the Reformation of *England*. As *Bucer* came nearer the church of *Rome* than *Luther*, *Calvin* departed farther from it than *Luther*; ſo that there aroſe two denominations beſides Lutheraniſm; that is, Buceriſm, and Calviniſm. *Calvin* confeſſed that Buceriſm was more tolerable than Calviniſm, if the matter was not to be tried by the ſcriptures; and that *Bucer* ſtudied peace too much: But he himſelf meaſured all things by truth. Theſe are *Calvin*'s words to *Bucer*: 'You have no occaſion to make any excuſe to me, that you are not erecting a new popery; but I would have your integrity ſo well known to all the world, that no room might be left for ſuſpicion. It is alſo unneceſſary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of Calviniſm: If we might vary from the ſcripture, I know very well how much more tolerable Buceriſm is than Calviniſm.'

Herman de Wida, archbiſhop of *Cologne*, having a mind to ſettle the Reformation in his dioceſe, ſent for *Martin Bucer* in the year 1542. Moſt of the canons oppoſed the enterprize, and publiſhed a work, wherein they mixed a great

a great many invectives againſt *Bucer*. *Melanchon*, in confuting that piece, did not forget this article: He maintained, that the nun, whom *Bucer* had married for his firſt wife, did well in forſaking the church of *Rome*, after ſhe had diſcovered the idolatry of its worſhip. He added, that ſhe had led a very exemplary life, by her chaſtity, modeſty, and piety; that ſhe had been brought to-bed thirteen times; and that ſhe died of the plague, which ſhe might have eſcaped, if ſhe would have left her huſband. It would have been a pity ſo fruitful a woman ſhould have remained in a nunnery: And as there are many others as fit to people the world, who are hindered by monaſtries, one may eaſily judge of what prejudice theſe monaſtical vows are to the temporal good of the ſtate. *Bucer* married a ſecond time to a widow; which gave the canons of *Cologne* occaſion to reproach him with another irregularity; becauſe, according to St. *Paul*, a biſhop ought to be the huſband of one wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a ſecond time, nor to marry a widow.

The word of God, ſay they, directs, that he, who is called to the miniſtry, ſhould be the huſband of one wife, 1 *Tim.* iii. and *Titus* i. which the canons of the apoſtles, and apoſtolical fathers, have ever to this day underſtood in this ſenſe, that he who, enters into a ſecond marriage, or marries a widow, cannot be one of thoſe that ſerve in the holy miniſtry. *Melanchon* eaſily confuted this objection: But we are told, that *Bucer* was married a third time.

Martin Bucer, and *Paulus Fagius*, at the inſtance of archbiſhop *Cranmer*, were ſent for by king *Edward* VI. from *Straſburgh*, to become profeſſors in *Cambridge*. My author, a *German*, makes them to depart thence, *Magiſtratus Argentinenſis voluntate et conſenſu*, whom the Jeſuit *Parſons* will have both baniſhed by that ſtate. If ſo, the diſgrace is none at all, to be exiled for no other guilt than preaching the goſpel, and oppoſing the *Augſburg* confeſſion, which that imperial city embraced. Beſides, the greater the providence, if, when commanded from one place, inſtantly to be called to another. They came to *England*, and were fixed at *Cambridge*, where *Bucer* was made profeſſor of divinity, *Fagius* of *Hebrew*. The former had the ordinary ſtipend of his place tripled unto him, as well it might, conſidering his worth, being of ſo much merit; his need, having wife and children; and his condition, coming here a foreigner, and fetched from a far country.

country. So it was ordered, that *Fagius* ſhould in *Hebrew* read the evangelical prophet *Iſaiah*, and *Bucer* in *Greek* the prophetical evangeliſt St. *John*.—But, alas! the change of air and diet ſo wrought on their temper, that both fell ſick together. *Bucer* hardly recovered; but *Fagius*, that flouriſhing tree (nature not agreeing with his tranſplanting) withered away in the flower of his age, at ſcarce forty-five, and was buried in the church of St. *Michael*.

Calvin exhorted *Bucer* to order matters in ſuch a manner, that the Reformation of *England* might be well purged of all remains of popery. He lets him know, that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill ſuſpicions, which ſeveral had conceived of his inclining to both ſides.

Calvin writes to him thus: 'I ſhall endeavour, according to your deſire, to adviſe the lord protector as the preſent ſtate of affairs require. It will be your buſineſs to preſs him every way, if you can but gain audience, as I am perſuaded you do; but chiefly, that all ceremonies may be aboliſhed, which any way ſavour of ſuperſtition. This, particularly, I recommend to you, that you free yourſelf from envy, which you know you labour under, without cauſe, among ſeveral perſons; for they always call you the author or approver of indifferent [or, moderate] councils. I know that this ſuſpicion is ſo deeply rooted in the minds of ſome people, that you will ſcarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing: And ſome there are who ſlander you, not out of miſtake, but mere malice. In ſhort, this evil is, as it were, deſtined for you, and you will hardly be able to eſcape it; but you muſt take care not to give the ignorant occaſion to think ill of you, or a handle to the wicked to reproach you.' It does not appear that *Bucer* took any notice of theſe admonitions: Yet *Calvin* teſtifies, that he expected great things from him, if death had not taken him away ſo ſoon.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who had ſettled *Bucer* at *Cambridge*, wrote to him, for his opinion upon the point in diſpute between his grace and doctor *Hooper*, who accepted the king's nomination to the biſhopric of *Glouceſter*, yet refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit; and *Cranmer* would not conſecrate him without it. The archbiſhop ſuſpended *Hooper* from preaching till he would conform himſelf to the laws. The king was then moved to write to *Cranmer*, and to diſcharge him from all

all penalties, and forfeitures, which his grace might otherwiſe be liable to, in diſpenſing with all theſe uſual rites, to which *Hooper* had an objection. But as the archbiſhop could not comply with the king's requeſt without violating the laws, and incurring a præmunire, ſo it was puſhed no farther by his majeſty, till *Hooper* had ſatisfied himſelf by conſulting with *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, who told him, that, in the buſineſs of religious rites, they were for keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the holy ſcriptures, and the moſt uncorrupt ages of the church: But, however, they could not go ſo far as to believe, that the ſubſtance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. *Hooper* continued obſtinate; and *Martyr* tells *Bucer*, in one of his letters, his buſineſs was now at that paſs, that the beſt and moſt pious diſapproved of it; and many were much provoked. *Hooper* afterwards died a martyr in the proteſtant cauſe, and more of this affair will be mentioned in the life of *Peter Martyr*.

Martin Bucer ended his life, at the age of ſixty-one years, and was buried at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge*; ſeveral authors aſſigning ſundry dates of his death. *Martin Cruſius*, part. 3, annal. Suev. lib. 11, cap. 25, makes him to die in 1551, on the ſecond of *February*. *Sleidan*; on the 27th of *February*, 1551. *Pantaleon*, *de Viris Illuſtribus Germaniæ*, makes him expire about the end of *April* of the ſame year. Mr. *Fox*, in his reformed Almanack, appoints the twenty-third of *December*, for *Bucer*'s confeſſorſhip. A printed table, of the chancellors of *Cambridge*, ſet forth by doctor *Perne*, ſigneth *March* the tenth, 1550, for the day of his death. Nor will the diſtinction of old and new ſtile, had it been in uſe, help to reconcile the difference. It ſeems, by all reports, that *Bucer* was inconteſtably dead in or about this time. *Parſons*, the Jeſuit, tells us, that ſome believed he died a Jew; merely, perhaps, becauſe he lived a good Hebræan, citing *Surius*, *Genebrand*, and *Lindan*, for this report. But it is certain, none of them were near him at his death, as Mr. *Bradford*, and others were: Who, when they admoniſhed him in his ſickneſs, that he ſhould arm himſelf againſt the aſſaults of the devil, anſwered, "that he had nothing to do with the devil, be-
"cauſe he was wholly in CHRIST. God forbid, ſays
"he, that I ſhould not now have experience of the

" ſweet conſolations of *Chriſt*."——He likewiſe ſaid, " Caſt me not off, O my God, in my old age, now " when my ſtrength faileth me;" adding—" He hath " afflicted me ſore, but he will never caſt me off." And when Mr. *Bradford* came to him, and told him that he muſt die, he anſwered, " *Ille, ille, regit, & moderatur* " *omnia*;" i. e. The Lord, the Lord alone rules and diſpoſes all things; and ſo quietly yielded up his ſoul. He was a plain man in perſon and apparel, and therefore, at his own requeſt, privately created doctor, without any ſolemnity: A ſkilful linguiſt, whom *Voſſius*, a great critic, and of palate not to be pleaſed with a common guſt, ſtileth, " *Ter Maximum Bucerum*," a commendation which he juſtly deſerved. *Calvin*, whoſe teſtimony is equal at leaſt to any of *Bucer*'s contemporaries, ſaid of him, in a letter to *Viretus*, that 'he never thought of the loſs which 'the church of God had felt in *Bucer*, but his heart was 'rent with ſorrow'—*cor meum propè lacerari ſentio.*

Boſſuet ſays, that *Bucer* was a man pretty well learned, of a flexible ſpirit, and more fertile in diſtinctions, than the moſt refined ſcholaſtics. A fine preacher, ſomewhat heavy in his ſtyle; but was reſpected for his ſtature, and the ſound of his voice. He had been a Jacobin, and married as others did, and, as one may ſay, more than others; for his wife dying, he married a ſecond and a third time.—This is calm for a papiſt. *Burnet* ſays, 'that '*Bucer* was inferior to none of all the Reformers in learn-'ing; but ſuperior to moſt of them in an excellent tem-'per of mind, and great zeal for preſerving the unity of 'the church——a rare quality in that age, in which *Me-'lancthon* and he were moſt eminent. He had not that 'nimbleneſs of diſputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more 'admired; and the popiſh doctors took advantage from 'that to carry themſelves more inſolently towards him.'

Bucer's writing was ſo very bad, that the printers and he himſelf could hardly read it: But *Muſculus* read it eaſily, and copied it elegantly. He tranſcribed for him, among many other things, his expoſition of the prophet *Zephaniah*, which is in print: In the beginning of this are his verſes, and that whole Pſalter, which he publiſhed under the name of *Aretius Felinus*. *Eraſmus*, *Lipſius*, and ſeveral other great authors, had the ſame defect as *Bucer*; and there were few learned men who could write ſo well as *Muſculus*.

There is nothing more abſurd, than to impute to him as particular errors, that the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* is preſent

ſent in the euchariſt, only in the act of receiving: That baptiſm does not procure ſalvation to children: And that there is no ſin in not believing, that prieſts are not obliged to celibacy. The firſt of theſe propoſitions is the common doctrine of the Lutherans: The ſecond and fourth are the common doctrine of all proteſtants.

'When I conſider, ſays *Calvin*, with myſelf, what a 'loſs the church of God has ſuffered by the loſs of this 'one man, I cannot but every now and then renew my 'grief. He would have done great ſervice in *England*; 'and I hoped for ſomething greater from his writings 'hereafter, than what he has hitherto publiſhed.'

Cardinal *Pole* kept a viſitation in *Cambridge*, by his power legatine, whereby the bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were burnt to aſhes, and many ſuperſtitions eſtabliſhed. This cardinal was of the blood royal, and obtained the ſee of *Canterbury* when *Cranmer* was martyred. He was at enmity with the pope; and the *Engliſh* clergy wiſhed him at *Rome* again, becauſe he was not willing to indulge queen *Mary*, and the perſecuting prelates, in their cruelties againſt the proteſtants: For he was a modeſt, humble, good-natured, and learned man. However, the next year, *Pole* ſent his *Italian* friend *Ormaneto*, and ſeveral biſhops, on a viſitation to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, of which he was chancellor in the room of *Gardiner*. The firſt thing which they did, was to put two churches under an interdict, becauſe the bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two *German* heretics, were laid in them. They entered on a ridiculous proceſs againſt the two dead bodies; of which ſenſible men, whoſe underſtanding was not devoured by their bigotry, muſt have been aſhamed. The proceſs being finiſhed by the viſitors, and a writ from the queen having been ſent in conſequence of their ſentence, the bodies were taken out of their graves, tied to ſtakes with many of their books, and all the heretical writings they could find, and burnt all together.

Beza compoſed ſome excellent verſes in celebration of his memory, and the duke of *Suffolk* wrote his epitaph; both of which are in *Melchior Adam*, but require too much room for inſertion.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, an eminent *German* divine, was born at *Inghelheim* in the year 1489; and at the age of fourteen, was ſent to *Heidelberg* to ſtudy. Two years after, he entered the convent of the Cordeliers, where he labored aſſiduouſly; yet did not content himſelf with the ſtudies relating to his profeſſion, but applied himſelf alſo to mathematics and coſmography. He was the firſt who publiſhed a *Chaldee* grammar and lexicon, and gave the world, a ſhort time after, a *Talmudic* dictionary. He went afterwards to *Baſil*, and ſucceeded *Pellicanus*, of whom he had learned *Hebrew*, in the profeſſorſhip of that language. He was one of the firſt who attached himſelf to *Luther*; yet he ſeems to have done it with little or none of that zeal which diſtinguiſhed the firſt Reformers; for he never concerned himſelf with their diſputes, but ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, and buſied himſelf in ſuch purſuits as were moſt agreeable to his humor; and theſe were the *Hebrew* and other oriental languages, the mathematics, and natural philoſophy. He publiſhed a great number of works on theſe ſubjects, of which the principal and moſt excellent is a *Latin* verſion from the *Hebrew* of all the books of the Old Teſtament, with learned notes, printed at *Baſil* in 1534 and 1546. His verſion is thought much better, more faithful, and more exact, than thoſe of *Pagninus* and *Arias Montanus*; and his notes are generally approved, though he dwells a little long upon the explications of the rabbins. For this verſion he was called the *German Eſdras*, as he was the *German Strabo*, for an univerſal coſmography, in ſix books, which he printed at *Baſil* in 1550. *Munſter* was a ſweet-tempered, pacific, ſtudious, retired man, who wrote a great number of books, but never meddled in controverſy: all which conſidered, his going early over to *Luther*, may juſtly ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary. He died of the plague at *Baſil* in 1552, aged ſixty-three years.

CASPAR

CASPAR HEDIO.

THIS truly excellent and learned man was born at *Etling*, in the marquiſite of *Baden*, and educated at *Friburg*, where he took his maſter of arts degree; from thence he went to *Baſil*, where he ſtudied divinity, and commenced doctor about the year 1520. He was called from this laſt ſtation to the principal church at *Mentz*, but ſome of his hearers, not liking his plain and cloſe preaching, were eaſily induced by the enemies of the faith to perſecute him. Upon this account, he left *Mentz*, and went to *Straſburgh*, in the year 1523; and there afforded, under God, great aſſiſtance to *Capito* and *Bucer* in the Reformation of religion, by the command of the ſenate: And there alſo he married in 1533. *Gerbelius*, a writer of that time, ſaid of him in a letter to a friend, that *Hedio*'s ſucceſs in preaching the goſpel was wonderful; and that he was of vaſt ſervice to his colleagues, and to the cauſe of truth, not only by the ſolidity of his diſcourſes, but alſo by the integrity and purity of his life. The papiſts there likewiſe greatly perſecuted him, notwithſtanding which he preached and wrote boldly againſt maſſes, indulgences, auricular confeſſion, and the other flagrant enormities of the church of *Rome*. In the year 1543, *Herman* archbiſhop of *Colen*, ſet on foot a Reformation, and ſent for *Bucer* and *Hedio* to aſſiſt him in it; as both theſe excellent men were remarkable for their popular way of preaching, and conſequently moſt likely, through the divine bleſſing, to ſucceed in the inſtruction of the people: But being exceedingly perſecuted, and at length driven away by the emperor and the *Spaniards* who were then at *Borin*, he eſcaped through many difficulties and dangers, and returned to *Straſburgh*. All the time he could ſpare from his miniſterial employments, he ſpent in writing commentaries upon the holy ſcriptures, or in compiling hiſtories. For the latter he

was exrremely well qualified, being thoroughly verſed in antiquities, and in almoſt every branch of human learning.

He had a great correſpondence and ſtrict concord with moſt of the great and good men of his time. He was remarkable for the ſincerity of his attachments: And (as one of his deareſt friends obſerved, in writing of him) the devil hates nothing more than cordial friendſhip and mutual love. He was particularly intimate with *Oecolampadius*.

This great man calmly reſigned his breath on the 17th of *October*, in the year 1552, and was ſucceeded by the famous *Jerom Zanchius* in his paſtoral duties at *Straſburgh*.

Hedio's writings were both theological and philological: And he was a great editor of the writings of others, having tranſlated, from the learned languages into *German*, the works of many of the fathers and other uſeful authors. Upon the whole, though we can furniſh our readers with no longer account of him, we may ſafely ſay, conſidering the great uſefulneſs aſcribed to him in promoting the Reformation, that he is one of thoſe, who will ſurely be had *above*, and ought to be had *below*, in perpetual remembrance.

Boiſſard (according to Mr. *Leigh*) enumerates *Hedio*'s works in his *Icones*.

GEORGE, PRINCE OF ANHALT, &c.

AND

BISHOP OF MERSBURG.

WE are told by the apoſtle, *that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called*, 1 *Cor.* i. 26. And the truth of this obſervation is confirmed by the experience of paſt and preſent ages. However,

However, bleſſed be God, it is not ſaid—*not any*. A *few* of theſe, though *but* a few, in moſt generations, have been called to the enjoyment of a better treaſure than that of earth; and have, with diſciples of a lower order in the world, found the ſame *mercy to be faithful*, to be *rich in good works*, and to be *wiſe unto ſalvation*.

This excellent perſon was deſcended from the dukes of *Saxony*, and had in his family (what the world at large is glad to boaſt of) many great princes and honorable men. He was born on the 14th of *Auguſt*, in the year 1507. His immediate parent was prince *Erneſt* of *Anhalt*, who gave him a very ſober as well as liberal education. His father ſeems to have been a religious man by his conduct towards his ſon; for he gave ſuch perſons the charge of his education, as were not only eminent for their knowledge of letters, but for religion and ſacred learning. He ſtudied at the univerſity of *Leipſig* under *George Forcheme*, who had been the preceptor of *Camerarius*, *Cruciger*, and other eminent perſons. Under this able tutor, the prince made a rapid progreſs in every branch of ſcience, both human and divine.

His rank and probable deſtination in life made the ſtudy of the civil law highly expedient and neceſſary; and accordingly he was led to devote much attention to the attainment of it. But he abhorred the quibbles and ſophiſtries practiſed by the profeſſors of law, and diſcovered the utmoſt candor and ingenuouſneſs of temper in his legal reſearches. Truth was his object in all things; and he uſed to ſay, with the wiſe prince of *Iſrael*, that *lying lips do not become a prince* above all men. *Panormitan*, the great civilian, was his favorite author in this branch of ſtudy.

He had made ſuch attainments in every kind of knowledge, that, when he was ſcarce twenty two years of age, he was choſen by *Albert*, elector of *Mentz*, to be one of his council; and, being very eloquent, was much employed and attended to by that prince in the diſcuſſion of ſtate-affairs.

About this time, the great buſineſs of the Reformation attracted the attention of all men; and *Luther*'s writings, 'concerning the difference between the law and the goſpel—of true repentance—of grace—of faith—of true prayer—of the uſe of the ſacraments—of the diſtinction between divine and human laws, and between the diſpenſation of the goſpel and the civil power'—were diſperſed and read every where. Prince *George* was no idle

ſpectator.

ſpectator. He ſought truth like a philoſopher, and loved it like a Chriſtian. But, diſtruſting his own judgement upon matters of ſuch immenſe and important controverſy, he began his inveſtigations with prayer. *Melchior Adam* ſays, that he moſt conſtantly and ardently begged of God to incline his heart *only* to the truth, and frequently with tears uſed to repeat theſe pathetic words; *Deal with thy ſervant according to thy mercy, and teach, O teach me thy righteouſneſs.* From this period, he ſought for truth at the fountain of truth,—in the HOLY SCRIPTURES; and, for aſſiſtance in difficult paſſages, he read *Auguſtine*, *Jerom*, and *Peter Lombard*; uſing at the ſame time the learned conferences of his friend *Forcheme*. For this end, he alſo perfected himſelf in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and is ſaid to have been ſo great a maſter in the latter language, as to equal the moſt learned profeſſors. Nor did he omit, in converſation with the ableſt divines, not only to ſeek the truth for himſelf, but to induce and confirm it in others.

At length, not without the moſt mature conſideration and hearty prayers, he openly embraced and profeſſed the doctrines of the Reformation, and renounced all commerce with papiſts and popery. He lived upon the moſt affectionate terms with the princes his brothers, who concurred with him in planting the Reformation in the territories that belonged to them. He pulled down ignorant ſuperſtition, and ſet up ſeminaries of learning—the ſureſt way, under God, of exterminating error and darkneſs from the earth. All this he accompliſhed without the leaſt diſpute or tumult; brought multitudes to the light of the goſpel, and eſtabliſhed many, through the divine grace, in the happy enjoyment of that light in their ſouls.

Such a burning and ſhining lamp was this pious and learned prince, that, by the perſuaſion of *Luther*, who wrote a book about this time upon Chriſtian epiſcopacy, he was induced to accept of an eccleſiaſtical function, and became biſhop of *Merſburg* in *Saxony*, in the year 1545; at which time *Nicholas Amſdorf* was made biſhop of *Neoburg*. His letter of epiſcopal ordination was dated on the third of *Auguſt*, in the forementioned year, and his ſtyle runs thus; 'The moſt reverend and illuſtrious 'GEORGE, prince in *Anhalt*, count of *Aſcania*, and lord 'in *Bernburg*, &c. biſhop of *Merſburg*;' and he is therein exhorted to comfort himſelf by ſeveral texts of ſcripture, and to be aſſured, 'that though his ſacred office was 'attended with many and great dangers, to ſuſtain which 'all

'all human capacity is utterly unequal, yet God is truly 'preſent with and dwells in his church, and the voice 'of the goſpel is under the protection and defence of 'God.'—His was an epiſcopate of danger and difficulty for the truth of God, which no worldly man would covet, and no good man could condemn.

He entered upon this holy office with humble prayer, and he diſcharged it with the utmoſt care and aſſiduity. His whole time was from thence forward wholly employed, in preaching, writing, reading, and ſettling the affairs of the church. Knowingly, he never hurt any man; but profited all to the utmoſt of his power, both in public and private. He was a great promoter of peace among princes, ſettled many of their diſputes, and, being far above all low ambition and revenge himſelf, he endeavored to remove it from others. He bare many and very great inſults with true Chriſtian magnanimity, and ſhewed that he lived *with* God in his heart, and *for* God in his intercourſe with men. He uſed frequently to ſay to people of agitated tempers; *Submit yourſelf to God, and pray to him; for the Lord is nigh unto them who are broken in heart, and will ſave thoſe that are of an humble ſpirit.*

Moſt of his time, diſengaged from the duties of his function, was paſſed with learned and pious men. With theſe he converſed, according to their ſeveral faculties, whether of law, phyſic, or divinity. For this laſt profeſſion, his great colleagues were, *Luther*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Bugenhagius*, and *Camerarius*, with whom he conferred freely upon the moſt profound and intereſting topics in theology.

As his life, ſo his death, beſpoke an heart full of reſignation, faith, and love. He lingered under a painful diſeaſe for half a year, in which time he ſettled the affairs of his church, and gave himſelf up, in conſtant prayer, to ſuch preparations, as became a Chriſtian removing to his heavenly manſion. He frequently dwelt upon the divine promiſes, and particularly theſe; *God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life*; and, *My ſheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hand*; and, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refreſh you.* He ſweetly diſcourſed with his brethren and friends upon the bleſſings of *Chriſt*, upon the hope

hope of eternal life, upon the wonderful gathering in of God's church from the race of mankind, and other heavenly doctrines; all demonſtrating where his heart and treaſure was, and where his ſpirit would ſhortly be. He ceaſed to breathe in this world, at *Deſſau*, on the ſeventeenth of *October*, in the year 1553, and in the 47th year of his age.

Melancthon wrote two elegies upon his death, and ſpeaks of him in terms of the higheſt eſteem and reſpect. He held two ſynods of his clergy twice in every year, and delivered to them a proper charge in *Latin*, according to the exigencies of the church.

He wrote many tracts and ſermons, which were publiſhed, either at the time they were written, or ſoon after his death. They are ſaid to have been compoſed in a plain and perſpicuous ſtyle. The principal of them were as follow: A conſolatory oration upon the promiſe of *Chriſt* in *John* x. 29.—A ſermon preached upon the marriage of *Auguſtus* duke of *Saxony*, with *Anne* daughter of the king of *Denmark*. Our prince-biſhop united their hands at *Torgau* on the 14th of *October*, 1548.—Four ſermons upon the two ſpecies of bread and wine in the ſacrament.—A conſolatory letter to his brother *Wolfgang* in his ſickneſs.—Two ſermons upon falſe prophets and the true uſe of Chriſtian doctrine.—And ſeveral others, preached in the reformed churches, which were tranſlated from the *German* into *Latin*.

JOHN ROGERS,

THE PROTO-MARTYR UNDER Q. MARY.

THIS brave champion for the truth, who had the honor of being PROTO-MARTYR, or the firſt that was burned for the goſpel, in the reign of queen *Mary*, was educated at the univerſity of *Cambridge*; where he attained

tained to a great proficiency in learning: From thence he was choſen by a company of merchants to be their chaplain at *Antwerp*; to whom he preached many years. He there happily became acquainted with *William Tindale* and *Miles Coverdale*, who fled thither from the perſecution of the papiſts under king *Henry* VIII. in *England*; and, by their means, coming to the true knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*, he joined heartily with them in the laborious and commendable work of tranſlating the bible into *Engliſh*, and was thereby ſo much enlightened in the doctrines of the goſpel, that he caſt off the futile and idolatrous worſhip of the church of *Rome*. At *Antwerp* he married his wife, and from thence went to *Wittenberg*, daily increaſing in knowledge, and became ſuch a proficient in the *Dutch* language, that he was choſen paſtor of a congregation there; which office he diſcharged with great diligence and faithfulneſs for ſome years. In king *Edward*'s time, he was ſent for home by biſhop *Ridley*, and made prebendary and divinity-lecturer of St. *Paul*'s, where he preached faithfully and zealouſly till the coming in of queen *Mary*. In the beginning of her reign, in a ſermon at *Paul*'s croſs, he exhorted the people ſtedfaſtly and perſeveringly to adhere to that doctrine, which they had been taught, and to beware of peſtilent popery, idolatry, and ſuperſtition. His zeal could not long be unnoticed; and accordingly he was ſoon called before the privy council, where he anſwered ſo ſcripturally, ſenſibly, and boldly, and at the ſame time in ſo becoming a manner, that, for that time, he was diſmiſſed. But, after the queen's proclamation againſt the preaching of the truth came forth, he was again called before the popiſh biſhops (who thirſted for his blood) and committed priſoner to his own houſe; from whence he might eaſily have eſcaped, and to which indeed he had many inducements; viz. his wife and ten children, his many friends in *Germany*, and the undoubted preferment he would there have met with; but being once called to anſwer in *Chriſt*'s cauſe, he would not depart, though he ſtayed at the hazard and (as will be ſeen) to the loſs of his life.

After being confined a priſoner in his own houſe about ſix months, he was removed to *Newgate*, and there kept for a long time among thieves and murderers. At length, on the twenty-ſecond, and ſeveral other days, of *January*, in 1555, he was examined before Dr. *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others, in a very illiberal and cruel manner; they not permitting him to ſpeak or anſwer for

himſelf, nor yet to defend his doctrines in writing: And on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, *Gardiner* and others pronounced ſentence againſt him in the following manner; 'In the name of God, Amen. We *Stephen*, 'by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, &c. do 'find that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and 'obſtinately defended divers errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church; as namely theſe; "That "the catholic church of *Rome* is the church of antichriſt: *Item*, that, in the ſacrament of the altar, there "is not, ſubſtantially nor really, the natural body and "blood of *Chriſt*." We do therefore judge thee and 'condemn thee, *John Rogers*, otherwiſe called *Matthews* '(thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy 'damnable obſtinacy) as guilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſinner, refuſing 'to return to the lap and unity of the HOLY MOTHER 'CHURCH, and that thou haſt been and art by law excommunicate; and do pronounce and declare thee to 'be an excommunicate perſon. Alſo we pronounce and 'declare thee, being an heretic, to be caſt out from the 'church, and left unto the judgement of the ſecular 'power, by this our ſentence definitive, which we here 'lay upon and againſt thee, with ſorrow of heart.'

When this ſentence was read, Mr. *Rogers* again attempted to ſpeak; but was not ſuffered. He then aſked of them, to permit his wife, a poor ſtranger, to ſee him before he ſuffered; but this alſo was denied, and ſhe was abſolutely forbidden. When he was taken back to priſon, after this and every preceding day's examination, he wrote down the queſtions put to him, and his anſwers, as far as they would allow him to ſpeak, and alſo what he would have ſaid, had he been permitted; which, becauſe of their length, we cannot, conſiſtent with our plan, inſert; but muſt refer thoſe who wiſh to ſee them at large to *Fox*'s martyrology: Yet, on account of their excellency, we preſume it will be acceptable to our Readers in general to ſee ſo much of them, as may ſerve for a ſpecimen of the true wiſdom, piety, and zeal of this great and good man.

"But here (ſays he) they will cry out; Lo, theſe men "will be ſtill a *John Baptiſt*, an apoſtle, a prophet, &c. "—I anſwer, We make not ourſelves like unto them, "in the gifts and power of God beſtowed on them to "the working of miracles, and the like; but that we

"are

" are like them in believing the ſame doctrine, and in " ſuffering perſecution and ſhame for the ſame. We " preach their very doctrine, and none other: This we " are able to prove from their writings, which I have " proferred to do again and again by writing. And, for " this cauſe, we ſuffer the like reproach, ſhame, and " rebuke of the world; ſuffering the ſame perſecution, " to the loſs of our goods, and even of our lives; and " to the forſaking (as our maſter *Chriſt* commandeth) " father, mother, ſiſter, brethren, wives, children, &c. " being aſſured of a joyful reſurrection, and to be crowned " in glory with them, according to the infallible pro- " miſes made unto us in *Chriſt*, our only and all-ſufficient " Mediator, Reconciler, Prieſt, and Sacrifice: Who, for " us, as well as them, hath pleaſed the Father, quieted " and pacified his wrath againſt our ſins; and, by impu- " tation, hath made us without ſpot or wrinkle in his " ſight; although we, of and in ourſelves, are polluted " with many filthy ſins, which if the meaſureleſs, un- " ſpeakable mercy and love of God in *Chriſt* did not put " away, by not imputing them to us, would have brought " us to everlaſting damnation, and death perpetual.—In " this, and in no other ſenſe, do we affirm ourſelves to " be like *Chriſt* our head, his apoſtles, prophets, martyrs, " and ſaints. And ſo far ought *all* Chriſtians to be like " them, according to the meaſure of faith, and the di- " verſity of the gifts of the Spirit, that God hath given " unto them.

" But let us now conſider, that, if it be God's good " will and pleaſure to give the members of his beloved " church into the hands of their enemies, it is to chaſten, " try, and prove them, to bring them to an unfeigned " acknowledgement of their natural perverſeneſs and diſ- " obedience towards God and his commandments, as " touching their love of God, their brethren and neigh- " bours; and to ſhew them their natural inclination and " readineſs to ſeek their own eaſe and pleaſure; and to " deſire that good from the creature which God has for- " bid, as only to be found in himſelf. And in order, " that having fallen into groſs outward ſins, like *David*, " *Peter*, and others, they may be brought to a true and " earneſt repentance, and to ſigh and cry for the forgive- " neſs of the ſame, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily " to mortify and ſubdue all evil deſires and affections in " future. And many other wiſe and gracious purpoſes " of the Lord concerning his people are anſwered by

" their being often put into the furnace of affliction.
" But let us alſo conſider what he doth with thoſe ene-
" mies into whoſe hands he giveth his tender darlings
" to be chaſtened and tried. In truth, he does but chaſ-
" ten and croſs them for a little while, according to his
" fatherly love and good pleaſure, as all fathers do their
" children (*Heb.* xii. and *Prov.* iii.); but he utterly
" deſtroyeth, yea and everlaſtingly damneth their impe-
" nitent enemies.

" Let *Herod* tell me what he got by killing *James*, and
" by perſecuting *Peter*, and *Chriſt*'s tender darlings and
" beloved ſpouſe, his church? Verily God thought him
" not worthy to have death miniſtered by men or angels,
" or any other creature, than thoſe ſmall, filthy vermin,
" lice and worms, which were ordained to deſtroy his
" beaſtly, tyrannous body. *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar*,
" with all their pride and might, muſt at length let
" God's favourite people go freely out of their land,
" from their bands and cruelty: For when they could
" obtain nothing but counterfeit mercies, like thoſe of
" our day*, namely, extreme cruelties and death, then
" did God ariſe, as one awoke out of ſleep, and deſtroyed
" thoſe enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and
" ſtretched-out arm. When *Pharaoh* grievouſly oppreſſed
" the poor *Iſraelites* with intolerable labours and heavy
" burdens, his courtiers noiſed abroad his tender mercies
" towards them, in ſuffering them to live in the land,
" and in ſetting them to work, that they might get their
" livings; for, if he ſhould thruſt them out of his land,
" they muſt be no better than vagabonds and runagates.
" Have we not the like examples now-a-days? O that
" I had now time to write certain things pertaining to
" the biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s mercy! I have not time to
" ſpeak how *merciful* he hath been to me and to my good
" brethren, and to the duke of *Suffolk*'s moſt innocent
" daughter, and her innocent huſband: O that I had
" time to paint it in it's proper colours! but there are
" many that can do it better than I, who ſhall live when
" I am dead. *Pharaoh* had his plagues; and his once
" moſt flouriſhing land utterly deſtroyed, on account of
" hypocriſy and counterfeit mercy, which was no other
" than cruelty and abominable tyranny. And think ye,
" that the bloody, butcherly, biſhop of *Wincheſter* and

* Alluding to their frequent expreſſions of great ſorrow and concern for him in the courſe of his examination, and in the ſentence pronounced againſt him.

" his bloody brethren, ſhall eſcape? Or that *England*,
" for their offences, and eſpecially for the maintenance
" of their idolatry, and wilful following of them in it,
" ſhall not abide as great brunts? yes, undoubtedly.

" If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the ſeeds
" of utter deſtruction are already ſown in it by theſe
" hypocritical tyrants, and antichriſtian prelates, papiſts,
" and double traytors to their country: And yet they
" ſpeak of mercy, of bleſſing, of the catholic church,
" of unity, of power, and of ſtrengthening the realm.
" This double diſſimulation will appear in the day of the
" Lord's viſitation, when thoſe crown-ſhorn captains,
" who have ſhewn no mercy to the poor godly ſufferers
" of this realm, ſhall have judgement without mercy*."

Mr.

* In the courſe of Mr. *Rogers*'s firſt day's examination, *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, aſked him; 'What ſayeſt thou? Make us a direct 'anſwer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, 'with us, in the ſtate in which we are now?' To which Mr. *Rogers* anſwered, " My Lord, I cannot believe, that ye yourſelves do think " in your hearts that he [the pope] is ſupreme head in forgiving of " ſin, &c. as ye have now ſaid, ſeeing *you* and *all* the biſhops of the " realm have now for twenty years long preached, and ſome of you " alſo written, to the contrary; and the parliament hath ſo long ago " condeſcended unto it;"—Here he was interrupted, and not allowed to ſay any more. If men could ſubſcribe to, and preach and write, proteſtant doctrines for twenty years together, and after that ſlaughter proteſtants in the manner theſe men did; may it not from hence be juſtly inferred, that it is a very great miſtake which at this time ſeems but too generally to prevail, viz. That the *Roman* catholics may in time, (and thoſe even *now* in *England*) have little or no bigotry, and nothing of a perſecuting ſpirit, notwithſtanding they ſtedfaſtly believe the ſame doctrines that their anceſtors did, whoſe bigotry, cruelty and thirſt for the blood of the proteſtants, are beyond expreſſion? Similar cauſes will always produce ſimilar effects. This may be illuſtrated by a compariſon of the experience of thoſe that truly believe in the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* at this day, with all true believers in every age and place under the like circumſtances. They of old believed in the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, as reported in the word—they loved God—they kept his commandments as obedient children—they feared to offend their heavenly Father—they loved one another—they fought under the banner of *Chriſt* againſt the world, the fleſh and the devil—they endured, ſeeing Him who is inviſible—when called to it they took chearfully the ſpoiling of their goods—and many (of whom the Lord thought the world not worthy) ſealed the truths of the goſpel with their blood, and witneſſed a good confeſſion of their faith in the flames. Do not thoſe, who, with the faith of God's elect, believe the ſame glorious truths with them, diſcover the ſame happy diſpoſitions, which under the like circumſtances, bring forth the ſame bleſſed fruits? If the believing of the doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt* does uniformly influence the heart and life of all true believers in every place and different period, and that contrary to fleſh and blood, and all temporal intereſt and natural inclination: Can we reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the papiſts

of

Mr. *Rogers*, being ſentenced to be burned, and remanded back to priſon, was on *Monday* morning, the fourth day of *February*, 1555, awakened out of a very ſound ſleep, with great difficulty, by the keeper's wife, who ſuddenly warned him to make haſte and prepare himſelf for the fire. "If it be ſo, ſaid he, I need not tie "my points."—He was then had down to biſhop *Bonner*, who degraded him; of whom (he ſaid) he had one favor to aſk. *Bonner* aſked what that ſhould be: "Nothing, "anſwered Mr. *Rogers*, but that I may ſpeak a few "words to my wife before my burning." This requeſt not being granted; he added, "You declare your cha-"rity, what it is." The time being come, he was brought out of *Newgate*, and delivered up to the ſheriffs of *London* to be taken to *Smithfield*; one of whom ſaid, 'Mr. *Rogers*, will you revoke your abominable doctrine, 'and your evil opinion of the ſacrament of the altar?' Mr. *Rogers* anſwered, "That, which I have preached, "I will ſeal with my blood." 'Then, (ſaid the ſheriff) 'thou art an heretic.' "That ſhall be known, (replied "Mr. *Rogers*,) at the day of judgement." 'Well, (ſaid 'the ſheriff,) I will never pray for thee.' "But I will "pray for you," ſaid Mr. *Rogers*; and ſo they proceeded towards *Smithfield*; Mr. *Rogers* ſaying the 51ſt Pſalm, and the people exceedingly rejoicing and giving thanks to God for his conſtancy. His wife and ten children by her ſide, with one at her breaſt, met him by the way, being the only opportunity they had even of ſeeing one another any more in the fleſh; but neither did this very affecting ſcene ſeem in the leaſt to ſhake his confidence, ſo graciouſly was he ſupported, in the trying hour, by HIM, who hath promiſed, *I will never, never, leave thee; never, never, forſake thee.* When he came to the ſtake, he ſhewed great conſtancy and patience; but, not being ſuffered to ſpeak many words, he briefly exhorted the people ſteadily to remain in that faith and true doctrine, which he had before taught them, and for the confirmation of which he was not only content patiently

of the preſent day, who announce the ſame creed with their bloody fore-fathers, will not, whenever it is in their power, be found in their fore-father's cruel practices; eſpecially when, through ignorance and ſuperſtition, they believe, *that while they kill you, they do God ſervice?* In ſhort; almoſt every doctrine, they hold, is framed to ſooth the pride and flatter the vanity of fallen man, and calculated to gratify thoſe ſenſual paſſions and deſires, which rule in a heart deceitful above all things and deſperately wicked.

to ſuffer all ſuch bitterneſs and cruelty, as had been already ſhewn him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſign up his life, and to give his fleſh to the conſuming fire, for a teſtimony of the ſame. They then again brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant; but he, with the magnanimity of a true martyr, refuſed it; not preferring life upon ſuch terms to the cruel death of burning; which he ſuffered with the greateſt patience and fortitude; waſhing as it were his hands in the flames, and ejaculating with his laſt breath; "Lord, receive my "ſpirit!"

It is remarked of Mr. *Rogers*, that, during the year and a half that he was impriſoned, he was always chearful, but very earneſt and intent upon every thing he did. He wrote much; eſpecially his examinations, which were wonderfully preſerved: For they frequently made diligent ſearch for his writings; and it is ſuppoſed, that they refuſed his wife viſiting him, leſt ſhe ſhould convey them away. And when he was taken out of *Newgate* and led to *Smithfield*, they again ſearched his room, but found nothing. They, therefore, readily admitted his wife and ſon *Daniel* into his apartment, upon their return from *Smithfield*, who looked in every corner, as they thought, and were coming away, ſuppoſing others had been before hand with them, when *Daniel* ſpied ſomething black in a dark corner under a pair of ſtairs, which proved to be his examinations and writings, to which the Reader has been already referred in *Fox*'s martyrology, where they are inſerted at large. He was charitable to the poor priſoners, agreeing with Mr. *Hooper* and others, to take but one meal a day, and to give the reſt to thoſe on the other ſide of the priſon that were ready to die for hunger; but the cruel keeper withheld it from them. The *Sunday* before he ſuffered, he drank to Mr. *Hooper*, being then underneath him, and deſired them to commend him unto him, and to tell him, "There was never a little fellow "would better ſtick to a man, than he would ſtick to "him;" ſuppoſing, contrary to what happened, that they ſhould have been both burned together.—Thus died, triumphant in the faith, this bleſſed proto-martyr, and proved the reality of the antient obſervation, 'that the 'blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church;' for, inſtead of being intimidated, multitudes were encouraged by his example, and thoſe, who had no religion before, were put upon inquiries; *What was the cauſe, for which ſuch pious and learned men were contented to die*; and ſo, from

from being athieſts or papiſts, they were led, by God's bleſſing, to a knowledge and profeſſion of that goſpel, the darkening of which was the main end and deſign of all this bloody perſecution.

LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

THIS gracious man, deſcended from an opulent family, and eminent as a ſcholar, but ſtill more reſpectable for the grace given him of God; was educated at *Eaton*, and from thence choſen to *King's-College*, in *Cambridge*; where, for three years, he applied himſelf cloſely to ſtudy, and made a conſiderable proficiency in learning: But his mother, with a view to increaſe his plentiful fortune, bound him to a capital merchant, in the city of *London*, to be inſtructed in trade. The merchant, being a religious man, ſoon perceived that *Saunders*'s natural bias was to learning, rather than trade; and, from his ſerioufneſs, preſuming that the Lord had ſome employment for him, far more important than that of merchandize, he gave him his indentures. Upon this, *Saunders* returned again to *Cambridge*, where he made a further progreſs in his ſtudies. He was a man, exerciſed with very ſevere temptations and inward conflicts, but graciouſly ſupported, and much comforted. Theſe trials wrought in him ſuch experience, as qualified him afterwards, in his miniſterial labors, to adminiſter comfort to others. He remained ſome conſiderable time in the univerſity, after he had taken his maſter of arts degree; and in the reign of king *Edward*, he entered into holy orders, and was made lecturer of *Fotheringhay*; about which time he married. He was next made a reader in the cathedral of *Litchfield*; where he was very ſucceſsful in winning ſouls to God; and, by his holy life and converſation, obtained a good report, even of his adverſaries. He was from thence removed to *Church-Langton* in *Leiceiſterſhire*;

ceſterſhire; and, laſtly, to the rectory of *Allhallows*, in *Bread-ſtreet*, *London*.

He went down frequently to *Church-Langton*, intending to reſign it; but, queen *Mary* coming to the throne, he changed his mind, knowing that none but a papiſt would ſucceed him. In his way thither, he preached at *Northampton*, and, being filled with zeal for the truth, he bore a noble teſtimony againſt the errors of popery: Which (ſaid he) are likely to ſpring up again, as a juſt viſitation of God, for the little love that *England* hath borne to the truths and privileges of the goſpel, ſo plentifully afforded her. He was apprehenſive of the troubles that afterwards came to paſs; and therefore applied himſelf, with all diligence, to confirm his people in the truth (notwithſtanding the proclamation to the contrary) and to arm them againſt all falſe doctrines; but he was at length oppoſed, and finally hindered by open violence. He was then much adviſed to leave the kingdom, which he poſitively refuſed, and went ſtraight for *London* to viſit his flock in *Bread-ſtreet*. In his way, pretty near to town, he was overtaken by *Mordaunt*, the queen's counſellor, who aſked, If he did not preach at ſuch a time in *Bread-ſtreet:* He anſwered, yes: And will you, ſaid *Mordaunt*, preach ſo again? Yes, ſaid he, to-morrow you may hear me there; where I will confirm, by God's word, all I then preached. I would adviſe you, ſaid *Mordaunt*, to forbear. Mr. *Saunders* ſaid, If you will forbid me by lawful authority, I muſt then forbear.—Nay, ſaid the other, I ſhall not forbid you: So they parted. The next day being *Sunday*, he expounded the eleventh chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; and in the afternoon, deſigning to give his people another exhortation, he went again to church; but when he came there, the biſhop of *London*'s officer prevented him, by taking him before his lordſhip [*Bonner*], *Mordaunt*, and ſome of the biſhop's chaplains.

The biſhop charged him with treaſon, hereſy, and ſedition, and required of him his opinion about tranſubſtantiation in writing; which being obliged to comply with, he ſaid, "You ſeek my blood, and you ſhall have "it: I pray God you may be ſo baptized in it, that you "may hereafter loathe blood-ſucking, and become a "better man." Biſhop *Bonner* ſent him to biſhop *Gardiner*; where he was kept ſtanding uncovered four hours at the door of the room, in which were ſitting *Mordaunt* and ſome others; till at length the biſhop, returning

from court, ordered him into a proper place for examination; and then interrogated him in the following manner. 'How dare you to preach, notwithſtanding 'the queen's proclamation to the contrary?' Mr. *Saunders* anſwered, "he was moved in his conſcience ſo to "do from the apoſtle's command, *to obey God rather than* "*man.*" 'A goodly conſcience ſurely, ſaid the biſhop, 'which could make our queen a baſtard, or miſbegotten; 'is it not, I pray?' Mr. *Saunders* ſaid, "I do not ſay, "or go about to make the queen baſe or miſbegotten; "but let thoſe be careful about that matter, who have "publiſhed the ſame to the world, to their ſhame and re-"proach." (For it ſeems the biſhop had prefaced the book of *true obedience*, in order to curry favor with *Henry* VIII. in which queen *Mary* was openly declared to be a baſtard.) Mr. *Saunders* added, "We do only preach in ſincerity "the purity of the word; which although we are now "forbid to do with our mouths; yet I doubt not, but "that our blood hereafter ſhall more fully manifeſt the "ſame." Upon which the biſhop cried out, to take away the frantic fool to priſon. To which Mr. *Saunders* ſaid, "I thank God, who has at laſt given me a place of "reſt and quietneſs, where I may pray for your lord-"ſhip's converſion."

Mr. *Saunders* being ſent to priſon, and there confined a year and three months, wrote a letter to the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by way of anſwer to ſeveral particulars, with which the biſhop had charged him. The following is all of the letter that has been preſerved.

"Touching the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt "whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In "my doctrine I did not; for at that time it was per-"mitted by the proclamation to uſe, according to our "conſciences, ſuch ſervice as was then eſtabliſhed. "My doctrine was then agreeable to my conſcience and "the ſame ſervice then uſed. The act which I did "(alluding to his expounding the ſcriptures in his own "church in *Bread-ſtreet*) was ſuch, as being indifferently "weighed, founded to no breaking of the proclamation, "or at leaſt no wilful breaking of it; as I cauſed no "bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the "pulpit, after the order of ſermons or lectures. But "be it, that I did break the proclamation, this long "impriſonment may be thought more than a ſufficient "puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

"Touching

" Touching the charge againſt me as to my religion, " I ſay with St. *Paul*, *this I confeſs, that after the way* " *which they call hereſy, ſo worſhip I the God of my fore-* " *fathers, believing all things which are written in the law* " *and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c.* And " herein I ſtudy to have always a clear conſcience to- " wards God and towards man: So that I call God to " witneſs, I have a conſcience. And this my conſcience " is not grounded upon vain fantaſy, but upon the in- " fallible verity of God's word, with the teſtimony of " his choſen church agreeable to the ſame.

" It is eaſy for them that take *Chriſt* for their true " paſtor, and are the true ſheep of his paſture, to diſcern " the voice of their true ſhepherd, from the voice of " wolves, hirelings, and ſtrangers: For *Chriſt* ſaith, " *My ſheep hear my voice:* And are thereby given to " know the voice of the true ſhepherd, and to follow " him; as our Saviour alſo ſaith. The ſheep follow the " ſhepherd, for they know his voice: A ſtranger they " will not follow, but will flee from him; for they " know not the voice of a ſtranger. Such inward in- " ſpiration doth the Holy Ghoſt put into the children " of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwiſe " unable to underſtand the true way of their ſalvation. " And although (as *Chriſt* ſaith) the wolf cometh in " ſheeps cloathing, he likewiſe adds, by their fruits ye " ſhall know them. For there are certain fruits by " which the wolf is bewrayed, notwithſtanding, in out- " ward appearances of holineſs, he ſeems to be ever ſo " true a ſheep. That the *Romiſh* religion is ravening " and wolfiſh, is evident from a variety of conſider- " ations; and eſpecially from theſe three.

" Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

" Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of con- " ſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying, of *Chriſt* and " his office of ſalvation.

" Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and " ſervice in ſpirit and truth, which he requires and " commands, and driveth men to that inconvenience, " againſt which both *Chriſt* and the prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeak " very ſharply; *This people honoureth me with their lips;* " *but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worſhip* " *me, teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men.* " And in another place; *Ye caſt aſide the commandments of* " *God, to maintain your own traditions.*

" Wherefore I in conſcience, weighing the *Romiſh* " religion, and by a candid diſcuſſion thereof, finding " the foundation unſtedfaſt, and the building upon it " but vain: And on the other hand, having my con- " ſcience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, " ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and " the conſent of his true church; I neither may, nor do " intend, by God's gracious aſſiſtance, to be pulled one " jot from the ſame; no, though an angel out of heaven " ſhould preach another goſpel than that, which I have " received of the Lord.

" And though I have neither that deep knowledge nor " profound judgement, nor that eloquence to utter what " I know and judge, as may be required in an excellent " clerk, in order ſufficiently to anſwer and convince " the gainſayer: Yet nevertheleſs this my proteſtation " ſhall be premiſed, that with reſpect to the grounds and " cauſes before conſidered, notwithſtanding I cannot " *explicitâ fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be " conceived, neither can diſcuſs all that is to be diſ- " cuſſed, nor expreſs all that can be expreſſed, in the " diſcourſe of the doctrine of this moſt true religion " which I profeſs: Yet do I bind myſelf, as by my " humble ſincerity, ſo by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, " by faith in general (as they call it) to wrap up my " belief in the credit of the ſame, that no authority of " that *Romiſh* religion, repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any " means remove me from the ſame, though it may come " to paſs that our adverſaries will labour to beguile us " through philoſophy and deceitful vanity, after the " traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the " world, and not after *Chriſt*, &c."

When Mrs. *Saunders* went firſt to the priſon to ſee her huſband, the keeper told her he had ſtrict charge not to ſuffer any body to ſpeak to him; but that, if ſhe choſe to ſtay at the gate, he would take the child, which ſhe had in her arms, to its father: She conſented; and the father rejoiced to ſee his ſon; and ſaid, " He had " rather have ſuch a boy than two thouſand pounds:" And to ſome that ſtood by, who admired the child, he ſaid; " What man, that fears God, would not rather " loſe his life, than baſtardize ſuch a child, make his " wife a whore, and himſelf a whore-monger? If there " were no other reaſon, why a man of my eſtate ſhould " loſe his life; yet who would not give it, to avouch

" this

" this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be law-
" ful and holy?"

Mr. *Saunders*, being confined a year and a quarter in priſon, was at length ſent for and examined, before the queen's council, biſhop *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and others, in the following manner:

Gard. 'It is well known that you have been a pri-
' ſoner for the abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine that
' you have ſown; and now it is thought good, that
' mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeek for it. Wherefore,
' if you will now conform, and come home again,
' mercy is ready. We muſt ſay; that we have all fallen,
' but now are we riſen again, and returned to the ca-
' tholic church: You muſt therefore riſe with us, and
' come home unto it. Give us then a direct anſwer.'

Saund. "My lord, if it pleaſe your honours, give me
" leave to ſpeak with deliberation."

Gard. 'Leave off your painting and pride of ſpeech;
' for ſuch is the faſhion of you all, to pleaſe yourſelves
' in your glorious words. Anſwer yea, or nay.'

Saund. "My lord, it is not a time for me now to
" paint: And as for pride, I have no cauſe to be proud;
" my learning I confeſs to be but little; and as for
" wealth I have now none at all. Nevertheleſs, it be-
" hoves me to anſwer your demand cautiouſly; ſeeing that
" one of theſe two extreme perils are likely to befal me:
" The loſing of a good conſcience, or my life. And I
" tell you the truth, I love both life and liberty, if I
" could enjoy them without the hurt of my conſcience."

Gard. 'Conſcience! you have none at all, but pride
' and arrogancy, dividing yourſelves by ſingularity from
' the church.'

Saund. "The Lord knows all men's conſciences. And
" as to the charge of ſeparation from the church, as I
" underſtand your lordſhip's meaning, I aſſure you I
" live in the faith in which I have been brought up ever
" ſince I was fourteen years of age; being taught, that
" the power of the biſhop of *Rome* is but uſurped, with
" many conſequent abuſes. Yea, this have I received
" from YOUR hands that are here preſent, as a thing
" agreed upon by the catholic church and public
" authority."

Gard. 'Yea, marry, but I pray you, have you received
' by conſent and authority all your hereſies of the bleſſed
' ſacrament of the altar?'

Saund.

Saund. "My lord, it is leſs offence to cut off an arm, "hand, or joint of a man than to cut off the head; for "a man may live with the loſs of any one of theſe; but "he cannot live without his head. But you, all the "whole ſort of you, have agreed to cut off the ſu-"premacy of the biſhop of *Rome*, whom now you will "have again to be head of the church."

Biſhop of *London.* 'My lord, I have his own hand-'writing againſt the bleſſed ſacrament. What ſay you 'to that, *Saunders?*'

Saund. "What I have written, I have written; and "further I will not accuſe myſelf. You can lay no-"thing to my charge, for having broke any of your "laws, ſince they were in force."

Gard. 'Well, you are obſtinate, and refuſe liberty.'

Saund. "My lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuch a "price: But I beſeech your honours to obtain of the "queen ſuch a pardon for us, that we may live and "keep our conſciences unclogged; and we ſhall live as "moſt obedient ſubjects. Or elſe, I muſt ſay for my-"ſelf, that, by God's grace, I will abide the greateſt "extremity that man can do againſt me, rather than to "act againſt my conſcience."

Gard. 'Ah, ſirrah! you will live as you liſt. The 'Donatiſts deſired to live in ſingularity; but indeed they 'were not fit to live upon the earth: No more are you, 'and that you ſhall know within theſe ſeven days; and 'therefore away with him.'

Saund. "Welcome be it, whatſoever the will of God "ſhall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I "have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of "ſhedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry aloud "againſt you. The Spirit of God reſt upon all your "honours! amen."

Mr. *Saunders* was then taken into an adjoining room till ſome others were examined, that they might be all led to priſon together: And where finding a great num-ber of people, he ſpake to them freely; declaring what they deſerved on account of their falling from *Chriſt* to antichriſt; and exhorted them to repent and turn, and with a ſtronger faith embrace *Chriſt*, and confeſs him to the end, in defiance of antichriſt and ſin, death and the devil; and ſo live in the love and favor of God. He was afterwards taken to the priſon in *Bread-ſtreet*, out of which he preached to his pariſhioners, as he had for-merly done out of the pulpit.

On the fourth day of *February*, the biſhop of *London* went to him in the priſon, and degraded him; upon which he ſaid; "I thank God, I am none of your "church." The next morning the ſheriff of *London* delivered him up to ſome of the queen's guard, who were appointed to take him to *Coventry* to be burned there. They travelled no farther than St. *Alban*'s the firſt night, where they were met by Mr. *Grimoald*, a man of greater gifts than conſtancy; to whom Mr. *Saunders* ſaid, after giving him a leſſon ſuitable to his revolting ſtate, "Will "you pledge me out of this cup which I will begin to "drink of to you?" *Grimoald*, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, anſwered, 'I will pledge you out of that cup, 'which is in your hand, with all my heart; but of that 'other which you mean, I will not promiſe you.' "Well, replied Mr. *Saunders*, my dear Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* "hath drank to me of a more bitter cup; and ſhall I "not pledge my moſt precious Saviour? Yes, I hope I "ſhall." At *Coventry*, he was put into the gaol amongſt the common priſoners; where he ſlept very little, ſpending the night in prayer and in inſtructing others; and where to a friend he ſaid, "Pray for me, for I am the "moſt unfit for this high office of any one that was "ever appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear "Father is able to make me ſtrong enough."

The next day, the eighth of *February*, 1555, they led him away to the place of execution, without the city; which when they were within ſight of, the officer, appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to Mr. *Saunders*, that he was one of the people that marred the queen's realm with falſe doctrine and hereſy; and that therefore he deſerved death: However, if he would revoke his hereſies, he had orders with him for his pardon; but if not, added he, yonder is fire prepared for thee. To which Mr. *Saunders* anſwered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, "that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourſelf, "and ſuch as you are, that have always reſiſted God's "holy word, that marr the queen's realm. I hold no "hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed goſpel "of *Chriſt*; it is *that* I hold, it is *that* I believe, it is "*that* I have taught, and it is *that* I will never revoke." Upon this, the other rejoined, 'Away with him.' And Mr. *Saunders* proceeded with much apparent comfort and reſolution. When he came to the place, he fell to the ground and prayed; and then aroſe, and took the ſtake in

in his arms, to which he was to be chained, and kiſſed it, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of *Chriſt*; welcome ever-"laſting life." He was faſtened to the ſtake, and the fire was kindled; but the wood being green, they cruelly tormented him for a long time: Which gave an opportunity for a further proof of the covenant-faithfulneſs and love of HIM, who hath promiſed, that his grace *ſhall be ſufficient*, and where afflictions abound, cauſeth the conſolations of his Spirit much more to abound. This holy man, with the utmoſt fortitude and patience, endured his torments, and at length ſweetly *fell aſleep in* JESUS.

In the beginning of Q. *Mary*'s reign, Mr. *Saunders* met with Dr. *Pendleton*, a man of learning and ſeeming zeal in preaching the goſpel; and their converſation turning upon the times, and the probability of a very ſevere perſecution, Mr. *Saunders* appeared weak in faith, and very fearful that he ſhould not remain ſtedfaſt: But *Pendleton*, with an air of courage and zeal, ſaid: 'What, 'man! there is much more cauſe for me to fear than 'you; for I have a very big, fat body; yet will I ſee 'the utmoſt drop of this greaſe of mine melted away, 'and the laſt gobbet of this fleſh of mine conſumed 'to aſhes, before I will forſake *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his 'truth which I have profeſſed.'—It was not long after, that they were both put to the trial; when poor feeble, faint-hearted *Saunders*, always jealous of himſelf, by the power of divine grace, ſealed the truth with his blood; and proud, ſelf-ſufficient *Pendleton* fell away and turned papiſt.——So true is it, that the moſt confident *in themſelves*, are the neareſt to apoſtacy; and that nothing can ſupport the ſoul in trials, and carry it happily through them, but the omnipotent grace of an almighty Redeemer.

It has been obſerved, that nothing diſcovers the temper and mind of a perſon more than his letters. The letters of Mr. *Saunders* eminently diſcover the frame of his ſpirit; for which reaſon, we will add three or four of them.

A letter,

A letter, written on the thirty-firſt of *January*, 1555, after his condemnation, addreſſed to his wife, and other faithful friends.

" THE grace of *Chriſt*, with the conſolation of the " Holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of the faith and a " good conſcience, confirm and keep you for ever veſſels " to God's glory, amen.

" Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gra- " cious God for his unmeaſurable mercies plentifully " poured upon us! And I, moſt unworthy wretch, can- " not but pour at this preſent, even from the bottom " of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude " and unkindneſs towards ſo gracious ſo good a God and " loving Father. I beſeech you all, as for my other " many ſins, ſo ſpecially for that ſin of my unthankful- " neſs, crave pardon for me in your earneſt prayers, " commending me to God's great mercies in *Chriſt*.

" To number theſe mercies in particular, were to " number the drops of water which are in the ſea, the " ſands on the ſhore, and the ſtars in the ſky. O my dear " wife, and ye the reſt of my friends, rejoice with me; " I ſay, rejoice with thankſgiving for this my preſent " promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my " God, not only in my life, by my ſlow mouth and un- " circumciſed lips, bearing witneſs unto his truth, but " alſo by my blood to ſeal the ſame, to the glory of my " God, and confirming of his true church: And as yet " I teſtify unto you, that the comfort of my ſweet *Chriſt* " doth drive from my fantaſy the fear of death. But if " my dear huſband *Chriſt* doth for my trial leave me " alone a little to myſelf, alas! I know in what caſe I " ſhall be then: But if for my proof he do ſo, yet I am " ſure he will not be long or far from me. Though he " ſtand behind the wall and hide himſelf, (as *Solomon* " ſaith in his myſtical ſong,) yet will he peep in by a " creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender-hearted " *Joſeph*; though he ſpeak roughly to his brethren, and " handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage " to his beſt-beloved brother *Benjamin:* Yet can he not " contain himſelf from weeping with us and upon us, " with falling on our necks, and ſweetly kiſſing us. " Such, ſuch a brother is our *Chriſt* unto all. Where- " fore haſten to go unto him as *Jacob* did with his ſons " and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. " Yea, this our *Joſeph* hath obtained for us, that *Pha-*

" *raoh* the infidel ſhall miniſter unto us chariots, wherein " at eaſe we may be carried to come unto him: As we " have experience how our very adverſaries do help us " unto our everlaſting bliſs by their ſpeedy diſpatch; " yea, and how all things have been helpings thereunto; " bleſſed be our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which " lie in the way. Fear rather the everlaſting fire: Fear " the ſerpent which hath that deadly ſting, of which by " bodily death they ſhall be brought to taſte which are " not grafted in *Chriſt*, wanting faith and a good con- " ſcience, and ſo are not acquainted with *Chriſt*, the " killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! " we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of " darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the kingdom of " his dear ſon, by putting off the old man, and by faith " putting on the new, even our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, his " wiſdom, holineſs, righteouſneſs, and redemption; we, " I ſay, have to triumph againſt the terrible, ſpiteful " ſerpent the devil, ſin, hell, death, and damnation. " For *Chriſt* our brazen ſerpent hath pulled away the " ſting of this ſerpent, ſo that now we may boldly, in " beholding it ſpoiled of its ſting, triumph, and with our " *Chriſt*, and all his elect, ſay, *Death, where is thy ſting? " Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath " given (us) the victory, through our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt.

" Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear " fellow heirs of the everlaſting kingdom; always re- " member the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in " tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now " appointed to the ſlaughter, that we may be unto our " heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable ſa- " crifice. I may hardly write to you: Wherefore let " theſe few words be a witneſs of my commendations to " you and all them which love us in the faith; and " namely, unto my flock, among whom I am reſident " by God's providence, but as a priſoner.

" And although I am not ſo among them, as I have " been, to preach to them out of a pulpit; yet doth God " now preach unto them by me, by this my impriſon- " ment and captivity which now I ſuffer among them " for *Chriſt*'s goſpel ſake, bidding them to beware of the " *Romiſh* antichriſtian religion and kingdom, requiring " and charging them to abide in the truth of *Chriſt*, " which is ſhortly to be ſealed with the blood of their " paſtor: Who, though he be unworthy of ſuch a mi- " niſtry, yet *Chriſt* their high paſtor is to be regarded;

" whoſe

" whoſe truth hath been taught them by me, is witneſſed " by my chains, and ſhall be by my death, through the " power of that high paſtor. Be not careful, good wife; " caſt your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto " him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our *Samuel*; " whom, even at the ſtake, I will offer as myſelf unto " God. Fare ye well all in *Chriſt*, in hope to be joined " with you in joy everlaſting. This hope is put up in " my boſom, Amen, Amen, Amen, pray, pray.

Another letter to his wife, &c.

" GRACE and comfort, &c. Wife, you ſhall do beſt " not to come often unto the grate where the porter " may ſee you. Put not yourſelf in danger where it " needs not: You ſhall, I think, ſhortly come far enough " into danger by keeping faith and a good conſcience: " Which, dear wife, I truſt you do not ſlack to make " reckoning and account upon, by exerciſing your in- " ward man in meditation of God's moſt holy word, " being the ſuſtenance of the ſoul, and alſo by giving " yourſelf to humble prayer: For theſe two things be " the very means how to be made members of our *Chriſt*, " meet to inherit his kingdom.

" Do this, dear wife, in earneſt, and not leaving off; " and ſo we two ſhall, with our *Chriſt* and all his choſen " children, enjoy the merry world in that everlaſting " immortality; whereas here will nothing elſe be found " but extream miſery, even of them which moſt greedily " ſeek this worldly wealth: And ſo, if we two continue " God's children grafted in our *Chriſt*, the ſame God's " bleſſing which we receive ſhall alſo ſettle upon our " *Samuel*. Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leave " the poor infant (to our ſeeming) at all adventures, yet " ſhall he have our gracious God to be his God: For " ſo hath he ſaid, and he cannot lye; *I will be thy God*, " ſaith he, *and the God of thy ſeed*. Yea, if you leave " him in the wilderneſs, deſtitute of all help, being called " of God to do his will, either to dye for the confeſ- " ſion of *Chriſt*, or any work of obedience: That God " which heard the cry of the little poor infant of *Agar*, " *Sarah*'s hand-maiden, and did ſuccour it, will do the " like to the child of you or any other fearing him, and " putting your truſt in him.

" And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, " let us call for it, and we ſhall have the increaſe both

" of it, and alſo of any other good grace needful for us:
" And be merry in God, in whom alſo I am very merry
" and joyful. O Lord, what great cauſe of rejoicing
" have we, to think upon that kingdom which he vouch-
" ſafeth for his *Chriſt*'s ſake freely to give us, forſaking
" ourſelves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly
" to follow him, even to take up our croſs and follow
" him; and then, as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhall we
" reign with him everlaſtingly; ſhortly. Amen."

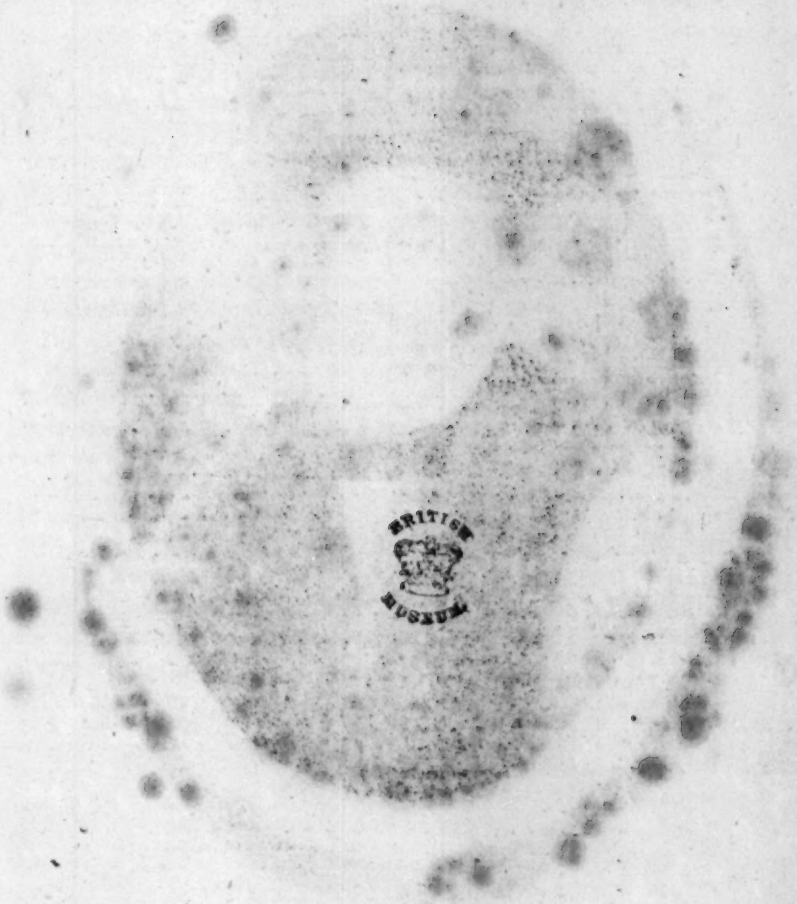
To his wife, a little before his burning.

" GRACE and comfort in *Chriſt*, Amen. Dear wife,
" be merry in the mercies of our *Chriſt*; and alſo
" ye my dear friends. Pray, pray for us every body.
" We be ſhortly to be diſpatched hence unto our good
" *Chriſt*; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you ſent me
" my ſhirt; which you know whereunto it is conſecrated.
" Let it be ſewed down on both ſides, and not open.
" O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of
" thy *Chriſt*, or elſe I ſhall not be able to abide thy coun-
" tenance; ſuch is my filthineſs. He will do ſo, and
" therefore I will not be afraid what ſin, death, hell and
" damnation can do againſt me. O wife, always re-
" member the Lord. God bleſs you, yea, he will bleſs
" thee, good wife, and thy poor boy alſo: Only cleave
" thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray,
" pray, pray."

To Mr. *Robert* and Mr. *John Glover*; his laſt letter, written on the morning, in which he was burnt.

" GRACE and conſolation in our ſweet Saviour *Chriſt*.
" Oh my dear brethren whom I love in the Lord,
" being loved of you alſo in the Lord, be merry and
" rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine in-
" heritance, which I myſelf indeed am moſt unworthy
" of; but my dear *Chriſt* is worthy, who hath purchaſed
" the ſame for me with ſo dear a price. Make haſte my
" dear brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry,
" *eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis*; i. e. with that joy
" which no man ſhall take from us. O wretched ſinner,
" that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath
" vouchſafed me to be a worthy veſſel unto his honour.
" But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they
" proceed out of a not-enough circumciſed heart. Sa-
" lute my good ſiſters your wives; and good ſiſters, fear

" the


BRITISH MUSEUM


BISHOP HOOPER

" the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the truth.
" God's bleſſing be with you always, Amen. Even now
" towards the offering of a burnt ſacrifice. O my *Chriſt*
" help, or elſe I periſh !"

JOHN HOOPER,

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

THIS great Divine, who was born in 1495, was a native of *Somerſetſhire*, and received his academical education at *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, where he was ſent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle *John Hooper*, who was made maſter-fellow of that houſe in 1513, and was alſo principal of St. *Alban's-Hall*. In 1518, *John Hooper*, the nephew, was admitted bachelor of arts, which was the higheſt degree he took in this univerſity, and about the ſame time completed it by determination. What became of him afterwards is not juſtly known: But it is reported, that he was one of the number of Ciſtercians, commonly called white monks, and continued ſo for ſome years, till he grew weary of a monaſtic life, and returned to *Oxford*, where he was converted by books brought from *Germany*, and ſoon became a zealous proteſtant.

In 1539, when the ſtatute of the ſix articles was put in execution, he left *Oxford*, and got into the ſervice of Sir *Thomas Arundel*, a *Devonſhire* gentleman, to whom he became chaplain and ſteward of his eſtate. This gentleman was a *Roman* catholic knight, and was afterwards put to death with the protector, duke of *Somerſet*, in the reign of *Edward* VI. He ſoon diſcovered that *Hooper* was a proteſtant, who thereby loſt his protection, and was obliged to fly into *France*, where he continued ſome time among the reformed, till his diſlike of ſome of their proceedings made him return to *England*. On his arrival in his native country, he lived with a gentleman of the name of

of *Seintlow*, where he became known, and was ſought after to be apprehended. Upon this, he diſguiſed himſelf like a ſailor, hired a boat, and went to *Ireland*, from whence he went to *Holland*, and ſo on to *Switzerland*. *Bullinger* was then at *Zurick*, where he ſucceeded *Zuinglius* in the chair. He likewiſe had been obliged to forſake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to *Hooper*, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, and who, by *Bullinger*'s advice, married a *Burgundian* lady during his reſidence in that country.

Edward VI. came to the crown, in 1547, and *Hooper* came to *England* again, when he ſettled in *London*, where he frequently preached to the people on ſeveral reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly againſt pluralities. He had a great ſweetneſs of temper, and was much regarded by all the party of the Reformed, who inclined to a parity of church government. He reſided ſo long in foreign parts, under the diſcipline of Reformers, who had abrogated every thing that appeared like the church of *Rome* in their conſtitution, that he came home with predilections leſs in favor of the eſtabliſhment under *Cranmer*, than many other pious men of his time. He abhorred the very name and appearance of ſuperſtition, and conſcientiouſly believed, that our Reformation ſhould have gone many degrees farther from *Rome* even in its rites, than it actually did. He thought, that to do leſs, was only to temporize. The others, that is *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, believed, that if they could ſecure the main points of doctrine, other things might be borne as pardonable weakneſſes, if not neceſſary forms at that time, when they had to do with a great and powerful oppoſition, and a very critical life to hope for in the king, with all the proſpect of a popiſh ſucceſſor. All of them undoubtedly acted from motives of piety; but ſome wiſhed to mix greater portions of human prudence with it, than others could conſider to be either right or religious. *Hooper* had all the qualifications of a gracious and great divine, and was loved and revered even by thoſe who differed from him in leſſer things. He was conſidered as a great acquiſition to the Reformation. His learning, piety, and character would give ſtrength and honor to any profeſſion. He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of *Somerſet*, and, perhaps, was more ſeverely treated on that account, when his great patron loſt the protectorſhip. In 1549, he became an accuſer of biſhop *Bonner*, when he was to be deprived of his biſhopric,

biſhopric, which made him fare the worſe when queen *Mary* came to the crown.

After *Hooper* had practiſed himſelf in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and, about two years after, he had the biſhopric of *Worceſter* given him to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of *Warwick* recommended *Hooper* to this preferment, as a man who had all thoſe virtues and qualities required by St. *Paul* in a good biſhop, in his epiſtle to *Timothy*. But ſome diſputes having ariſen about the veſtments or habits proper for the clergy, and *Hooper* among others wiſhing to proſcribe as much as poſſible whatever had the appearance of *Romiſh* ſuperſtition, an unhappy controverſy aroſe between other good men and himſelf upon the ſubject. It was cuſtomary to wear ſuch garments and apparel as the popiſh biſhops uſed: Firſt a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. *Hooper* was a man of learning, and of great parts, as well as piety: He thought that all theſe were mere human inventions, brought into the church by cuſtom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the maſs, and conſecrated for that uſe, and that they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by the apoſtle as beggarly elements. In anſwer to this, it was told him by archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and biſhop *Ridley*, that though tradition in matters of faith was juſtly to be rejected; yet in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, cuſtom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long uſed. The archbiſhop therefore required *Hooper* to conform himſelf to the law: But he perſiſted in refuſing a rochet, and *Cranmer* perſiſted in refuſing to conſecrate him without it. The earl of *Warwick*, who was then prevalent at court, wrote a letter to the archbiſhop, deſiring him not to inſiſt upon theſe ceremonies from the biſhop elect of *Glouceſter*; nor to 'charge 'him with an oath burthenſome to his conſcience.' It is ſaid by ſome writers, that this was the oath of ſupremacy; but others, with more reaſon, conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbiſhop, which conſequently commanded ſuch ceremonies as *Hooper* was willing to decline; for it is improbable, that the king would diſpenſe with any perſon from taking the oath of ſupremacy, wherein his own dignity was ſo nearly concerned. *War-*

wick

wick alſo prevailed on the king to write a letter to *Cranmer* in favor of *Hooper*, wherein his majeſty told his grace, that 'he had choſen *Hooper* to be biſhop of *Glauceſter*, as 'well for his great learning, deep judgement, and long 'ſtudy, both in the ſcriptures, and other profound learn-'ing; as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and 'honeſt life for that kind of vocation. From conſecrat-'ing of whom, ſays the king, we underſtand you do ſtay, 'becauſe he would have you omit, and let paſs certain 'rites and ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby 'ye think, you ſhould fall in præmunire of laws: We 'have thought good to diſpenſe, and diſcharge you of all 'manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you ſhould 'run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any 'of the ſame.' This letter was dated the fifth of *Auguſt* 1550, and was ſigned by *Somerſet*, and five other lords of the council: But *Cranmer* inſiſted that *Hooper* ſhould conform himſelf in all points, and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the council confined him to his houſe. *Cranmer* conſulted *Bucer* and *Martyr* upon this occaſion, who were alſo conſulted by *Hooper*. *Hooper* continued ſtrong in his prepoſſeſſion; and many arguments were urged on both ſides, which later ages have more amply enlarged and explained. *Hooper* then publiſhed a confeſſion of his faith, in which he complained of the privy council. Upon this he was committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop, who uſed all his endeavors to bring *Hooper* off from his opinion, but without effect. His grace then informed the council, that his priſoner was not content with his nonconformity, but had offered to preſcribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to ſend him to the Fleet, and he continued there till the next year.

At laſt the earl of *Warwick* deſerted his chaplain; and the affair of *Hooper*, which had ſlept from *Auguſt* to *March* whilſt he remained in the Fleet, was reſumed. He was brought before the council, to explain himſelf on the difficulties which he had ſtarted. The objection he made to the oath was, the "ſwearing by God, the ſaints, and the holy "goſpels," when none but God himſelf ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king ſtruck out thoſe words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be ſworn by. As to the point about the veſtments, it was compromiſed on theſe conditions: He was to wear the epiſcopal habit which was preſcribed, when he was conſecrated, and when he preached before

the

the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and on other occaſions he was diſpenſed with. On theſe terms he was conſecrated in the uſual form; by which he loſt much of the popularity he had gained by his declamation againſt the eſtabliſhed rites. Both parties had violently contended about this matter, which was the means of introducing a contention into *England*, that hath been pernicious to the intereſts of religion and the church.

Thus *Hooper* was conſecrated biſhop of *Glouceſter*, on the eighth of *March*, 1551, and then preached before the king, in his epiſcopal habit. When he entered into his dioceſe, 'he left no pains untaken, nor ways unſought, 'how to train up the flock of *Chriſt* in the true word 'of ſalvation, continually labouring in the ſame.' He preached often, kept good hoſpitality for the poorer ſort of people, and was beloved by all.

The ſee of *Glouceſter* was looked upon as a poor pittance for ſo great a divine, and, on the twentieth of *May*, 1552, he was declared biſhop of *Worceſter*, in the room of *Heath*, who was then a priſoner in the *Fleet*, for refuſing to agree with the book of ordinations. *Hooper* was permitted to hold *Worceſter* in commendam with *Glouceſter*; for which he was cenſured by the papiſts. 'But let ſuch know, that the dioceſes of *Glouceſter* and '*Worceſter* lie contiguous: That many ſingle biſhoprics 'in *England* are larger than both, for extent in land, 'and number of pariſhes: That *Dunſtan* had the bi-'ſhopric of *Worceſter* and *London* with it at the ſame time, 'being far more remote: That it is not having two bi-'ſhoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the 'ſin; whereas *Hooper*, in preaching and viſiting, afforded 'double diligence in his double dioceſe.'

The compliance of *Hooper* with the eſtabliſhed religion was, at this time, of great ſervice to the public: But this plurality conferred upon one prelate, is a proof how far the government began to deviate from the ſtrict maxim it had laid down, of not ſuffering a biſhop to keep even a parſonage in commendam. *Hooper* made a very good uſe of his power. He viſited both ſees, and did great ſervices both to the church and ſtate of *England*. He made to the king a deed of gift of his biſhopric of *Glouceſter*, and of all the lands and annuities he enjoyed by the ſame. Soon after, that biſhopric was diſſolved, or rather united with the ſee of *Worceſter*, ſo that the juriſdiction of *Glouceſter* ceaſed. In the act of his tranſlation

to *Worceſter*, he was made biſhop of the ſame, during his natural life, 'provided he behaved ſo long well.' But it is probable, the new biſhop enjoyed only a ſmall part of the revenues, conſidering the daily growing practice of courtiers begging for eccleſiaſtical revenues.

When king *Edward* died, in 1553, religion was ſubverted, and this good biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by queen *Mary* to be at *London*, to anſwer *Heath* the deprived biſhop, and *Bonner* biſhop of *London*, for being one of his accuſers. *Hooper* was ſeaſonably adviſed to make his eſcape: But he was determined to bear the ſtorm, and ſaid, "once I fled, and took me to "my feet; now I will continue to live and die with my "ſheep." He was brought up to *London* by a purſuivant in *Auguſt*, and was very opprobriouſly received by the biſhop of *Winchеſter*, who committed him priſoner to the *Fleet* on the firſt of *September* following. He remained there ſeveral months, during which time he was examined many times, and required to recant his opinions: But he ſtood conſtant and reſolute to the articles of his faith. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Ferrar*, were alſo impriſoned. The archbiſhop of *York*, and the biſhops of *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and St. *David*'s, were deprived of their biſhoprics, for having been married. The ſees of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Glouceſter*, were declared void, becauſe thoſe biſhops had miſbehaved themſelves. Thus were ſeven biſhops turned out all at once, by an authority which the bigotted queen herſelf thought ſinful and ſchiſmatical; and their ſees were filled with men in whom ſhe confided.

The council proceeded with vigor in matters of hereſy, and removed *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, to diſpute with ſome members of the convocation at *Oxford*, where they all ſuffered martyrdom. There was a deſign of the ſame nature to be executed at *Cambridge*, over ſome other biſhops and eminent clergy, who were in the ſeveral priſons of *Newgate*, the *Fleet*, and the *King's-bench*: But the priſoners ſet forth a declaration, ſigned by *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, *Coverdale* biſhop of *Exeter*, and ſeven divines, that they would not diſpute unleſs in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houſes of parliament. To this declaration they added a ſummary of their belief; for which, they ſaid, they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter, or the fire, as it ſhould pleaſe God to appoint. This prevented any farther public conferences in religion; and it was determined

mined to ſilence the proteſtants more effectually in another manner.

It would be diſagreeable to particularize the numerous deprivations, hardſhips, expulſions, and impriſonments, which the proteſtants, both clergy and laity, women as well as men, underwent. The government had the parliament on its ſide, and drove on as furiouſly as could be wiſhed. Nothing was to be heard but declamations, from their moſt florid preachers, in favor of their religion. Nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets, but pageants expoſed by papiſts, and pillories occupied by proteſtants; Yet no pomp could amuſe, no ſeverity could damp the ſpirit of the people.

Gardiner chearfully undertook to put the laws in execution againſt heretics: But as the people could not be intimidated by his threats, or worked upon by his promiſes, the council ſent for the moſt popular preachers that were in cuſtody, to begin the ſeverities upon them, according to *Gardiner*'s plan. It was reſolved that *Hooper*, as the moſt obnoxious to the government, if not the moſt popular, ſhould be the leading ſacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty-firſt of *January*, 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of *John Hooper* clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a biſhop, if he would confeſs his hereſies, and return to the church; which he abſolutely refuſed. Three articles were then exhibited againſt him, for marrying, for allowing a divorce and ſecond marriage in the caſe of fornication, and for denying the corporal preſence of *Chriſt* in the ſacrament. *Hooper* owned himſelf guilty of the accuſation; but offered to defend himſelf againſt all who ſhould maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the biſhops, who treated him with the utmoſt inſolence, and remanded him back to priſon.

The two bloody biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter* had a perſonal hatred to *Hooper*, who behaved with all the conſtancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correſpondence with *Bullinger*, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he ſent his wife *Anne*, and her children, who was herſelf a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his ſentiments, none having been more active, or more ſucceſsful, than he was in the cauſe of Reformation. *Bullinger* wrote him a long letter from *Zurick*, dated the tenth of *October*, 1554, wherein he deſires *Hooper* to commend him to the moſt reverend fathers and holy confeſſors of *Chriſt*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*,

and *Latimer*. He exhorts them all to be ſtrong in the Lord, to fight a good fight, and to be faithful unto the end; as *Chriſt* was their captain; and all the prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs, their fellow ſoldiers.

The commiſſioners had declared that *Hooper* ought to be deprived of his biſhopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-ſecond of *January*, at the biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s houſe at St. *Mary Overy*'s. He was then aſked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of *Chriſt*: Therefore, he would not condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped juriſdiction; neither eſteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of *Chriſt*: "For "the church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe *Chriſt*, "and fleeth the ſtrangers." He was commanded back to the fleet, and brought before the commiſſioners again on the twenty-eighth of *January*, together with Mr. *John Rogers*, vicar of St. *Sepulchre*'s and reader of St. *Paul*'s. They were both examined, and ſent away to be brought into court the next morning, to ſee if they would relent. They were conducted to the *Compter* in *Southwark*, by the ſheriffs of *London*; and *Hooper* ſaid to *Rogers*, as they walked through the ſtreet ſurrounded by the populace: "Come, brother *Rogers*, muſt we two take this matter "firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe faggots?" *Rogers* anſwered: 'Yes, ſir, by God's grace.' "Doubt not, "replied *Hooper*, but God will give grace."

The next morning they were brought again before the commiſſioners, who ſat in judgement in St. *Mary Overy*'s church. *Hooper* would by no means condeſcend to the commiſſioners, who condemned him, to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the *Clink*, a priſon near the biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s houſe; from whence he was removed to *Newgate* the ſame night.

The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the ſtreets; and he was kept cloſe priſoner in *Newgate* ſix days. During this time he was frequently viſited by *Bonner* and his chaplains, who vainly endeavored to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he deſpiſed; and then they ſpread a report that he had recanted. This report ſoon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved; and, on the ſecond of *February*, wrote a letter to diſprove that falſe and malicious ſtory; and to aſſure the world that he was more than ever confirmed in the proteſtant faith,

ſaying,

ſaying, "I have taught the truth with my tongue and "with my pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhall "confirm the ſame, by God's grace, with my blood."

The biſhop of *London* came to *Newgate*, and degraded *Hooper*, after reading the ſentence of his degradation, wherein *Hooper* is called a Preſbyter, under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by whoſe definitive ſentence he was pronounced, 'an open, obſtinate, and 'incorrigible heretic;' and, as ſuch, was to be degraded from his order, and for theſe demerits to be delivered to the ſecular power. 'In degrading this bleſſed biſhop, 'they did not proceed againſt him as a biſhop, but only 'as againſt a prieſt, as they termed him; for ſuch as he 'was, theſe Balaamites accounted no biſhop.'

Rogers was degraded at the ſame time, and died a martyr in *Smithfield:* But *Hooper* was impolitically ſent by the government to die at *Glouceſter*, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witneſſes of his ſufferings. By the order that was ſent to burn him at *Glouceſter*, the ſheriff was directed to call in ſome of reputation in the county to aſſiſt at his execution: And becauſe he was, ſays the order, 'a vain-glorious perſon, as all heretics 'are,' he was neither ſuffered to ſpeak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection. He was much pleaſed at being carried to *Glouceſter*, that he might confirm with his death the truth which he had taught there in his life; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to perform the ſame to his glory.

On the fifth of *February*, before daylight, he was brought by the ſheriffs from *Newgate*, to a place appointed near St. *Dunſtan*'s church in *Fleet-ſtreet*, where he was received by a body of the queen's guards, who were to carry him to *Glouceſter*. He eat a hearty breakfaſt, and leapt chearfully on horſeback without help. On the ſeventh he arrived at *Glouceſter*, where he found all the citizens aſſembled to ſee him, who cried and lamented for his condition.

The next morning ſome of his friends were permitted to ſee him, among whom was Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, who found the good biſhop at his prayers, and burſt forth into tears, as he ſpoke in this manner: 'I underſtand 'you are come here to die: But, alas! conſider that life 'is ſweet, and death is bitter: Therefore, ſeeing life 'may be had, deſire to live, for life hereafter may do 'good.' The biſhop anſwered, "Indeed, I am come

" here to end this life, and to ſuffer death, becauſe I " will not gainſay the former truth that I have taught " in this dioceſe, and elſewhere. I do not ſo much re- " gard this death, nor eſteem this life; but have ſettled " myſelf, through the ſtrength of God's Holy Spirit, " patiently to paſs through the torments and extremities " of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the " truth of his word." The ſame night he was committed by the guard to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of *Glouceſter*, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great reſpect. He thanked them for their civility, and requeſted the ſheriffs, that " there might be " quick fire, ſhortly to make an end." He told them, " he was not come there as one compelled to die; for it " was well known he might have had his life with " worldly gain: But as one willing to offer and give his " life for the truth; rather than conſent to the wicked " papiſtical religion of the biſhop of *Rome*, received and " ſet forth by the magiſtrates in *England*, to the high " diſpleaſure and diſhonour of God: And he truſted, " by God's grace, the next day to die a faithful ſervant " of God, and true obedient ſubject to the queen." He was not carried to the common jail of the city called *North-gate*; but lodged in the houſe of Mr. *Robert Ingram*, where he ſpent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, the commiſſioners, appointed to ſee the execution, came to the houſe; and at nine the biſhop was brought down from his chamber by the ſheriffs, and led to the ſtake between them like a lamb going to the ſlaughter. It was market-day, and about ſeven thouſand people were aſſembled on the occaſion, which made him ſay, " Alas! why are theſe people " here? Perhaps they think to hear ſomething of me " now, as they have in times paſt; but, alas! ſpeech is " prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death " is well known unto them. When I was appointed " here to be their paſtor, I preached unto them true and " ſincere doctrine out of the word of God: Becauſe I " will not now account the ſame to be hereſy and un- " truth, this death is prepared for me."

He was dreſt in a gown of his hoſt's; a hat on his head; and a ſtaff in his hand to ſupport him; as the ſciatica, which he had contracted in priſon, made him halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he looked very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew. He frequently lifted up his eyes towards heaven as he paſſed along;

along; and he was never known, ſince his being their biſhop, to look with ſo lively and ruddy a countenance as he did at that time.

When he came to the ſtake, which was oppoſite the college of prieſts, where he uſed to preach, he beheld the preparation for his death with a compoſed and ſmiling countenance. When the iron work was brought to faſten him to the ſtake, he took an iron hoop and put it about his waiſt; and, bidding them take away the reſt, he ſaid, "I doubt not but God will give me ſtrength to abide "the extremity of the fire without binding." The place was ſurrounded with ſpectators, and the prieſts of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the biſhop was not permitted to ſpeak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr. *Bridges*, whom he knew, to hear it, which he did with great attention, and reported that the prayer was made upon the whole creed, wherein the biſhop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of a prayer. When he was in the middle of this prayer, a box was brought, and laid before him on a ſtool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he ſaw it, he cried, "If you love my ſoul, away with it; if you "love my ſoul, away with it." He was then permitted to proceed in prayer, which he concluded in theſe words: "Lord, I am hell; but thou art heaven. Thou "art a gracious and merciful Redeemer: Have mercy "therefore upon me, a moſt miſerable and wretched "offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thy "ineſtimable goodneſs. Thou art aſcended into hea-"ven; receive me to be a partaker of thy joys there, "where thou ſitteſt in equal glory with thy Father. "For well thou knoweſt wherefore I am come hither to "ſuffer, and why the wicked do perſecute thy poor "ſervant; not for my ſins and tranſgreſſions committed "againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allow of their "wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and "the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, in which it "pleaſed thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to inſtruct me. "With as much diligence as ſo poor a creature could, "being thereto called, I have ſet forth thy glory. Thou "well ſeeſt, O Lord my God, what terrible torments "and cruel pains are prepared for thy poor creature; "even ſuch, Lord, as, without thy ſtrength, no one is "able to bear or patiently to paſs. But that which is

"impoſſible

" impoſſible with man, is poſſible with thee: There-
" fore, ſtrengthen me of thy goodneſs, that in the fire I
" break not the rules of patience; or elſe aſſuage the
" terror of the pains, as ſhall ſeem fitteſt for thy glory."

When prayer was done, he prepared himſelf for the ſtake, and was undreſt to his ſhirt, which he truſſed between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burſt from the eyes of the ſpectators as he was faſtened to the ſtake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was ſoon kindled: But the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame that it did not riſe up and ſuffocate him, nor deſtroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmoſt torment. He frequently called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire; which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his miſery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning. During this ſpace, he frequently ſaid, " O Jeſus, thou
" ſon of *David*, have mercy on me, and receive my
" ſoul!" The laſt words, he was heard to utter, were; " Lord *Jeſus*, receive my ſpirit!" The account given by *Fox* of his long excruciating torments is terrible to hear, who ſays, he patiently bore the extremity of the fire, 'neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any 'ſide; but having his nether parts burnt, and his bowels 'fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed: 'And he now reigneth as a bleſſed martyr in the joys of 'heaven, prepared for the faithful in *Chriſt* before the 'foundations of the world: For whoſe conſtancy all 'Chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.'

This learned and pious prelate was thus cruelly martyred, like *Polycarp*, biſhop of *Smyrna*, to whom he has been juſtly compared, on the ninth of *February*, 1555, and in the ſixtieth year of his age.

In one of his letters, whilſt he was in priſon, he uſed theſe words; " Impriſonment is painful; but liberty
" upon evil conditions is worſe. The priſon ſtinks; yet
" not ſo much as the ſweet houſes, where the fear of
" God is wanting. I muſt be alone and ſolitary: It is
" better ſo to be, and have God with me, than to be in
" company with the wicked. Loſs of goods is great;
" but the loſs of grace and God's favour is greater. I
" cannot tell how to anſwer before great and learned
" men:

"men: Yet it is better to do that, than to ſtand naked "before God's tribunal. I ſhall die by the hands of "cruel men. He is bleſſed, that loſeth his life, and "findeth life eternal. There is neither felicity nor ad-"verſity in this world, that is great, if it be weighed "with the joys and pains of the world to come." Soon after he added; "I am a precious jewel now, and dain-"tily kept, never ſo daintily before; for neither my "own man, nor any of the ſervants of the houſe, may "come to me, but my keeper only, who is a ſimple rude "fellow: But I am not troubled thereat."

He wrote twenty-four books and treatiſes when in priſon: Beſides he wrote of the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are moſtly theſe: Anſwer to *Gardiner*'s book, entitled, A Detection of the Devil's Sophiſtry: A Declaration of *Chriſt* and his Office: Leſſon of the Incarnation of *Chriſt:* Sermons on *Jonas:* A godly Confeſſion and Proteſtation of the Chriſtian Faith: *Homily* to be read in the time of the Peſtilence. All theſe were wrote from 1549, to 1553: And he afterwards wrote; *Epiſtola ad Epiſcopos*, &c. An Exhortation to Patience, ſent to his wife: Sentences wrote in Priſon: Comfortable Expoſitions on the twenty-third, ſixty-ſecond, ſeventy-third, and ſeventy-ſeventh *Pſalms:* Annotations on the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans:* Twelve Lectures upon the Creed: Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God: And he alſo tranſlated *Tertullian*'s ſecond book to his wife, concerning the choice of a huſband or wife.

The manner of his death being ſo very ſevere, very uncharitable reflexions were made upon it; as though he, who had kindled the fire of diſſention about the veſtments, had ſuffered thus uncommonly for that reaſon. *Ridley* and *Hooper* were not fully reconciled till the reign of *Mary*, when *Hooper* had the honor to offer the firſt agreement, which *Ridley* embraced with a brotherly love, and ſeveral letters paſſed between them on that occaſion. They acknowledged their mutual faults in carrying things of ſuch indifference to ſo great a length, and aſſured each other of their ſincere love and affection. Happy would it have been for *England*, and much to the intereſt of religion, if the fires which conſumed theſe pious men had put an end to ſuch frivolous and idle conteſts! And if thoſe who have ſince engaged in them with a furious zeal, would reflect more on the ſenſe which

theſe good biſhops had of them when they were on the verge of another world, than on the heats into which they put them, while they were in eaſe and ſecurity, it is probable they might be perſuaded to a little more humility and moderation.

ROWLAND TAYLOR, D.D.

'OF whom the world was not worthy'—is an obſervation made by the Divine Spirit of God's people in general; but it is particularly ſaid of thoſe, who have had the invincible courage to ſuffer for his truth. It is eminently applicable to the excellent martyr, ſome account of whom we are now to ſubmit to the Reader.

Rowland Taylor, doctor both in civil and canon laws, was a very uncommon man both for grace and gifts: He had the piety of *Calvin*, the intrepidity of *Luther*, and what was orthodox in both. He was rector of *Hadley*, in *Suffolk*; which was one of the firſt towns in *England* that received the goſpel, by the preaching of Mr. *Thomas Bilney*: 'By whoſe induſtry, ſays Mr. *Fox*, the goſpel of 'Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſs, and took ſuch root 'there, that a great number in that pariſh became ex'ceedingly well learned in the holy ſcriptures, as well 'women as men:' So that one might have found amongſt them many, who had often read the whole bible through, and who could have ſaid great part of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles by heart; and very well and readily have given a ſcriptural and judicious anſwer in any matter of controverſy. Their children and ſervants were alſo brought up with ſuch care, and ſo diligently inſtructed in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town ſeemed rather an univerſity of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or laboring, people: And, what is moſt to be commended, they were, for the moſt part, faithful followers of God's word in holineſs of life and converſation.

Dr. *Taylor* was no ſooner preſented to this benefice of *Hadley*, than he went and reſided upon it; though he had the happineſs of living at *Lambeth* with archbiſhop *Cranmer*. He not only labored abundantly in preaching the pure

pure doctrines of the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*; but, as becomes every true paſtor, he was an example to the believers, in word, in converſation, in charity, in ſpirit, in faith, in purity; that in a little time, the people reſorted to him as a father. 'To the poor, ſays Mr. *Fox*, 'that were blind, lame, ſick, bed-rid, or that had many 'children, he was indeed a father, a careful patron, and 'diligent provider; and ſtirred up ſuch pariſhioners, as 'had it in their power, to make a general proviſion for 'them; while he himſelf (beſide the continual relief they 'always found at his houſe) gave moſt liberally every 'year to the common alm's-box. His wife alſo was an 'honeſt, diſcreet, and ſober matron; and his children well 'nurtured, and brought up in the fear of God and good 'learning.' He was of a meek and humble ſpirit, yet bold and faithful in reproving ſin, even in the greateſt: And thus he continued, as a faithful and good ſhepherd, feeding, governing, and leading his flock through the wilderneſs of this evil world, all the days of good king *Edward*.

When queen *Mary* aſcended the throne, one *Foſter*, a ſteward and keeper of courts, and *John Clerk*, of *Hadley*, two papiſts, agreed together, by violence, to build up an altar in Dr. *Taylor*'s church, and to have maſs ſaid in it; and accordingly engaged *John Averth*, miniſter of *Aldam*, a diſſembling papiſt, to come with all the popiſh implements and garments, and to be their prieſt, having a band of papiſts with drawn ſwords to defend them. They proceeded to *Hadley* church in a body, and rang the bell; which Dr. *Taylor* hearing, as he ſat at his ſtudies, thought it was ſome pariſh-buſineſs that required his attendance, and therefore went to church; where, to his great ſurprize, he ſaw *Averth*, in all his popiſh veſtments, with a broad new ſhaved crown, ready to begin his popiſh ſacrifice; and ſurrounded with armed men, leſt any body ſhould approach to diſturb him; whom he thus addreſſed:

"Thou devil, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this "church, to prophane and defile it with this abominable "idolatry? I command thee, thou popiſh wolf, in the "name of God, to avoid hence, and not to preſume "thus to poiſon *Chriſt*'s flock." Then ſaid *Foſter*, 'Thou traitor, what doeſt thou here, to let and diſturb 'the queen's proceedings?' Doctor *Taylor* anſwered, "I am no traitor, but I am the ſhepherd, that God my "Lord *Chriſt* hath appointed to feed his flock; there-"fore I have very good authority to be here." Mrs.

Taylor, who had followed her huſband into the church, kneeled down, and lifting up her hands, cried with a loud voice, 'I beſeech God, the righteous judge, to 'avenge this injury, which this popiſh idolater doth this 'day to the blood of *Chriſt*.' They then thruſt both the Doctor and her out of the church; and, in a day or two after, wrote to *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter* and lord chancellor, lodging in his court many falſe and heavy charges againſt him.

The biſhop no ſooner heard of it, than he ſent letters miſſive to Dr. *Taylor*, commanding him within a certain time to come and appear before him, upon his allegiance, to anſwer ſuch complaints as were made againſt him. When his friends knew this, they earneſtly entreated him to fly; for there was no reaſon to expect he would meet either with juſtice or favor, but, on the contrary, impriſonment and death. To theſe he anſwered; "I "know my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the "truth ſo ſtrong on my ſide, that I will, by God's "grace, appear before them, and to their face reſiſt their "falſe doings; for I believe I ſhall never be able to do "God ſo good ſervice as now; and that I ſhall never "have ſo glorious a calling, nor ſo much of the mercy "of God proferred me, as I have now: Therefore, pray "for me; and I doubt not but God will give me "ſtrength, and his Holy Spirit, that all my adverſaries "ſhall be aſhamed of their doings." And when they further urged, that he had ſufficiently done his duty, and borne witneſs to the truth, both in his ſermons and in reſiſting the popiſh prieſt; that our Saviour *Chriſt* ſays, *when they perſecute you in one city, flee unto another*; and that, in fleeing from the preſent perſecution, he might reſerve himſelf for better times; he replied, "I am old, "and have already lived too long to ſee theſe terrible "and wicked days. You may act according to your "conſciences; but I am reſolved not to fly: God ſhall "hereafter raiſe up teachers, who ſhall teach with more "diligence and fruitfulneſs than I have done; for God "will not forſake his church, though for a time he trieth "and correcteth us, and that not without juſt cauſe."

Dr. *Taylor* ſet out for *London*, attended by his own ſervant, *John Hull*, who, by the way, labored to perſuade his maſter to fly, proffering him his ſervice, though at the hazard of his life, in all the perils and dangers that might attend his flight. "Oh *John!* (anſwered the "good Doctor) ſhall I give place to this thy counſel

"and

" and worldly perſuaſion, and leave my flock in this " danger? Remember the good ſhepherd *Chriſt*, who not " only fed his flock, but alſo died for it: Him I muſt, " and, by the grace of God, will follow. Therefore, " good *John*, pray for me; and if, at any time, thou ſeeſt " me weak, comfort me; but diſcourage me not in this " my godly enterprize and purpoſe."

Dr. *Taylor*, upon his arrival at *London*, waited on the biſhop, who, according to cuſtom, reviled him, calling him *knave*, *traitor*, *heretic*, and much more of the ſame kind of language, which was uſual with him; all which the doctor heard with great patience; and then ſaid, " My lord, I am neither a traitor nor a heretic, but a " true ſubject, and a faithful Chriſtian man; and am " come, according to your command, to know your " lordſhip's pleaſure in ſending for me." Then ſaid the biſhop, 'Art thou come, thou villain? How dareſt thou 'look me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who 'I am?'—" Yes, (anſwered the doctor) I know who " you are. You are Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, biſhop of " *Wincheſter*, and lord chancellor, and yet but a man, I " trow. But (continued the doctor) if you expect that " I ſhould be afraid of your lordly looks; why do you " not fear God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for " ſhame look any Chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing you " have forſaken the truth, denied our Saviour *Chriſt* and " his word, and have done contrary to your own oath " and writing? With what countenance will you appear " before the judgement-ſeat of *Chriſt*, and anſwer to " your oath made, firſt unto king *Henry* VIII. and after- " ward unto king *Edward* his ſon?"—'Tuſh, tuſh, '(cried the biſhop) that was an *Herod*'s oath, unlawful; 'and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well 'in breaking it;—and, I thank God, I am come home 'again to our mother, the catholic church of *Rome*; and 'ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.'

" But (ſaid Dr. *Taylor*) you will not be diſcharged " before *Chriſt*, who doubtleſs will require it at your " hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and ſove- " reign lord the king, from whoſe obedience the pope " nor any other man can abſolve you."—'I ſee, (ſaid 'the biſhop) thou art an arrogant knave, and a very 'fool.'—" My lord, (ſaid the doctor) leave your un- " ſeemly railing at me; it is unbecoming a man in " authority as you are. I am a Chriſtian man; and " you know, that *he that ſaith to his brother, Racha, is in*

" *danger*

" *danger of the council*; *and he that ſaith, Thou fool, is in* " *danger of hell-fire.*"—' Ye are falſe, (ſaid the biſhop) ' and liars all the ſort of you.'—" Nay, my lord, we " are true men, (replied *Taylor*) and know that it is " written, *The mouth that lieth, ſlayeth the ſoul:* And " again, *Thou Lord God ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak lies.* " And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, " which you, contrary to your conſciences, deny and " forſake."

' Thou art a married man,' ſaid the biſhop. " Yes, " my lord, (ſaid the doctor) I thank God I am, and " have had nine children, all in lawful matrimony; " and bleſſed be God who has ordained matrimony, and " commanded that every man, that had not the gift of " continency, ſhould marry a wife of his own, and not " live in adultery or whoredom."—' But thou haſt re- ' ſiſted the queen's proceedings, in not ſuffering the ' miniſter of *Aldam* to ſay maſs in *Hadley*.'—" My lord, " I am the miniſter of *Hadley:* And it is againſt all " right, conſcience, and law, that any man ſhould come " into my charge, and preſume to infect the flock, com- " mitted to my care, with the venom of the popiſh " idolatrous maſs." With that, the biſhop grew very angry, and ſaid, ' Thou art a blaſphemous heretic in- ' deed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed ſacrament, [and put ' off his cap] and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy maſs, which ' is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.'—" Nay, " (ſays *Taylor*) I blaſpheme not the bleſſed ſacrament, " which *Chriſt* inſtituted; but I reverence it as a Chriſ- " tian ought to do, and confeſs, that *Chriſt* ordained " the holy communion in remembrance of his death and " paſſion; which, when we keep according to his ordi- " nance, we, through faith, eat the body of *Chriſt*, and " drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption. " That ſacrifice, oblation, and atonement, which *Chriſt* " made and offered in his own perſon once for all, was " full, perfect, and ſufficient for all them that believe in " him; ſo that no prieſt can offer him again; nor need " we any more propitiatory ſacrifice: Therefore I ſay, " with *Chryſoſtom*, and all the doctors, ' Our ſacrifice is ' only memorative, in the remembrance of *Chriſt*'s death ' and paſſion, a ſacrifice of thankſgiving;' and therefore " the fathers called it *euchariſtia:* And any other ſacrifice " the church knows nothing of."—' True, (ſaid the ' biſhop) the ſacrament is called *euchariſtia*, a thankſ- ' giving, becauſe we there give thanks for our redemp- ' tion;

'tion; but it is alſo a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick 'and dead, which thou ſhalt confeſs e'er thou and I 'have done.'—Then the biſhop called his men, and ſaid, 'Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the *King's* 'Bench, and charge the keeper that he be cloſe confined.' Upon which Dr. *Taylor* kneeled down, and holding up both his hands, ſaid, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and "from the tyranny of the biſhop of *Rome*, and all his "deteſtable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good "Lord deliver us;"—and added, "God be praiſed for "good king *Edward!*"

Dr. *Taylor*, being ſent to priſon, was confined almoſt two years; during which time he was frequently examined reſpecting his faith, and as often witneſſed a good confeſſion before his adverſaries. But, as his examinations are ſubſtantially the ſame, we will lay before the Reader the following letter, written by the doctor to a friend, in which he gives an account of his examination on the twenty-ſecond of *January*, before the chancellor and other commiſſioners.

A letter of Dr. Taylor, *containing a converſation between him and the lord chancellor and other commiſſioners, the twenty-ſecond of* January.

"WHEREAS you would have me to write the "talk between the king and queen's moſt ho-"nourable council and me on *Tueſday* the twenty-ſecond "of *January*, ſo far as I remember: Firſt, my lord "chancellor ſaid, 'You among others are at this preſent 'time ſent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majeſties 'favour and mercy, if you will now riſe again with us 'from the fall which we generally have received in this 'realm, from the which (God be praiſed) we are now 'clearly delivered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe 'with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you ſhall 'have judgement according to your demerit.' To this I "anſwered, that ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall "that ever I could receive: For I ſhould ſo fall from "my dear Saviour *Chriſt* to antichriſt. For I do believe, "that the religion ſet forth in king *Edward*'s days, was "according to the vein of the holy ſcripture, which "containeth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian religion, "from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I "live, by God's grace.

"Then maſter ſecretary *Bourn* ſaid, 'Which of the 'religions mean ye of in king *Edward*'s days? For ye

'know there were diverſe books of religion ſet forth in 'his days. There was a religion ſet forth in a cate-'chiſm by my lord of *Canterbury*. Do you mean that 'you will ſtick to that?'

"I anſwered, my lord of *Canterbury* made a catechiſm "to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, which book was not of "his own making: Yet he ſet it forth in his own name; "and truly that book for the time did much good. But "there was, after that, ſet forth by the moſt innocent king "*Edward* (for whom God be praiſed everlaſtingly) the "whole church-ſervice, with great deliberation, and the "advice of the beſt learned men in the realm, and "authoriſed by the whole parliament, and received and "publiſhed gladly by the whole realm: Which book was "never reformed but once, and yet by that one refor-"mation it was ſo fully perfected, according to the rules "of our Chriſtian religion in every behalf, that no "Chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thing "therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.

"Then my lord chancellor ſaid, 'Didſt thou never 'read the book that I ſet forth of the ſacrament?'

"I anſwered, that I had read it.

"Then he ſaid, 'How likeſt thou that book?' With "that one of the council (whoſe name I know not) ſaid, 'My lord, that is a good queſtion: For I am ſure, that 'book ſtoppeth all their mouths.' Then ſaid I, My "lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth "of God's word in that book.

"Then my lord ſaid, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To "that I anſwered, That is as ill as *racha* or *fool*. "Then my lord ſaid, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle-'brow.'

"To that I anſwered, I have read over and over "again the holy ſcriptures, and *S. Auguſtine*'s works "through, *S. Cyprian*, *Euſebius*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nazi-"anzene*, with divers other books through once; there-"fore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Beſides "theſe, my lord, I profeſſed the civil laws, as your lord-"ſhip did, and I have read over the canon law alſo.

"Then my lord ſaid, 'With a corrupt judgement 'thou readeſt all things: Touching my profeſſion, it is 'divinity, in which I have written divers books.' Then "ſaid I, My lord, ye did write one book, *De verâ obe-"dientiâ*; I would you had been conſtant in that: For "indeed you never did declare a good conſcience that I "heard of, but in that one book.

"Then

" Then my lord ſaid, ' tut, tut, tut, I wrote againſt ' *Bucer* in prieſts marriages: But ſuch books pleaſe not ' ſuch wretches as thou art, which haſt been married ' many years.'

" To that I anſwered, I am married indeed, and I " have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank " God: And this I am ſure of, that your proceedings " now at this preſent in this realm againſt prieſts mar- " riages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, " againſt natural law, civil law, canon law, general " councils, canons of the apoſtles, antient doctors, and " God's laws.

" Then ſpake my lord of *Durham*, ſaying, ' you have ' profeſſed the civil law, as you ſay. Then you know ' that *Juſtinian* writeth, that prieſts ſhould at their tak- ' ing of orders ſwear, that they were never married; and ' he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apoſtolorum*.'

" To that I anſwered, that I did not remember any " ſuch law of *Juſtinian*. But I am ſure, that *Juſtinian* " writeth in *Titulo de indicta viduitate*, in cod. that if " one would bequeath to his wife in his teſtament a " legacy, under a condition that ſhe ſhould never marry " again, and take an oath of her for accompliſhing the " ſame, yet ſhe may marry again if he die, notwithſtand- " ing the aforeſaid conditions, and oath taken and made " againſt marriage: And an oath is another manner of " obligation made to God, than is a papiſtical vow made " to man.

" Moreover, in the pandects it is contained, that if a " man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition " that ſhe ſhall never marry; yet ſhe may marry, and her " patron ſhall loſe *Jus patronatus*, for his adding of the " unnatural and unlawful condition againſt matrimony.

" Then my lord chancellor ſaid, " thou ſayeſt that ' prieſts may be married by God's law. How proveſt ' thou that?'

" I anſwered, by the plain words and ſentences of St. " *Paul*, both to *Timothy*, and to *Titus*, where he ſpeaks " moſt evidently of the marriage of prieſts, deacons and " biſhops. And *Chryſoſtom*, writing upon the epiſtle to " *Timothy*, ſaith, it is an hereſy to ſay that a biſhop may " not be married.

" Then ſaid my lord chancellor, ' thou lyeſt of *Chry-* ' *ſoſtom*. But thou doſt, as all thy companions do, bely ' ever without ſhame both the ſcriptures and the doctors. ' Didſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the canon law prieſts

'may be married? which is moſt untrue, and the contrary is moſt true.'

"I anſwered, we read in the decrees, that the four "general councils, *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Epheſine*, "*Chalcedone*, have the ſame authority that the four evan-"geliſts have. And we read in the ſame decrees (which "is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the "council of *Nice*, by the means of one *Paphnutius*, did "allow prieſts and biſhops marriages: Therefore, by the "beſt part of the canon law, prieſts may be married.

"Then my lord chancellor ſaid, 'thou falſifieſt the 'general council; for there is expreſs mention in the 'ſaid decree, that prieſts ſhould be divorced from their 'wives, which be married.'

"Then ſaid I, if thoſe words be there, as you ſay, "then am I content to loſe this great head of mine. "Let the book be fetched.

"Then ſpake my lord of *Durham*, 'though they be 'not there, yet they may be in *Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria*, 'which *Euſebius* wrote, out of which book the decree 'was taken.'

"To that ſaid I, it is not like that the pope would "leave out any ſuch ſentence, having ſuch authority, "and making ſo much for his purpoſe.

"Then my lord chancellor ſaid, '*Gratian* was but a 'patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch up ſuch a patch 'as maketh for thy purpoſe.'

"I anſwered, my lord, I cannot but marvel that you "do call one of the chief papiſts that ever was, but a "patcher.

"Then my lord chancellor ſaid, 'nay, I call thee a 'ſnatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not 'return again with us to the catholick church?' And with that he roſe.

"And I ſaid, by God's grace I will never depart "from *Chriſt*'s church. Then I required that I might "have ſome of my friends to come to me in priſon: "And my lord chancellor ſaid, thou ſhalt have judge-"ment within this week; and ſo was I delivered again "unto my keeper. My lord of *Durham* would that I "ſhould believe as my father and my mother did. I "alledged St. *Auguſtine*, that we ought to prefer God's "word before all men."

On the laſt day of *January*, Dr. *Taylor* was examined, for the laſt time, before the biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Norwich*, *Saliſbury*, and *Durham*, who charged him with hereſy

hereſy and ſchiſm; requiring at the ſame time a determinate anſwer, whether he would ſubmit himſelf to the *Roman* biſhop, and abjure his errors; or elſe they would proceed according to their laws [*ex poſt facto*, made ſince his confinement] to his condemnation. Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, with a great deal of courage and ſtedfaſtneſs, that he would not depart from the truth which he had preached in king *Edward*'s days, neither would he ſubmit himſelf to the *Romiſh* antichriſt; but thanked God, who had ſo honored him, as to call him to ſuffer for his word and truth's ſake. When the biſhops ſaw him ſo bold, conſtant and immoveable, they read the ſentence of death upon him; which when he had heard, he ſaid, with a remarkable degree of fortitude, "I doubt not, but that God, the "righteous judge, will require my blood at your hands, "and that the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this re-"ceiving again of antichriſt, and the tyranny you now "ſhew againſt the flock of *Chriſt*."

He was remanded to priſon; and the keeper was charged to confine him cloſer than ever. In his way back, the people crouded to ſee him; to whom he ſaid, "God be "praiſed, good people, I am come away from them "undefiled, and will, by God's grace, confirm the truth "with my blood."

After he had been condemned about a week, *Bonner*, biſhop of *London*, went to the priſon to perform upon him the ceremony of degradation; and becauſe the Dr. refuſed to put on the popiſh veſtments, the biſhop ordered thoſe, who accompanied him, to put them on him by force; which done, he ſet his hands on his ſides, and walking up and down the room ſaid, "How ſay you, "my lord; am I not a goodly fool? How ſay you, my "maſters; if I were in *Cheapſide*, ſhould I not have boys "enow to laugh at theſe apiſh toys, and toying trum-"pery?" Upon which the biſhop fell to ſcraping his fingers, and thumbs, and the crown of his head; and curſed him again and again. "Though you curſe me "(ſaid the doctor) God doth bleſs me. I have the wit-"neſs of my conſcience, that ye have done me wrong "and violence: Nevertheleſs, I pray God, if it be his "will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the "biſhop of *Rome*, and his deteſtable enormities, good "Lord deliver us."

After his degradation he was ſent to the *King's Bench*, where he ſoon experienced (what at that time was remarkable) the difference between the keepers of the biſhop's

priſons, and thoſe of the king's; the former were wicked and cruel, like their mercileſs maſters; but the latter were humane, and generally ſhewed all the favor in their power. Therefore Dr. *Taylor* obtained leave, through the courteſy of his new keeper, to have his wife, his ſon *Thomas*, and his ſervant *John Hull*, to ſup with him the evening before he ſuffered. They came to him before ſupper-time, when he prayed with them, beginning with the litany. After ſupper, walking up and down the room, he gave God thanks for his grace, and for his effectual calling, and that he had given him ſtrength to abide by his holy word: And then turning to his ſon *Thomas*, he thus addreſſed him;

"My dear ſon, (ſaid he) almighty God bleſs thee, and "give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true ſervant of *Chriſt*, "to learn his word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth "all thy life long. And, my ſon, ſee that thou fear "God always. Flee from all ſin and wicked living: Be "virtuous, ſerve God with daily prayer, and apply thy "book. In any wiſe ſee that thou be obedient to thy "mother; love her and ſerve her: Be ruled by her now "in thy youth, and follow her good counſel in all things. "Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not "God, but follow their lewd luſts and vain appetites. "Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remem-"bering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy "marriage. Another day, when God ſhall bleſs thee; "love and cheriſh the poor people, and count that thy "chief riches is, to be rich in alms: And when thy "mother is waxed old, forſake her not; but provide for "her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lack nothing: For "ſo will God bleſs thee, and give thee long life upon "earth and proſperity: Which I pray God to grant "thee."

Then turning to his wife, "my dear wife, (ſaid he) "continue ſtedfaſt in the fear and love of God; keep "yourſelf undefiled from their popiſh idolatries and ſu-"perſtitions. I have been unto you a faithful Yoke-"fellow, and ſo have you been unto me; for the which "I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, "but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from "you, and you diſcharged of the wedlock-bond towards "me; therefore I will give you my counſel what I think "moſt expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing "woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for

" you to marry. For doubtleſs you ſhall never be at a " convenient ſtay for yourſelf and our poor children, nor " out of trouble till you be married; therefore, as ſoon " as God will provide it, marry with ſome honeſt faith- " ful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will " provide an honeſt huſband for you, and he will be a " merciful father to you and to my children: Whom I " pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learn- " ing, to the uttermoſt of your power, and keep them " from this *Romiſh* idolatry."

Having thus finiſhed his laſt, parting advice, with the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection; they prayed together, embraced, and wept over each other, in a very affecting manner. He then gave his wife a book of *Common Prayer* publiſhed by king *Edward*, which he had taken with him to priſon and occaſionally uſed: And to his ſon *Thomas* he gave a *Latin* book of remarkable ſayings of the antient martyrs, gathered out of eccleſiaſtical authors; and in the end of it wrote his laſt will: And ſo they took their leave of him.

The next morning, at two o'clock, came the ſheriff and his officers, and led the doctor away to the ſign of the *Woolpack*, without *Aldgate*. His wife, ſuſpecting that in the night they would take him away ſomewhere or other, had watched all night in St. *Botolph*'s church-porch beſide *Aldgate*, with two children; one called *Elizabeth*, thirteen years of age, an orphan that they had brought up as their own from three years old; the other *Mary*, their own daughter. When the ſheriff with his priſoner came oppoſite the church, *Elizabeth* cried, ' O my dear ' father; mother, mother, here is my dear father led away.' Then cried Mrs. *Taylor*, ' *Rowland*, *Rowland*, where art ' thou?' [for it was very dark, being in the month of *February*] Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, " Dear wife, I am here;" and ſtood. The ſheriff's men were for making him go on; but the ſheriff ſaid, ' ſtay a little, and let him ſpeak ' to his wife.' He then took up his little daughter *Mary* in his arms, and kneeled down with his wife and *Elizabeth*, and prayed, ſaying the Lord's Prayer, &c. which was ſo affecting a ſcene, that the ſheriff and his officers melted into tears.

When they roſe up from prayer, the doctor kiſſed his wife, and ſhook her by the hand, ſaying, " farewel, my " dear wife, be of good comfort; for I am quiet in my " conſcience.—God will raiſe up a father for my chil- " dren." He then kiſſed his daughter *Mary*, and ſaid,

" God

" God bleſs thee and make thee his ſervant:" And kiſſing *Elizabeth*, he ſaid, " God bleſs thee. I pray you all " ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto *Chriſt* and his word, and " keep you from idolatry." Then ſaid his wife, ' God ' be with thee, dear *Rowland*; I will, with God's help, ' meet thee at *Hadley*.' But ſhe following them to the inn, and the ſheriff, ſeeing her there, ordered her to be taken away and confined, till he returned from the execution: So that ſhe ſaw not her ſuffering huſband, nor he her, any more in this vale of tears.

The doctor was put into a chamber, with a guard of four men, where he gave himſelf wholly to prayer, till eleven o'clock, when they put him on horſeback in the inn yard, and then opened the gates and led him forth. At the gates ſtood waiting his truſty ſervant *John Hull*, with his ſon *Thomas*; whom, when the doctor ſaw, he ſaid, " come hither, my ſon *Thomas*;" and ſetting the child before him on his horſe, and taking off his hat, he ſaid to the numerous ſpectators, " Good people, this is " my own ſon, begotten of my body in lawful matri- " mony; and God be bleſſed for lawful matrimony." He then lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed for his ſon, and bleſſed him, and delivered him to *John Hull*, whom he took by the hand and ſaid, " Farewel *John* " *Hull*, the faithfulleſt ſervant that ever man had."

At *Burntwood*, by the way, they ſtopped and had a cloſe hood made for him, with holes for his eyes and one for his mouth. This was done to him and many others, becauſe it was underſtood that the meekneſs, patience and fortitude, which appeared in their countenances, tended very much to ſtrengthen the proteſtants in the faith of God's word, and to increaſe their abhorrence of the cruelties of popery.

Notwithſtanding this kind of treatment, the doctor was exceeding chearful on the road; more like one going to a marriage-ſupper, than one going to be burnt alive. He exhorted the ſheriff and his men to repent and forſake their wicked courſes of life in ſo earneſt and pathetic a manner, that they frequently wept. In the evening they were met by the ſheriff of *Suffolk*, at *Chelmsford*; where they all ſupped together. After ſupper, the ſheriff of *Eſſex*, ſuppoſing he could perſuade Dr. *Taylor* by fair words to abjure, thus addreſſed him.

' Good maſter doctor, we are right ſorry for you, con- ' ſidering what the loſs is of ſuch a perſon as you are, ' and might be, if you would. God hath given you great ' learning

'learning and wiſdom, wherefore you have been in great 'favour and reputation in times paſt with the council, 'and people of the higheſt rank, in this realm. Beſides 'this, you are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt 'ſtrength, and by nature like to live many years; and 'without doubt, you would, in time to come, be in as 'good reputation as ever you was, or rather better. For 'you are well-beloved of all men, as well for your vir-'tues as for your learning; and methinks it were great 'pity you ſhould caſt away yourſelf willingly, and ſo 'come to ſuch a painful and ſhameful death. You would 'do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to 'the catholic univerſal church of *Rome*, acknowledge the 'pope to be head of the church, and reconcile yourſelf 'to him. You may do well yet, if you will: Nor need 'you doubt, but you will find favour at the queen's 'hands; and I and all theſe your friends will be ſuitors 'for your pardon. This counſel I give you good maſter 'doctor, of a good heart, and a good will towards you; 'and thereupon I drink to you.'—'Upon that condition '(ſaid the others) we will all drink to you.'

When it came to the doctor's turn to drink, he took the cup, and, after pauſing a little, he ſaid, "Maſter "ſheriff, and my maſters all, I heartily thank you for "your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and "marked well your counſels. And to be plain with you, "I do perceive, that I have been deceived myſelf, and "am like to deceive a great many at *Hadley* of their ex-"pectation." The ſheriff, hoping theſe words referred to a recantation, ſaid, 'God's bleſſing be on your heart, 'that is the moſt comfortable word we have heard you 'ſpeak yet—but pray explain yourſelf.' The doctor did ſo, by ſaying, "I am a man of a very great carcaſe, "which, I hoped, would have been buried in *Hadley* "church-yard; but I ſee, I am deceived: And there is "a great number of worms there, which ſhould have "had jolly feeding upon this carrion. But now both I "and they ſhall be deceived of our expectation; for this "carcaſe ſhall be burnt to aſhes." The ſheriff was aſto-niſhed at ſuch an inſtance of fortitude in the approach of ſo ſhocking a death.

The ſheriff of *Suffolk* ſtopped two days at *Lanham*, and was met by the magiſtrates and principal gentlemen of the county, who all labored to bring Dr. *Taylor* over to the *Romiſh* religion; promiſing him great promotion, even a biſhopric, if he would accept of it: But he had not *ſo*

learned

learned *Chriſt*. Within two miles of *Hadley*, he deſired to alight, and being accordingly permitted, he fetched a leap or two, as men do in dancing; which was obſerved by the ſheriff, who ſaid, 'Well, maſter doctor, how do 'you do now?' "Very well, never better"—and added, "God be praiſed, I am now almoſt at home, and have "not more than two ſtiles to go over, before I am at my "father's houſe." Being told he ſhould go through *Hadley*, he ſaid, "O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall "yet once, e'er I die, ſee my flock, whom, thou Lord "knoweſt, I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught. "Good Lord, bleſs them, and keep them ſtedfaſt in thy "word and truth!"

The ſtreets of *Hadley* were lined with men and women, both of the town and from the country round about, weeping, and lamenting their loſs, and praying to God to ſtrengthen and comfort him in the trying hour; to whom he frequently ſaid, as he rode along; "I have "preached to you God's word and truth, and am come "this day to ſeal it with my blood." Paſſing the alms-houſes, where he was well-known, he diſtributed what little money he had left, taking his leave of them, with his prayers to God for them.

When he was come to *Aldham-common*, the place where he was to ſuffer, he ſaid, "thanked be God, I am even "at home;" and alighting from his horſe, with both hands rent the hood from his head; when it appeared that he, who, with the utmoſt propriety, is called BLOODY *Bonner*, when he degraded Dr. *Taylor*, had with feminine envy endeavored to diſfigure him by clipping off in places his fine hair, and by tying other parts of it into knots; which notwithſtanding when the people ſaw again his venerable countenance with his long white beard, they burſt out into tears and prayers, that God, for *Chriſt's* ſake, would ſtrengthen, help, and comfort him. He then attempted to ſpeak to the people, but as ſoon as he opened his mouth, immediately one or other thruſt a tipſtaff into it: He aſked leave of the ſheriff, but he denied him; bidding him remember his promiſe. "Well, ſaid the "doctor, promiſe muſt be kept*." He then put off his cloaths to his ſhirt, and gave them away; and with a loud voice cried out, "Good people, I have taught you "nothing but God's holy word, and thoſe leſſons that I

* The promiſe was ſuppoſed to be given in conſequence of a threat to cut out his tongue, if he attempted to ſpeak.

"have

" have taken out of God's bleſſed book, the holy bible." With that, *Holmes*, one of the guard, who had behaved the moſt cruelly to the doctor all the way down, gave him a ſevere blow on the head with a waſter, [or bludgeon], and ſaid, 'Is this the keeping thy promiſe, thou 'heretic?'

He then ſaw, that they would not allow him to ſpeak; and therefore he kneeled down and prayed. Riſing from prayer, he went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and ſtood in a pitch-barrel, ſet for that purpoſe, with his back upright againſt the ſtake, with his hands claſped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven; and ſo continued praying. One of the men, employed to make the fire, threw a faggot at him, which ſo wounded him that the blood ran down his face: To whom the doctor ſaid, " Friend, I " have harm enough: What need of that?" Another, hearing him ſay the Pſalm *Miſerere*, in *Engliſh*, ſtruck him on the mouth; ſaying, 'Knave, ſpeak *Latin*, or I 'will make thee.' The fire being kindled, he continued in the ſame poſture, without moving at all, praying unto God, and ſaying, " Merciful Father of heaven, for *Jeſus* " *Chriſt* my Saviour's ſake, receive my ſoul into thy " hands!" At laſt, one with a halbert ſtruck out his brains, and his body fell into the fire. Thus did this gracious man render his ſoul into the hands of his merciful God and Saviour, whom he moſt dearly loved, faithfully and zealouſly preached, obediently followed in his life, and conſtantly glorified in his death.

The laſt will and teſtament of doctor *Rowland Taylor*, parſon of *Hadley*.

" I Say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave " you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, " and you from me: Bleſſed be the name of the Lord. " I believe that they are bleſſed which die in the Lord. " God careth for ſparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. " I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, " than is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therefore in " him by the means of our dear Saviour *Chriſt*'s merits: " Believe, love, fear, and obey him: Pray to him, for he " hath promiſed to help. Count me not dead, for I ſhall " certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you " ſhall follow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt " of my children, *Suſan*, *George*, *Ellen*, *Robert* and *Za-* " *chary*: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipo- " tent.

" I ſay to my dear friends of *Hadley*, and to all others " which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with " a quiet conſcience, as touching my doctrine, for the " which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, " after my little talent, declared to others thoſe leſſons " that I gathered out of God's book, the bleſſed bible. " Therefore if I or an angel from heaven ſhould preach " to you any other goſpel than that ye have received, " God's great curſe upon that preacher.

" Beware for God's ſake that ye deny not God, neither " decline from the word of faith, leſt God decline from " you, and ſo ye do everlaſtingly periſh. For God's ſake " beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it " unity, yet the ſame is vanity and antichriſtianity, and " not in *Chriſt*'s faith and verity.

" Beware of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, now after " ſuch a light opened ſo plainly and ſimply, truly, tho- " roughly and generally to all *England*.

" The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, " increaſe of his wiſdom, contemning the wicked world, " hearty deſire to be with God and the heavenly company, " through *Jeſus Chriſt*, our only mediator, advocate, " righteouſneſs, life, ſanctification, and hope: Amen, " Amen. Pray, pray."

ROBERT FERRAR,

BISHOP OF ST. DAVID's.

WE cannot omit, in theſe memoirs of illuſtrious champions for the truth, ſome account of this great and good man; though hiſtory furniſhes us with but little more of him, than the circumſtances which occaſioned, or immediately preceded, his death.

Mr. *Ferrar* received his education at *Oxford*, and was a canon regular of St. *Mary*'s, in that univerſity. He alſo proceeded to the degree of batchelor in divinity.

It appears, that the great duke of *Somerſet*, lord protector in the reign of *Edward* the ſixth, and friend to the Reformation, was the patron of Mr. *Ferrar*, and thought him a proper inſtrument to aſſiſt in carrying on that important

portant work. Accordingly, he procured for him the biſhopric of St. *David*'s, in *Wales*; to which he was conſecrated on the ninth of *September*, 1547; where his zeal ſoon procured him many enemies among the papiſts and their adherents. And his patron ſoon after falling by the deſigns of an oppoſite party, theſe people gave him a great deal of trouble, and artfully and villainouſly (by means of two ungrateful officers of his own ſee) procured an attachment againſt him, by which, ſome time before the king's death, he was committed to priſon under a debt, pretended to be due from his biſhopric to the crown.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that *ſuch* a man could not expect a releaſe in *ſuch* a reign, as immediately followed. On the contrary, inſtead of the pretence of a *præmunire*, with which he had been before charged by thoſe, who wiſhed to diſplace him from his biſhopric; he was now attacked upon the ſcore of hereſy by others, who hunted for his life.

On the fourth of *February*, 1555, he was brought, in the company of biſhop *Hooper*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Saunders*, and others, before that zealous perſecutor, *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter* and lord chancellor; who, according to his cuſtom, treated him and them with great aſperity and very ill manners. He frequently taunted at this venerable man, though of his own rank and order in the church, and deſcended to ſuch groſs vulgarities, as to call him by the names of—*froward-fellow*—*falſe-knave*—*froward-knave*, &c.—terms, more ſcandalous to thoſe who uſe them, than to thoſe, to whom they are given. He alſo threatened to make *ſhort work with him*; and, in this caſe, he was as good as his word; for the ſuffering biſhop was hurried away to death, with very little formality or examination.

Under the liberty, both civil and religious, which we now enjoy; it may ſeem ſurprizing, that men were ſuffered to be condemned ſo arbitrarily and unformally, as we find them, in particular, throughout the ſhort and bloody reign of queen *Mary*. But religious bigotry ſwallowed up all other conſiderations; and the powers of the crown were not ſo bounded and curtailed, as they have been in ſucceeding reigns. The general liberties of the ſubject were far leſs underſtood than they are at preſent; and the ſhackles of eccleſiaſtical tyranny were not thoroughly broken. The *abuſe* of power led (as it always leads) to the due examination of its *foundation*: And men

never ſuffer extremities, but they ſet their wits, at leaſt, to work for the diſcovery of ſome relief. Thus, the ſevere perſecution by the papiſts tended much more to the deſtruction of popery, than to the demolition of the proteſtant doctrine. Where brutal force is thought neceſſary, there muſt be a very low apprehenſion of the exiſtence and power of truth.

To complete their enormous proceedings, *Gardiner* and his colleagues ſent this worthy biſhop down to his dioceſe, in order to be condemned—and can it be read without ſurprize?—by his *ſucceſſor*, whoſe *intereſt* it was to condemn him. This new biſhop's name was *Morgan*; and he ſeconded his friend's ideas of making *ſhort work* with *Ferrar*, by all the diligence in his power. He condemned him, after two or three ſhort examinations (for the ſake of a plauſible pretence) upon the articles—"of allowing "the marriage of prieſts—of denying *Chriſt*'s corporal "preſence in the ſacrament—of affirming, that the maſs "is not a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead—"of declaring, that the hoſt ought not to be elevated or "adored—and, of aſſerting, that man is juſtified by faith "alone"; all which *Morgan* pronounced to be damnable errors, hereſies, and falſe opinions. He next degraded him from his eccleſiaſtical functions, and then delivered him to the ſecular power, the ſcandalous tool of their abominable malice and perſecution.

The ſecular power, ready to follow the ſpiritual direction of the popiſh authority, ſoon brought this martyr forth, as a lamb to the ſlaughter. He was burned, on the ſouth-ſide of the market-croſs at *Carmarthen*, on *Saturday* the thirtieth of *March*, in the year 1555.

A little before this good biſhop ſuffered, a Mr. *Richard Jones*, a young gentleman of family in the country, lamented to him the ſeverity and painfulneſs of the kind of death, which he was to undergo. The biſhop, with all the firmneſs which was celebrated in the primitive martyrs of the church, immediately anſwered in theſe words; "If "you ſee me once to ſtir, while I ſuffer the pains of burning; then give no credit to the truth of thoſe doctrines, "for which I die."—Undoubtedly, it was by the grace and ſupport of God, he was enabled to make good this aſſertion; "for (ſays Mr. *Fox*) ſo patiently he ſtood, that "he never moved; but even as he ſtood holding up his "ſtumps, ſo ſtill he continued, till one *Richard Gravell*, "with a ſtaff, daſhed him upon the head, and ſo ſtruck "him down."

Biſhop

Biſhop *Ferrar* was one of the committee (according to biſhop *Burnet*) nominated to compile the *Engliſh* liturgy*. He alſo ſigned the brief *confeſſion of faith*, in conjunction with other proteſtant biſhops and martyrs impriſoned in *London*; which is compoſed in the following words:

'Firſt, We confeſs and believe all the canonical books 'of the Old Teſtament, and all the books of the New 'Teſtament, to be the very true word of God, and to 'be written by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and 'are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in 'all controverſies and matters of religion.

'Secondly, We confeſs and believe, that the catholic 'church, which is the ſpouſe of *Chriſt*, as a moſt obedient 'and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine 'of theſe books in all matters of religion, and therefore 'is ſhe to be heard accordingly: So that thoſe who will 'not hear this church, thus following and obeying the 'word of her huſband, we account as heretics and ſchiſ-'matics, according to this ſaying, *If he will not hear the 'church, let him be unto thee as a heathen.*

'Thirdly, We believe and confeſs all the articles of 'faith and doctrine ſet forth in the ſymbol of the apoſtles, 'which we commonly call the creed, and in the ſymbols 'of the council of *Nice*, kept A. D. 432; of *Conſtantinople*, 'A. D. 384; of *Epheſus*, kept A. D. 432; of *Chalcedon*, 'kept A. D. 454; of *Toletum*, the firſt and fourth. Alſo 'in the ſymbols of *Athanaſius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and of '*Damaſus*, which was about the year of our Lord 376. 'We confeſs and believe (we ſay) the doctrine of the

* Probably the *correction* of the liturgy in the time of *Henry* the Eighth, about the year 1540. For as to the compoſition of a *new* liturgy, in 1547, in the firſt year of *Edward* the Sixth, the committee appointed were; 1. *Thomas Cranmer*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; 2. *Thomas Goodrich*, biſhop of *Ely*; 3. *Henry Holbech*, biſhop of *Lincoln*; 4. *George Day*, biſhop of *Chicheſter*; 5. *John Skip*, biſhop of *Hereford*; 6. *Thomas Thirlby*, biſhop of *Weſtminſter*; 7. *Nicholas Ridley*, biſhop of *Roeheſter*; 8. Dr. *William May*, dean of St. *Paul*'s; 9. Dr. *John Taylor*, dean of *Lincoln*; 10. Dr. *Simon Haynes*, dean of *Exeter*; 11. Dr. *John Redmayne*, maſter of *Trinity College, Cambridge*; 12. Dr. *Richard Cox*, dean of *Chriſtchurch, Oxon*; 13. Mr. *Thomas Robertſon*, archdeacon of *Leiceſter*. This liturgy was reviſed in the firſt year of Q. *Elizabeth*, by 1. Dr. *Matthew Parker*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; 2. Dr. *Richard Cox*, afterwards biſhop of *Ely*; 3. Dr. *May*; 4. Dr. *Bill*; 5. *James Pilkington*, afterwards biſhop of *Durham*; 6. Sir *Thomas Smith*; 7. Mr. *David Whitehead*; 8. Mr. *Edmund Grindall*, afterwards biſhop of *London*, and then archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; 9. Dr. *Edwin Sandys*, biſhop of *Worceſter*; 10. and the learned *Edward Gueſt*, afterwards a biſhop. See *Whately*'s Illuſtration of the Common Prayer, p. 25. 4th edit.

'ſymbols

'ſymbols, generally, and particularly; ſo that whoſoever 'doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to err from the truth.

'Fourthly, We believe and confeſs, concerning juſti-'fication, that as it cometh only from God's mercy 'through *Chriſt*, ſo it is perceived and had of none, who 'be of years of diſcretion, otherwiſe than by faith only: 'Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain perſuaſion 'wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the mind and heart of 'man; where through, as the mind is illuminated, ſo the 'heart is ſuppled to ſubmit itſelf to the will of God un-'feignedly; and ſo ſheweth forth an *inherent* righteouſ-'neſs, which is to be diſcerned in the article of juſtifi-'cation from the righteouſneſs which God endueth us 'withal in juſtifying us; although inſeparably they go 'together. And this we do, not for curioſity, or con-'tention ſake; but for conſcience ſake, that it might be 'quiet; which it can never be, if we confound, without 'diſtinction, forgiveneſs of ſin and *Chriſt*'s juſtice im-'puted to us, with regeneration and inherent righteouſ-'neſs. By this, we diſallow the papiſtical doctrine of 'free-will, of works of ſupererogation, of merits, of the 'neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, and ſatisfaction to 'God-ward.

'Fifthly, We confeſs and believe, concerning the 'exterior ſervice of God, that it ought to be according 'to the word of God. And therefore in the congrega-'tion all things public ought to be done in ſuch tongue 'as may be moſt to edify: And not in *Latin*, where the 'people underſtand not the ſame.

'Sixthly, We confeſs and believe, that God only, 'through *Jeſus Chriſt*, is to be prayed unto and called 'upon. And therefore we diſallow invocation or prayer 'to ſaints departed this life.

'Seventhly, We confeſs and believe, that as a man 'departeth this life, ſo ſhall he be judged in the laſt day 'generally, and in the mean ſeaſon is entered, either into 'the ſtate of the bleſſed for ever, or damned for ever: 'And therefore is either paſt all help, or elſe needeth no 'help of any in this life. By reaſon whereof we affirm 'purgatory, maſſes of *Scala Cœli*, trentals, and ſuch ſuf-'frages, as the popiſh church doth obtrude as neceſſary, 'to be the doctrine of antichriſt.

'Eighthly, We confeſs and believe the ſacraments of '*Chriſt*, which be Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, that 'they ought to be miniſtered according to the inſtitution 'of *Chriſt*, concerning the ſubſtantial parts of them:

'And

'And that they be no longer ſacraments than they be 'had in uſe, and uſed to the end for which they were 'inſtituted.

'And here we plainly confeſs, that the mutilation of 'the Lord's Supper, the ſubtraction of one kind from the 'lay people, is antichriſtian. And ſo is the doctrine of 'tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental bread and wine 'after the words of conſecration, as they be called. Item, 'the adoration of the ſacrament with the honour due unto 'God, the reſervation and carrying about of the ſame. 'Item, the maſs to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick 'and dead, or a work that pleaſeth God. All theſe we 'confeſs and believe to be antichriſt's doctrine: As is 'the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful, to any ſtate.

'And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we ſhall be 'able to prove all our confeſſion here, to be moſt true by 'the verity of God's word, and conſent of the catholic 'church; which followeth, and hath followed the go-'vernance of God's Spirit, and the judgement of his 'word. And this through the Lord's help we will do, 'either in diſputation by word before the queen's high-'neſs and her council, either before the parliament 'houſes (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently 'heard), either with our pens, whenſoever we ſhall be 'thereto, by them that have authority, required and 'commanded.

'In the mean ſeaſon, as obedient ſubjects, we ſhall 'behave ourſelves toward all that be in authority, and 'not ceaſe to pray to God for them; that he would go-'vern them all, generally and particularly, with the 'ſpirit of wiſdom and grace. And ſo we heartily deſire, 'and humbly pray all men to do, in no point conſenting 'to any rebellion or ſedition againſt our ſovereign lady 'the queen's highneſs: But, where they cannot obey, 'but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves 'with all patience and humility, to ſuffer as the will and 'pleaſure of the higher powers ſhall adjudge. The Lord 'of mercy endue us all with the ſpirit of his truth, and 'grace of perſeverance therein unto the end. Amen.'

This remarkable confeſſion was dated the eighth day of *May*, in the year 1554, and ſubſcribed by

ROBERT FERRAR, late biſhop of St. *David*'s.
ROWLAND TAYLOR, JOHN PHILPOT,
JOHN BRADFORD, LAURENCE SAUNDERS,
JOHN HOOPER, late biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Glouceſter*.
EDWARD CROME, JOHN ROGERS,
EDMUND LAWRENCE. And J. P.—J. M.

To which was annexed the following declaration:

'To theſe things aboveſaid, do I, *Miles Coverdale*, 'late biſhop of *Exeter*, conſent and agree with theſe mine 'afflicted brethren, being priſoners. Mine own hand.

M. C.

JOHN BRADFORD.

DIVINE grace works in the ſouls of the faithful, and particularly of faithful miniſters, a great variety of gifts and qualifications, ſuited to the work and buſineſs in the world, which they are appointed to fulfil. Though, perhaps, it gives no new faculty to the animal nature; yet it certainly corrects and improves whatever is bad in it, according to the meaſure of the heavenly gift. And if it does not abſolutely deſtroy perverſe diſpoſitions and wrong habits, it keeps them down and will not ſuffer them to triumph and prevail. Some have boldneſs of natural ſpirit, as *Luther* had, which will appear even in the life of grace, and carry the man the more ſtrenuouſly onward in what he conceives to be his duty. Others have a ſoftneſs and meekneſs of heart, which ſeem more calculated to conciliate friends and build up profeſſors in the faith, than to war againſt the powers of darkneſs or attack the ſtrong holds of error. Both have their uſe, under the divine agency; and God makes uſe of both to accompliſh his deſigns of ſalvation towards his people.

Of this laſt character was the ſubject of the preſent memoir. For the kindneſs and benevolence of his ſpirit, and for the circumſpect purity of his life, he obtained the name of *Holy John Bradford*. His worſt enemies could object nothing to his life and converſation; and they were obliged to give almoſt as poor an account of their fury againſt him, as the *Jews* had given before againſt his Saviour, *That they had a law, and by their law he ought to die*. They had indeed a *power*; but as to law, or the right uſe of that power, in ſlaying men like *Bradford*; we muſt examine ordinances very different from the word and will of God.

John



From an original Painting in the Possession of Mr. Blyth.

BRITISH MUSEUM

John Bradford was born at *Manchester*, in *Lancashire*. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, and when he had attained to good knowledge in the *Latin* tongue, being apt and ready at his pen, he became fit for such business as might procure him an honest livelihood. He soon afterwards was employed by Sir *John Harrington*, knight, who was treasurer to the king's camps and buildings, in the reigns of king *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. Sir *John* had such early proofs of the dexterity and faithfulness of *Bradford*, both at home and abroad, that he trusted him with the management of the most weighty affairs, and owned they were better done than he could have transacted them himself.

Mr. *Bradford* continued in this situation for several years, in which he prospered, and gave such general satisfaction, that he was in the way to get an estate easily and honestly: But God set his heart upon the things of another world; and he had no sooner tasted that the Lord was gracious, than he was for publishing the gospel-salvation to all people. And therefore after he had given a just and clear account to his master of all he was intrusted with, he forsook all worldly affairs and the fair prospect of getting riches, and went from the *Temple*, in *London*, (where he had begun the study of the law) to the university of *Cambridge*, to meditate upon the word of God, and to study divinity; where he made such an uncommon progress in learning, and so pleased all by his godly and blameless conversation, that in less than a year the university thought proper to confer the degree of master of arts upon him.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of *Pembroke-hall* chose him to a fellowship in their college: And, that great and good man *Martin Bucer* so highly valued him, that he used many persuasions with him to preach; but Mr. *Bradford* for some time declined it, saying, that he had not learning enough. To which *Bucer* replied, 'If 'you have not fine manchet-bread, yet give the poor 'people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.' And while Mr. *Bradford* was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. *Ridley*, bishop of *London*, made him a prebend of St. *Paul*'s. He continued three years preaching in a most pathetic and godly manner, in reproving sin sharply, yet sweetly preaching *Christ* crucified, and defending the truth against errors and heresies. And even after queen *Mary* came to the crown, he still went on preaching as

before, till thoſe in power unjuſtly perſecuted him, and ſent him priſoner to the tower of *London*.

On *Sunday*, the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, in the firſt year of queen *Mary*'s reign, Dr. *Bourne*, then biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, made a ſermon at *Paul's-croſs*, in which he railed againſt pious king *Edward*, then deceaſed, and ſo reviled the Reformation and Reformers, that the common people began to loſe their patience, and from a great murmuring there aroſe a greater uproar among the multitude, in ſo much that the lord mayor and all his officers could not ſilence the tumult, which was ſo enraged, that one of the people threw a dagger at the preacher's head, which narrowly miſſed him; and, we are told, that the mob would certainly have torn him in pieces, had not this Mr. *Bradford*, who then ſat behind him, ſtood up at the earneſt intreaty of Dr. *Bourne* himſelf, to appeaſe the people: And the people heard him gladly, while *Bourne* was glad to ſit down, and hide his head to ſave his life. Mr. *Bradford* preached ſo long upon peace and quietneſs, that the multitude became quiet; and when the ſermon was ended, they went peaceably away. Yet, notwithſtanding the mob was greatly diſperſed, Dr. *Bourne* was ſtill afraid to ſhew his head, till Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Rogers*, vicar of St. *Sepulchre*'s, undertook to conduct him, at the hazard of their own lives, to the grammar-ſchool, which was hard by; which they did by ſcreening him with their gowns. For which charity they were ſoon afterwards rewarded by popiſh gratitude, with fire and faggot.

Among the company at St. *Paul's-croſs* at that time, there was one who ſaid theſe words; 'Ah, *Bradford*, 'Bradford, thou ſaveſt him that will burn thee; I give 'thee his life: If it were not for thee, I would, I aſſure 'thee, have run him through with my ſword.' The ſame day in the afternoon, Mr. *Bradford* preached at *Bow-church* in *Cheapſide*, and ſharply reproved the people for their ſeditious behaviour.

Yet, notwithſtanding this benevolent conduct, about three days after, he was ſent to the tower of *London*, where the queen then reſided, and was ordered to appear before the council. He was charged with ſedition at *Paul's-croſs*, though he had been the means of ſaving *Bourne*, and alſo for preaching. He was firſt committed to the *Tower* as aforeſaid, and was afterwards harraſſed about almoſt two years, from priſon to priſon, till the flames

flames deprived him of his body, and diſmiſſed his ſoul to heaven.

Mr. *Bradford* was ſent from the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench* in *Southwark:* And after his condemnation he was ſent to the *Poultry-Compter* in *London:* And while he remained in each of theſe two laſt places he preached twice a day, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs. In the ſame places, he would often celebrate the Lord's Supper; and the keepers were ſo kind as to permit many people to come both to the ſermon and the ſacrament; ſo that his chamber was on theſe occaſions commonly filled with ſerious Chriſtians. Preaching, reading, and praying, was the chief buſineſs of his whole life. He did not eat more than one meal a-day, and that a ſparing one, and his continual ſtudy was upon his knees. In the midſt of his dinner he was wont to meditate with his hat over his eyes, from whence would often ſhed abundance of tears. Very gentle he was both to man and child, and in ſo good credit with his keeper, that he had liberty to go abroad any evening without any guard, on his promiſe that he would return again the ſame night; which he always punctually did, and rather before than after the hour appointed.

He was of perſon ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faint ſanguine color, with a dark-brown beard. He would ſeldom ſleep above four hours in the night. He would never waſte his time in any ſort of gaming, but his chief recreation was in Chriſtian converſation with his family; wherein he uſually ſpent ſome time after dinner at his table; and then to prayer and his book again. He accounted that time loſt which was not ſpent in doing good, either with his pen, ſtudy, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally communicate a part of what he had to his fellow-priſoners. And commonly once a week he viſited the thieves, pick-pockets, and ſuch others as were with him in priſon; to whom he would give pious exhortations, and afterwards diſtribute money among them for their ſubſiſtence.

While he was in the *King's-Bench*, and Mr. *Laurence Saunders* in the *Marſhalſea*, both priſoners, and afterwards martyrs; on the back-ſide of theſe two priſons they met many times, and conferred together as often as they would: And Mr. *Bradford* was ſo truſted by his keeper, and had ſuch liberty in the back-ſide of the priſon, that

any day he might eaſily have eſcaped if he would; but the Lord had another work for him to do.

One of his old friends once came to him in priſon, and ſaid, 'Suppoſe I ſhould make interceſſion for you, 'and get you out of priſon, what would you do, or whi-'ther would you go?' To which he anſwered, as though he did not care whether he had his liberty or no: But being further preſſed to know what he would do, if ſuch a thing ſhould be brought about; he then ſaid that he would marry, and ſtill abide in *England*, teaching the people ſecretly, till the Lord's providence ſhould ſo order it, that he ſhould do it in a more public manner.

He was ſo well reſpected by all good men, that many, who knew no more of him than the report only, much lamented his death: Yea, and great numbers of the papiſts themſelves alſo heartily wiſhed, that he might have been ſpared. Biſhop *Ridley* ſpoke of him in theſe terms; 'In my conſcience, ſays he, I judge Mr. *Brad-'ford* more worthy to be a biſhop, than many of us, who 'are biſhops already, to be pariſh-prieſts.'—This character was given of him by *Ridley* in the days of king *Edward*, upon recommending him to preferment.

The Lord was pleaſed ſo to bleſs his company to others, that there were but few to be found in the priſons where he had been, who had not received ſome advantage from his pious converſation: A ſingular and eminent inſtance of which here follows. Biſhop *Ferrar* being priſoner in the *King's-Bench*, was prevailed upon by the papiſts to receive the ſacrament in one kind. But, by the providence of God, Mr. *Bradford* was brought to the ſame priſon the very day before he was to have done it; and he was made inſtrumental in ſaving the good biſhop from ſuch a baſe and unworthy action.

The night before he was removed to *Newgate*, he was ſomewhat diſturbed in his ſleep, by dreaming, that the chain for his burning was brought to the *Compter-gate*; that the next day he muſt go to *Newgate*; and, that the day after he was to be burnt in *Smithfield*: Which came to paſs accordingly.

One afternoon, as he and his bedfellow were walking together in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife came up in much grief, and ſaid, 'Oh Mr. *Bradford*, I come 'to bring you heavy news!' "What is that?" ſaid he; 'Indeed, quoth ſhe, to-morrow you are to be burned. 'Your chain is now preparing: And you muſt preſently

'go

'go to *Newgate*.' On this Mr. *Bradford* put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, "I thank God "for it; I have looked for this a long time, and there- "fore it cometh not unexpectedly, but as a thing waited "for daily and hourly; the Lord make me worthy of "it!" And, after thanking her for her good-will, he repaired to his chamber, and prayed in ſecret for a long time; which when he had done, he came to his friend, and took ſeveral writings and papers, and told him what he would have to be done with them; and having thus ſettled his affairs in the afternoon, at night half-a-dozen of his friends came to ſee him; with whom he ſpent all the evening in prayer, and devout exerciſes.

A little before he went out of the *Compter*, he prayed very affectionately, which produced a number of tears, and greatly affected the hearts of the hearers. And when he ſtripped himſelf to his ſhirt, in which he was to ſuffer, he made another excellent prayer upon the wedding-gar- ment. When he went out of the chamber, he prayed again; and gave money to every ſervant and officer in the houſe; exhorting them all to ſerve and fear the Lord. And the priſoners, to all of whom he had been profitable in one ſhape or other, were in tears on their parting with him.

About eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when they thought no body would be ſtirring, the officers carried him to *Newgate*; but, contrary to their expectations, the ſtreets between the *Compter* and *Newgate* were crouded with people, who waited to ſee him, and bid him farewel with prayers and many tears; and he took his leave of them in the ſame affectionate manner, praying that the Lord would bleſs them and keep them in his truth.

Whether it was a command from the queen and her council, or from *Bonner* and his adherents, or whether it was deviſed by the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of *London*, or not; there was a ſtrong rumour all over the city the night before, that Mr. *Bradford* was to be burnt the next morning at four o'clock in *Smithfield*. There were different opinions about this report: Some thought that it was for fear of a tumult; others conjectured, that the papiſts were afraid that his behaviour would ſo work upon the minds of the people, as to do their cauſe much damage. However the true cauſe of this contrivance never came to light.

At four o'clock in the morning *Smithfield* was full of people, though Mr. *Bradford* was not brought thither

before nine. Going through *Newgate*, he eſpied an old friend, to whom he called, and gave him his velvet-cap, an handkerchief, &c. And when he departed, one Mr. *Roger Beſwick*, brother-in-law to Mr. *Bradford*, came up and ſhook him by the hand; for which Mr. *Woodrooffe* the ſheriff, like a rough rude man, broke Mr. *Beſwick*'s head, ſo that the blood flew about; and as they could not change many words together, Mr. *Bradford* took his leave of him, deſiring to be recommended to his mother and his friends, and adviſed him to go directly to a ſurgeon.

He was taken into *Smithfield* with a ſtrong guard of armed men. When he came to the place, where he was to ſuffer, he fell on his face and prayed. After which he took a faggot and kiſſed it, and the ſtake likewiſe. Then having put off his clothes, he ſtood by the ſtake, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, ſaid; "O "*England*, *England*, repent of thy ſins, repent of thy "ſins, beware of idolatry: Beware of antichriſts; take "heed they do not deceive thee!" Then he turned his face to *John Leaf*, a young man about twenty years old, who ſuffered with him, and ſaid; "Be of good comfort, "brother, for we ſhall ſup with the Lord this night." He then embraced the reeds, and ſaid, "Strait is the "gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth to life eter-"nal; and few there be that find it." After which he was faſtened to the ſtake and burnt, on the firſt of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1555. He ended his life like a lamb, without the leaſt alteration of countenance, and in the prime of his days.

We ſhall now give ſome farther account of the troubles and examination of this worthy martyr, Mr. *John Bradford*, which began on the twenty-ſecond of *January*, 1555, when he was commanded to appear before *Stephen Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and other commiſſioners appointed by the queen for that purpoſe.

When he came into the preſence of the council, the lord chancellor told him, 'that he had been a long time 'in priſon for his ſeditious behaviour at *Paul's-croſs*, and 'for his falſe preaching and arrogancy, in taking upon 'him to preach without authority. But the time of 'mercy is come, if you will accept it on the queen's 'terms. If you will do as we have done, you ſhall find 'as we have found, I warrant you.'

After reverent and lowly obedience firſt made, Mr. *Bradford* thus anſwered. "My lord, and lords all, I "confeſs

" confeſs that I have been long impriſoned, and, with " humble reverence be it ſpoken, unjuſtly; in ſo much " that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, " by word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe; but " rather ſought truth, peace, and godly quietneſs, as " an obedient faithful ſubject, both in ſaving the life " of him who is now biſhop of *Bath*, namely Dr. *Bourne*, " who was then preacher at the croſs, and in preaching " for quietneſs accordingly."

At theſe words the lord chancellor, the famous *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, gave him the lye; 'for, ſaid 'he, the fact was ſeditious, as my lord of *London* can bear 'witneſs.'

Bonner. 'You ſay true, my lord, I ſaw him with my 'own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and head the 'people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the 'author of the ſedition.'

Bradford. " My lords, notwithſtanding my lord bi- " ſhop's ſeeing and ſaying; yet the truth I have told, as " one day the Lord God Almighty ſhall reveal to all the " world, when we ſhall all ſtand before him. In the " mean ſeaſon, becauſe I cannot be believed by you, I " muſt and am ready to ſuffer as now your ſayings be, " whatſoever God ſhall permit or licenſe you to do " to me."

Lord Chancellor. 'I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, 'and goodly ſhews thou makeſt; but all is lies thou 'ſpeakeſt. And again, I have not forgot how ſtubborn 'thou waſt, when thou waſt before us in the *Tower*, 'whereupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning 'religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, 'for which cauſe thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one 'who would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak on.'

Bradford. " My lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again; that I " ſtand, as before you, ſo before God, and one day we " ſhall all ſtand before him: The truth then will be " the truth, though we will not ſo take it. Yea, my " lord, I dare ſay that my lord of *Bath*, Dr. *Bourne*, " will witneſs with me, that I ſought his ſafeguard with " the peril of mine own life: I thank God therefore."

Bonner. 'That is not true: For I myſelf did ſee thee 'take upon thee too much.'

Bradford. " No, I took nothing upon me undeſired, " and that of Dr. *Bourne* himſelf; as, if he were preſent, " I dare ſay he would affirm. [However *Bourne* had the " ingratitude to keep out of the way.] For he deſired

" me

" me to help him, to pacify the people, and alſo not to " leave him till he was in ſafety. And as for my beha- " viour in the *Tower*, and talk before your honours; if I " did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, if your " lordſhip would tell me wherein it was, I would ſhortly " make you an anſwer."

Lord Chancellor. ' Well, to leave this matter: How ' ſayeſt thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we ' have done, and thou ſhalt receive the queen's mercy ' and pardon?'

Bradford. " My lord, I deſire mercy with God's " mercy; but mercy, with God's wrath, God keep me " from: Although, I thank God therefore, my con- " ſcience doth not accuſe me, that I did ſpeak any thing " that I ſhould not receive the queen's mercy or pardon. " For all that ever I did or ſpake, was both agreeable to " God's laws, and the laws of the realm at preſent, and " did make much to quietneſs."

Lord Chanceller. ' Well, if thou make this babbling, ' rolling thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ' ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy ' offered to thee; know for truth, that the queen is ' minded to make a purgation of all ſuch as thou art.'

Bradford. " The Lord, before whom I ſtand, as well " as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have ſought, " and ſeek in this behalf: His mercy I deſire, and alſo " would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a ſub- " ject without a clog of conſcience. But otherwiſe, the " Lord's mercy is better to me than life; and I know to " whom I have committed my life, even into his hands " who will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away " before it be his pleaſure. There are twelve hours in " the day, and as long as they laſt no man ſhall have " power thereon. Therefore, his good-will be done; life " in his diſpleaſure is worſe than death; and death, with " his true favour, is true life."

Lord Chancellor. ' I know well enough, that we ſhall ' have glorious talk enough with thee: Be ſure, that as ' thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and deviliſh ' doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive.'

Bradford. " I have not deceived the people, nor taught " any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and " hope ſhall be, ready to confirm with my life. And " as for the deviliſhneſs and falſeneſs of the doctrine, I " ſhould be very ſorry if you could prove it."

Durham.

Durham. 'Why, tell me; what ſay you by the miniſ-
'tration of the communion, as now you know it is?'

Bradford. "My lord, here I muſt deſire of your lord-
"ſhip and all your honours a queſtion, before I dare make
"you an anſwer to any interrogatory or queſtion, where-
"with you now begin. I have been ſix times ſworn,
"that I ſhall in no wiſe conſent to the practiſing of any
"juriſdiction, or any authority, on the biſhop of *Rome*'s
"behalf, within this realm of *England*. Now, before
"God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether
"you aſk me this queſtion by his authority, or no? If
"you do, I dare not, nor may anſwer you any thing in
"his authority, which you ſhall demand of me, except
"I would be forſworn, which God forbid!"

Secretary *Bourne.* 'Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times?
'what office haſt thou borne?'

Bradford. "Forſooth, I was thrice ſworn in *Cambridge*,
"when I was admitted maſter of arts, when I was ad-
"mitted fellow of *Pembroke-hall*; and when I was there,
"the viſitors came thither and ſware the univerſity.
"Again, I was ſworn when I entered into the miniſtry,
"when I had a prebend given me, and when I was ſworn
"to ſerve the king a little before his death."

Lord Chancellor. 'Tuſh, *Herod*'s oaths a man ſhould
'make no conſcience at.'

Bradford. "My lord, theſe were no *Herod*'s oaths, no
"unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word,
"as you yourſelf have well affirmed in your book, *De*
"*verâ obedientiâ.**"

Secretary *Bourne.* 'Yea, it was reported this parlia-
'ment time, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and
'exhorting thoſe that have come to him in religion, than
'ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his
'letters, he curſeth all that teach any falſe doctrine (for
'ſo he calleth that, which is not according to that he
'taught), and moſt heartily exhorteth them, to whom
'he writeth, to continue ſtill in that they have received
'by him, and ſuch like as he is.' All which words ſeveral
of the council affirmed, to which he added, ſaying; 'How
'ſay you, ſir, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written and
'exhorted the people?'

* This book, *Of true Obedience*, was written by *Gardiner* in the time of Henry VIII. againſt the pope's ſupremacy, and prefaced with a recommendation by *Bonner*.—Both theſe gentlemen perceived, that, at that time, ſuch opinions opened the way for preferment.

Bradford. "I have not written nor ſpoken any thing "ſeditiouſly; neither (I thank God therefore) have I ad- "mitted any ſeditious thought, nor I truſt ever ſhall do."

Secretary *Bourne.* 'Yea, thou haſt written letters.'

Lord Chancellor. 'Why ſpeakeſt thou not? haſt thou 'not written as he ſaith?'

Bradford. "That I have written, I have written."

Southwell. 'Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborn 'boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaveth 'himſelf before the queen's council!'

Bradford. "My lords and maſters, the Lord God, who "is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am "certain, I now ſtand before his majeſty; ſo with re- "verence in his ſight I ſtand before you, and to you "accordingly in words and geſture I deſire to behave "myſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God "in his time will reveal it: In the mean ſeaſon, I ſhall "ſuffer with all due obedience your ſayings and doings "too, I hope."

Lord Chancellor. 'Theſe be gay and glorious words of 'reverence, but as in all other things, ſo herein alſo thou 'doſt nothing but lye.'

Bradford. "Well, I would God the author of truth "and abhorror of lyes, would pull my tongue out of "my mouth before you all, and ſhew a terrible judge- "ment on me here preſent, if I have purpoſed, or do "purpoſe to lye before you, who either can lay my "letters to my charge or no: If you lay any thing to "my charge that I have written, and if I deny it, then "I am a lyar."

Lord Chancellor. 'We ſhall never have done with thee, 'I perceive now: Be ſhort, be ſhort, wilt thou accept 'of mercy now?'

Bradford. "I pray God give me his mercy, and if "therewith you will extend yours I will not refuſe it; "but otherwiſe I will have none."

Here aroſe a great noiſe; ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome another; while others again accuſed him of arrogancy in refuſing the queen's pardon, which her majeſty in her great clemency had reached towards him.

To this propoſal of life, Mr. *Bradford* anſwered meekly and plainly thus: "My lord, if I may live as a quiet "ſubject without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily "thank you for your pardon; if I behave myſelf other- "wiſe, then am I in danger of the law: In the mean "time, I aſk no more than the benefit of a ſubject till I be

" be convinced of tranſgreſſions; if I cannot have this, " as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

Upon theſe words, the lord chancellor began a tedious tale about the falſe doctrine in king *Edward*'s days, and how the people were deceived thereby; and at the concluſion he turned to Mr. *Bradford* and ſaid, how ſayeſt thou?

Bradford. " My lord, the doctrine taught in king *Ed-* " *ward*'s days was God's pure religion; [the firſt book " of homilies in the church of *England* was then made " and confirmed] which, as I then believed, ſo do I now " more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more " confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace, " even as he will, to the world, than I was when I firſt " came into priſon."

Durham. 'What religion mean you in king *Edward*'s 'days? What year of his reign?'

Bradford. " Forſooth even the ſame year, my lord, " that the king died, and I was a preacher."

After ſome ſmall pauſe, the lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king *Edward*'s days was hereſy, though he pretended not to prove his aſſertion either by ſcripture or reaſon; but cunningly made uſe of this obſervation, that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that, ſaid he, the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Bradford. " Ah, my lord! that you could enter into " God's ſanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent doc- " trine that you ſo magnify."

Lord Chancellor. 'What meaneſt thou by that? I am 'of opinion we ſhall have a ſnatch of rebellion even now.'

Bradford. " My lord, I mean no ſuch end as you " would gather: I mean an end which no man ſeeth, " but ſuch as enter into God's ſanctuary. If a man " look on preſent things, he will ſoon deſtroy himſelf."

Here my lord chancellor offered mercy; and Mr. *Bradford* anſwered as before: " Mercy, with God's mercy, " ſhould be welcome; but otherwiſe he would have none." Whereupon the chancellor rang a little bell to call ſomebody in; for there were but very few preſent at that time beſides the biſhop of *Worceſter*.—And when one was come in, Mr. ſecretary *Bourne* ſaid, 'it is beſt for you, my 'lord, to give the keeper an extraordinary charge of this 'fellow.' Then the under-marſhal was called in.

Lord Chancellor. 'Ye ſhall take this man to you, and 'keep him cloſe without conference of any man, but by 'your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any letters,

'&c. for he is of another manner of charge to you than 'he was before.'

And ſo they departed, *Bradford* looking as chearful as any man could do; declaring thereby how willing he was even to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

On the twenty-ninth of *January*, 1555, the lord chancellor and other biſhops were in St. *Mary-Overy*'s church in *Southwark*, when Mr. *Bradford* was ſent for; and they proceeded to a ſecond examination of him, but he by his proper anſwers manifeſted, that he was well eſtabliſhed in the truths of the goſpel. Mr. *Bradford* was ſeveral times examined by the lord chancellor and the biſhops, by two *Spaniſh* friars who came to him in the *Compter*; and by Dr. *Weſton*, dean of *Weſtminſter*, who came to viſit Mr. *Bradford* in priſon, and had much converſation with him; but in his conferences with them all he anſwered in a ſteady and uniform manner, becoming a man, who knew in whom he believed, and like a Chriſtian champion for the truths of God; though, naturally, he was (as Mr. *Edward Leigh* ſays of him) 'a man of a humble, melting 'ſpirit.'

He lived under ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of his corruptions, that he ſubſcribed ſome of his letters from priſon in the following words:—"The moſt miſerable, hard-hearted, "unthankful ſinner, *John Bradford*. The ſinful *John* "*Bradford*."

We are informed by Mr. *Fox*, that he wrote many treatiſes, eſpecially during his confinement, of which the following have been publiſhed.—Two ſermons; the firſt of repentance, on *Matth.* iv. 17. the ſecond of the Lord's Supper. 2. Letters to his fellow martyrs. 3. An anſwer to two letters, upon the lawfulneſs of attending maſs. 4. The danger of attending maſs. 5. His examination before the officers. 6. Godly meditations made in priſon, called his ſhort prayers. 7. Truth's complaints. 8. A tranſlation of *Melanchthon* upon prayer. 9. A dialogue of predeſtination and free-will.

It is no wonder that *Bradford*'s letters made ſuch a noiſe among the papiſts, ſince they were highly ſpiritual, and tended to eſtabliſh the people of God under the ſeverity of their perſecution. They are ſo truly excellent, that, notwithſtanding the rude ſtyle of thoſe times, they are read with delight and edification even to this day. We will ſelect two or three of them for our Readers, to ſhew his manner and ſpirit, and refer them for the reſt to *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments.

"To

" To my dear fathers, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and
" Dr. *Latimer*.

" *JESUS Emmanuel!* My dear fathers in the Lord,
" I beſeech God, our ſweet Father through *Chriſt*, to
" make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.
" I had thought that every of your ſtaves had ſtood next
" the door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear
" brother *Rogers* hath broken the ice valiantly, as this
" day (I think) or to-morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty
" *Hooper*, ſincere *Saunders*, and truſty *Taylor*, end their
" courſe, and receive their crown. The next am I, which
" hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after
" them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgive me
" mine unthankfulneſs for this exceeding great mercy,
" that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his mercy
" to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For
" although it be moſt true, that *juſtè patior*, i. e. I juſtly
" ſuffer (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a griev-
" ous ſinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it,
" he hath done it indeed) yet *hic autem quid mali fecit?*
" i. e. what evil hath he done? *Chriſt*, whom the prelates
" perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done
" no evil, nor deſerveth death. Therefore ought I moſt
" heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindneſs
" of the Lord's towards me, who uſeth remedy for my
" ſin as a teſtimonial of his teſtament, to his glory, to
" my everlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his church,
" and to the overthrowing of antichriſt and his kingdom.
" Oh what am I, Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnify
" me, ſo vile a man and wretch, as always I have been?
" Is this thy wont, to ſend for ſuch a wretch and an hy-
" pocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didſt
" for *Helias?* Oh dear fathers, be thankful for me, that
" I ſtill might be found worthy in whom the Lord would
" ſanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you
" ready: For we are but your gentlemen-uſhers. *Nuptiæ*
" *Agni paratæ ſunt, venite ad nuptias:* i. e. the marriage of
" the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now
" go to leave my fleſh there, where I received it. I ſhall
" be conveyed thither, as *Ignatius* was at *Rome*, *Leopar-*
" *dis*; by whoſe evil I hope to be made better. God
" grant, if it be his will that I aſk, it may make them
" better by me. Amen.
" For my farewel therefore, I write and ſend this unto
" you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall never
" be

" be ſeparated. In the mean ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as " I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven; " and that you would ſo do by me, I moſt heartily pray " every one of you: You know now I have moſt need. " But *fidelis eſt Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſuprà id* " *quod poſſumus*; i. e. faithful is God, which will not " ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. He never " did it hitherto, nor now; and I am aſſured he will " never. Amen. *A dextris eſt mihi, non movebor. Propter* " *hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam* " *in inferno, nec dabit me, ſanctum ſuum, per gratiam in* " *Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans* " *omni momento carnificem*; i. e. he is on my right hand, " therefore I ſhall not fall: Wherefore my heart ſhall " rejoice, for he ſhall not leave my ſoul in hell; neither " ſhall ſuffer me his holy one, by his grace in *Chriſt*, to " ſee corruption. Out of priſon in haſte, looking for the " tormentor, the eighth of *February*, 1555."

To a faithful woman in her heavineſs and trouble.

" GOD our good Father, for his mercies ſake in *Chriſt*, " with his eternal conſolation ſo comfort you, as I " deſire to be comforted of him in my moſt need: Yea, " he will comfort you (my dear ſiſter) only caſt your care " upon him, and he never can nor will forſake you. For " his calling and gifts be ſuch, that he can never repent " him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; " none of his choſen can periſh: Of which number I know " you are, my dearly beloved ſiſter. God increaſe the " faith thereof daily more and more in you; may he give " unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence " and protection: For whoſo dwelleth under that ſecret " thing, and help of the Lord, he ſhall be cock-ſure for " evermore. He that dwelleth, I ſay; for if we be flit- " ters and not dwellers, as was *Lot* a flitter from *Segor*, " where God promiſed him protection, if he had dwelled " there ſtill; we ſhall remove to our loſs, as he did into " the mountains.

" Dwell therefore; that is, truſt, and that finally unto " the end, in the Lord, (my dear ſiſter) and you ſhall be " as mount *Sion*. As mountains compaſs *Jeruſalem*, ſo " doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget " you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear " Son's ſake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one " half hour with you, to be a *Simon* to help carry your

" croſs

" croſs with you. God ſend you ſome good *Simon* to be " with you, and help you.

" You complain in your letters of the blindneſs of your " mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, " God make you thankful for that which God hath given " unto you; may he open your eyes to ſee what and how " great benefits you have received, that you may be leſs " covetous, or rather impatient, for ſo (I fear me) it ſhould " be called, and more thankful. Have you not received " at his hands ſight to ſee your blindneſs, and thereto a " deſirous and ſeeking heart to ſee where he lieth in the " mid-day, as his dear ſpouſe ſpeaketh of herſelf in the " *Canticles?* Oh *Joyce*, my good *Joyce*, what a gift is this? " Many have ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſigh- " ing, none this ſeeking which you have, I know, but " ſuch as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You " are not content to kiſs his feet with the *Magdalen*, but " you would be kiſſed even with the kiſs of his mouth, " *Canticles*, 1. You would ſee his face with *Moſes*, for- " getting how he biddeth us ſeek his face, *Pſalm* xxvii. " Yea, and that for ever, *Pſalm* cv. Which ſignifieth " no ſuch ſight, as you deſire to be in this preſent life, " which would ſee God now face to face; whereas he " cannot be ſeen, but covered under ſomething, yea, " ſometime in that which is (as you would ſay) clean " contrary to God; as to ſee his mercy in his anger. In " bringing us to hell, faith ſeeth him to bring us to " heaven; in darkneſs it beholdeth brightneſs: In hid- " ing his face from us, it beholdeth his merry counte- " nance. How did *Job* ſee God, but (as you would ſay) " under Satan's cloak? For who caſt the fire from heaven " upon his goods? Who overthrew his houſe, and ſtirred " up men to take away his cattel, but Satan? and yet " *Job* pierced through all theſe, and ſaw God's work, ſay- " ing, *the Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away*, &c.

" In reading of the *Pſalms*, how often do you ſee that " *David* in the ſhadow of death ſaw God's ſweet love? " And ſo, my dearly beloved, I ſee that you in your " darkneſs and dimneſs by faith do ſee clarity and bright- " neſs. By faith, I ſay, becauſe faith is of things abſent, " of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your " conſcience, whether you deſire not. And can you de- " ſire any thing which you know not? And is there of " heavenly things any other true knowledge than by " faith?

" Therefore

" Therefore (my dear heart) be thankful, for (before " God I write it) you have great cauſe. Ah, my *Joyce*, " how happy is the ſtay wherein you are? Verily you " are even in the bleſſed ſtate of God's children; for they " mourn, and do not you ſo? And that not for worldly " weal, but for ſpiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. " Do you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs? And " I pray you, ſaith not *Chriſt*, who cannot lye, that happy " are ſuch? How ſhould God wipe away the tears from " your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye ſhed no tears? " How could heaven be a place of reſt, if on earth ye " find it? How could ye deſire to be at home, if in your " journey you found no grief? How could you ſo often " call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, " if your enemy ſhould ſleep all the day long? How " ſhould you elſewhere be made like unto *Chriſt*, I mean " in joy, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you " will have joy and felicity, you muſt firſt needs feel " ſorrow and miſery. If you will go to heaven, you " muſt ſail by hell. If you would embrace *Chriſt* in his " robes, you muſt not think ſcorn of him in his rags. " If you would ſit at *Chriſt*'s table in his kingdom, you " muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you " will drink of his cup of glory, forſake not his cup of " ignominy.

" Can the head corner-ſtone be rejected, and the other " more baſe ſtones in God's building be in this world ſet " by? You are one of his lively ſtones; be content there- " fore to be hewn and ſnagged at, that you might be made " more meet to be joined to your fellows which ſuffer " with you Satan's ſnatches, the world's wounds, con- " tempt of conſcience, and threats of the fleſh, where- " through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we " are, who ſhall deliver us? You are of God's corn, " fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millſtone, nor oven. " You are one of *Chriſt*'s lambs, look therefore to be " fleeced, haled at, and even ſlain.

" If you were a market-ſheep, you ſhould go in more " fat and graſſie paſture. If you were for the fair, you " ſhould be ſtall-fed, and want no weal. But becauſe " you are of God's own occupying, therefore you muſt " paſture on the bare common, abiding the ſtorms and " tempeſts that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are " you (my dear ſiſter) that God now haleth you whither " you would not, that you might come whither you would. " Suffer a little and be ſtill. Let Satan rage againſt you,

" let the world cry out, let your conſcience accuſe you,
" let the law load you and preſs you down, yet ſhall
" they not prevail, for *Chriſt* is *Emmanuel*, that is, God
" with us. *If God be with us, who can be againſt us?*
" The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you;
" your Spouſe loveth you. If the waves and ſurges ariſe,
" cry with *Peter*, *Lord, I periſh*; and he will put out
" his hand and help you. Caſt out your anchor of hope,
" and it will not ceaſe for the ſtormy ſurges, till it take
" hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

" Think not that he who hath given you ſo many
" things corporally, as inductions of ſpiritual and hea-
" venly mercies, and that without your deſerts or deſire,
" can deny you any ſpiritual comfort, deſiring it. For
" if he give to deſire, he will give you to have and en-
" joy the thing deſired. The deſire to have, and the
" going about to aſk, ought to certify your conſcience,
" that they be his earneſt of the thing which, you aſking,
" he will give you; yea, before you aſk, and whilſt you
" are about to aſk, he will grant the ſame, as *Iſaiah* ſaith,
" to his glory and your eternal conſolation. He that
" ſpared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot
" think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

" If he had not choſen you, (as moſt certainly he hath)
" he would not have ſo called you; he would never have
" juſtified you; he would never have ſo glorified you
" with his gracious gifts, which I know, praiſed be his
" name therefore; he would never have ſo exerciſed your
" faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if
" (I ſay) he had not choſen you. If he hath choſen you
" (as doubtleſs, dear heart, he hath done in *Chriſt*, for
" in you I have ſeen his earneſt, and before me and to
" me you could not deny it, I know both where and
" when) if, I ſay, he hath choſen you, then neither can
" you, nor ever ſhall you periſh: For if you fall, he put-
" teth under his hand. You ſhall not lie ſtill; ſo care-
" ful is *Chriſt* your keeper over you. Never was mother
" ſo mindful over her child, as he is over you. And
" hath not he always been ſo?

" Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you?
" And will he, now trow you, in your moſt need do
" otherwiſe, you calling upon him, and deſiring to pleaſe
" him? Ah (my *Joyce*) think you God to be mutable?
" Is he a changling? Doth not he love to the end them
" whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling ſuch,
" that he cannot repent him of them? For elſe were he

" no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power; " for I am certain his will towards you is not to be " doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit " of truth, told you ſo? And will you now hearken with " *Eve* to the lying ſpirit which would have you not to " deſpair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit " to that end, if you ſhould give ear unto it, which God " forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and " ſo ſhould you never truly love God, but ſerve him of " a ſervile fear, leſt he ſhould caſt you off for your un- " worthineſs and unthankfulneſs; as though your thank- " fulneſs or worthineſs were any cauſe with God, why " he hath choſen you, or will finally keep you.

" Ah mine own dear heart, *Chriſt* only, *Chriſt* only, " and his mercy and truth. In him is the cauſe of your " election. This *Chriſt*, this mercy, this truth of God, " remaineth for ever, is certain for ever; I ſay, for ever. " If an angel from heaven ſhould tell you the contrary, " accurſed be he. Your thankfulneſs and worthineſs are " fruits and effects of your election; they are no cauſes. " Theſe fruits and effects, ſhall be ſo much more fruitful " and effectual, by how much you waver not.

" Therefore (my dearly beloved) ariſe, and remember " from whence you are fallen. You have a ſhepherd " who never ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth; no man nor devil " can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he com- " mandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten " what I read to you out of the Pſalm, *The Lord is my* " *ſhepherd, I can want nothing*. Do you not know that " God ſpared *Noah* in the ark on the outſide, ſo that he " could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good " ſiſter) ſo hath he done to you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall " on your right hand, and twenty thouſand on your left " hand, yet no evil ſhall touch you. Say boldly there- " fore, *Many a time from my youth up have they fought* " *againſt me, but they have not prevailed*; no, nor never " ſhall prevail; for the Lord is round about his people. " And who are the people of God, but ſuch as hope in " him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you " are one of thoſe, my dear heart, for I am aſſured you " have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to ſhew " moſt manifeſtly, and I know they were written un- " feignedly. Indeed not to ſay, that even before God " you have ſimply confeſſed to me, and that oftentimes " no leſs. And if once you had this hope, as you doubt- " leſs had it, though now you feel it not, yet ſhall you

" feel

" feel it again: For the anger of the Lord laſteth but a " moment, but his mercy laſteth for ever. Tell me (my " dear heart) who hath ſo weakened you? Surely not " a perſuaſion which came from him who called you. " For why ſhould you waver, and be ſo heavy hearted? " Whom look you on? On yourſelf? On your worthi- " neſs? On your thankfulneſs? On that which God " requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? " Then can you not but waver indeed: For what have " you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love " you, &c. as much as you ſhould do? No, no, nor ever " can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you ſo " ſoon forgotten that which ever ſhould be had in me- " mory? Namely, that when you would and ſhould be " certain and quiet in conſcience, then ſhould your faith " burſt throughout all things not only that you have in " you, or elſe are in heaven, earth or hell, until it come " to *Chriſt* crucified, and the eternal ſweet mercies and " goodneſs of God in *Chriſt*? Here, here is the reſting " place; here is your Spouſe's bed; creep into it, and in " your arms of faith embrace him: Bewail your weak- " neſs, unworthineſs, your diffidence, &c. and you ſhall " ſee he will turn to you. What ſaid I, you ſhall ſee? " Nay, I ſhould have ſaid, you ſhall feel he will turn to " you. You know that *Moſes*, when he went to the " mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud; " and *Helias* had his face covered when God paſſed by. " Both theſe dear friends of God heard of God, but they " ſaw him not; but you would be preferred before them. " See now (my dear heart) how covetous you are. Ah " be thankful, be thankful. But God be praiſed, your " covetouſneſs is *Moſes*'s covetouſneſs. Well, with him " you ſhall be ſatisfied: But when? Forſooth when he " ſhall appear. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it " were in a glaſs. *Iſaac* was deceived, becauſe he was " not content with hearing only.

" Therefore to make an end of theſe many words, " wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better " exerciſes; inaſmuch as you are indeed the child of God, " elect in *Chriſt* before the beginning of all times; inaſ- " much as you are given to the cuſtody of *Chriſt*, as one " of God's moſt precious jewels; inaſmuch as *Chriſt* is " faithful, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall " never periſh, no, one hair of your head ſhall not be " loſt: I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave " at your hands with all my very heart; I aſk of you with

" hand, pen, tongue and mind, in *Chriſt*, through *Chriſt*, " for *Chriſt*, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and " truth's ſake, (my moſt entirely beloved ſiſter) that you " admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, " howſoever you feel for yourſelf; but to complain to " God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear " father, all things; and in that time which ſhall be " moſt opportune, you ſhall find and feel far above that " your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, " to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

" The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear " children; may he comfort you, as I deſire to be com- " forted, my dearly beloved, for evermore. Amen.

" I break up thus abruptly, becauſe our common prayer " time calleth me. The peace of *Chriſt* dwell in both " our hearts for ever. Amen.

" As for the report of *W. Po.* if it be as you hear, " you muſt prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's " door, *Do well, and hear evil.* Be content therefore to " hear whatſoever the enemy ſhall imagine to blot you " withal. God's holy Spirit always comfort and keep " you. Amen, Amen. This eighth of *Auguſt*, by him " that in the Lord deſireth to you, as well and as much " felicity as to his own heart."

His laſt letter to his mother, a little before he was burned.

" GOD's mercy and peace in *Chriſt*, be more and more " perceived of us. Amen.

" My moſt dear mother, in the bowels of *Chriſt* I " heartily pray and beſeech you to be thankful for me " unto God, who thus now taketh me unto himſelf: " I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an " adulterer, &c. but I die as a witneſs of *Chriſt*, his goſ- " pel and verity, which hitherto I have confeſſed (I thank " God) as well by preaching, as by impriſonment, and " now even preſently I ſhall moſt willingly confirm the " ſame by fire. I acknowledge that God moſt juſtly might " take me hence ſimply for my ſins (which are many, " great, and grievous: But the Lord for his mercy in " *Chriſt*, hath pardoned them all, I hope) but now dear " mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a con- " feſſor and witneſs, that the religion taught by *Chriſt* " *Jeſus*, the prophets, and the apoſtles, is God's truth. " The prelates do perſecute in me *Chriſt* whom they hate, " and his truth which they may not abide, becauſe their " works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light,

" left men ſhould ſee their darkneſs. Therefore, my good " and moſt dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that " he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witneſs " of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank " God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of " *Mancheſter*. Uſe often and continual prayer to God " the Father, through *Chriſt*. Hearken, as you may, to " the ſcriptures: Serve God after his word, and not after " cuſtom: Beware of the *Romiſh* religion in *England*; " defile not yourſelf with it: Carry *Chriſt*'s croſs as he " ſhall lay it upon your back: Forgive them that kill " me: Pray for them, for they know not what they do: " Commit my cauſe to God the Father: Be mindful of " both your daughters, and help them as you can.

" I ſend all my writings to you and my brother *Roger*; " do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would: " He can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to " give you, or to leave behind me for you: Only I pray " God my Father, for his *Chriſt*'s ſake, to bleſs you, and " keep you from evil. May he give you patience, may he " make you thankful, as for me, ſo for yourſelf, that he " will take the fruit of your womb to witneſs his verity: " Wherein I confeſs to the whole world, I die and depart " this life, in hope of a much better: Which I look for " at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of " his dear Son *Jeſus Chriſt*.

" Thus, my dear mother, I take my laſt farewel of you " in this life, beſeeching the almighty and eternal Father " by *Chriſt*, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where " we ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever " and ever. Amen. Out of priſon the twenty-fourth " of *June*, 1555. Your ſon in the Lord."

JUSTUS JONAS.

THIS famous *German* divine, was born at *Northauſen* in *Thuringia*, on the fifth of *June*, 1493, where his father was chief magiſtrate; who, falling ſick of the plague, and having applied an onion to the ſore, took it off and laid it by; which young *Jonas*, coming in, took up and eat; but, through the goodneſs of God, received

no

no hurt. He applied himſelf firſt to the ſtudy of the civil law, and made good proficiency in it; but, quitting that ſtudy, he devoted his whole attention to theology, and proceeded to the degree of doctor immediately. This was about the firſt dawning of the true light of the goſpel, of which *Jonas* was not only an hearer and obſerver; but ſoon afterwards a principal inſtrument in promoting. For he was almoſt always preſent at the ſeveral ſynods and meetings of divines, which were held to ſettle the matters of religion, in thoſe days. He united in one perſon the characters of a moſt able divine and learned civilian; and as the ſtate of religion at that time was unavoidably connected with human politics, he became a very neceſſary man to the proteſtants, in being a ſkilful politician. He aſſiſted *Luther* and *Melanchon* in the aſſembly at *Marpurg*, in 1529, and was afterwards with *Melanchon* at the famous convention at *Augſburg*, in which he was a principal negotiator. With theſe two great men he was extremely intimate, and particularly with *Melanchon*.

In the year 1521, he was called to a paſtoral charge at *Wittenberg*, and made principal of the college and profeſſor in that univerſity. He, with *Spalatinus* and *Amſdorf*, was employed by the elector of *Saxony* to reform the churches in *Miſnia* and *Thuringia*: From thence he was called to *Hall* in *Saxony*, where he alſo exceedingly promoted the work of the Reformation. *Luther* ſometimes reſorted thither to him; and took him with him in his laſt journey to *Iſleben*, where he died in his arms.

After *Luther*'s death, he continued ſome time in the duke of *Saxony*'s court, and was a conſtant companion of *John Frederick*'s ſons in all their afflictions. He was at length ſet over the church in *Eisfield*, where he ended his days in much peace and comfort, on the ninth of *October*, in the year 1555, and in the ſixty-third year of his age.

He was one of thoſe, who might be called moderate Reformers, wiſhing to make no further alteration in the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip, and even doctrine, than was abſolutely neceſſary for the introduction of piety and truth. Hence the Lutheran churches have departed leaſt of any, in external ceremonies, from the corruptions of the church of *Rome*. The motive of *Luther*, *Jonas*, and other Reformers of that caſt, was undoubtedly good; but the effect was not anſwerable. The danger, in ſuch caſes, is, that the great bulk of the people, ſeeing ſuch ſtreſs laid upon outward obſervances, will fall into the error of leaning entirely upon them, and ſo make that, which perhaps

perhaps might be originally intended for an *help* to devotion, the whole *end* and *purpose* of their attention.

Jonas's death was exceedingly regretted by all the good men of that time; for such a loss to the church of *Christ* was not easily to be repaired. None but almighty grace could effect it; which has promised not to leave the church without faithful witnesses to the end of time. *Siberus*, in his epitaph, said of him;

——— *flent ademtum*
Omnes judicii elegantioris,
Et bonique viri piique: cœlo
Ille, colloquio Dei, receptus,
Et Christi fruitur beatus ore.

——— 'the heavy loss
'All men bewail'd of pious mind,
'All men of sentiments refin'd:
'To heav'n he flew, at God's behest;
'And joyful there, among the blest,
'He views his Saviour face to face,
'And triumphs in redeeming grace.'

He wrote, among other treatises, in defence of the marriage of priests, against *Faber*; upon the study of divinity; notes upon the acts of the apostles; upon the death of *Luther*, against *Wicelius*; and he translated into *Latin* several of *Luther*'s works.

About this period, the gospel flourished in what is now called *Prussia*, under the ministry of three very great and excellent divines, *Paulus Speratus*, *Poliander*, and *Brismann*. This last was a particular friend of *Luther*, and with the other two, his colleagues, fed the flock of *Christ*, and superintended the churches in *Prussia*, above twenty years. About the latter end of their ministry, *Osiander*, who during *Luther*'s life harmonized in all the great points with the other Reformers, left *Norimberg*, where he had long preached, and came into *Prussia*. Here he started some opinions of his own upon the doctrine of justification, asserting, that man is not justified by faith, but by the righteousness of *Christ* dwelling in us. Matters were carried so high, that *Albert*, duke of *Prussia*, who had embraced *Osiander*'s opinion, banished the other Reformers from his dominions. *Osiander* was justly censured by most of the protestants for making this breach in a most unseasonable time, and particularly for his ill treatment of *Melancthon*, to whom he returned abuse and harsh-

ness

neſs for mildneſs and reaſon. The truth is, that *Oſiander*, with all his learning and abilities, appears to have been a very vain and intemperate man, affecting high-flown language and manners, inſtead of that ſimplicity which becomes the goſpel. He died at *Koningſberg*, in *Pruſſia*, on the very ſame day that the excellent *Caſpar Hedio* departed this life at *Straſburgh*. After his death, duke *Albert*, whether from a wiſh to heal the differences occaſioned by *Oſiander* and his ſectaries, or from the ſuggeſtions of ſome great and good men, cauſed a public agreement to be made about the year 1556; and ſo the church in that part of the world was ſettled in peace.

HUGH LATIMER,

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

OF this plain and pious, as well as moſt zealous, divine, it may be ſaid, that he was one of the firſt and moſt uſeful Reformers of the church of *England*. He was deſcended of mean but honeſt parents at *Thirkeſſon*, or *Thurcaſton*, near *Mount Sorrel*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, where his father lived in good reputation; and though he had no land of his own, but rented a ſmall farm of four pounds a year at the utmoſt, yet, by frugality and induſtry, and the advantage of a good bargain, he brought up a large family of ſix daughters, beſides this his only ſon.*

* In one of his court ſermons, in king *Edward*'s time, our author, inveighing againſt the nobility and gentry, and ſpeaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way, that upon a farm of four pounds a year, at the utmoſt, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it ſtocked with a hundred ſheep and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horſe, himſelf remembering to have buckled on his father's harneſs, when he went to *Blackheath*; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hoſpitably among his neighbors, and was not backward in his alms to the poor. "And all this (ſaid he) he did of "the ſaid farm: Whereas he, that now hath it, pays ſixteen pounds "by the year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, "for himſelf, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the "poor."—What would *Latimer* have ſaid of our preſent rack-renting landlords, who not only do not relieve, but procure means to grind the face of the poor?

Hugh,


BISHOP LATIMER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Hugh, who was born in the farm-houſe about the year 1470, in the eleventh year of king *Edward* the Fourth, and put to the grammar-ſchool at *Thurcaſton*, and afterwards at *Leiceſter*, took his learning ſo well, that it was determined to breed him to the church. With this view, as ſoon as he was fit, he was ſent to *Cambridge*, in 1484, where, at the uſual time, he took his degrees in arts, and, entering into prieſt's orders, behaved with remarkable zeal and warmth in defence of popery, his religion, againſt the reformed opinions, which had lately diſcovered themſelves in *England*. He heard thoſe new teachers with high indignation: He inveighed, publicly and privately, againſt the Reformers. He looked upon them in ſo bad a light, that he declared he was of opinion, the laſt times, the day of judgement, and the end of the world, were now approaching. "Impiety, he "ſaid, was gaining ground apace; and what lengths may "not men be expected to run, when they begin to queſ-"tion even the infallibility of the pope?" If any, inclined to the Reformation, and particularly good Mr. *Stafford*, divinity-lecturer in *Cambridge*, read lectures in the ſchools, Mr. *Latimer* was ſure to be there to drive out the ſcholars; and, when he commenced batchelor of divinity, (which was in the year 1515, when he was forty-five years of age) he took occaſion to give an open teſtimony of his diſlike to their proceedings, in an oration, which he made againſt *Philip Melanĉthon*, whom he treated with great ſeverity, for his "impious innovations (as he "called them) in religion." His zeal was ſo much taken notice of in the univerſity, that he was elected, in the next year, into the office of croſs-bearer in all public proceſſions; an employment which he accepted with reverence, and diſcharged with becoming ſolemnity for the ſpace of ſeven years.

Among thoſe, who about this period favored the Reformation, the moſt conſiderable was Mr. *Thomas Bilney*, whoſe life we have related to our Readers.

It was Mr. *Latimer*'s happineſs to be well acquainted with this good man, who had indeed long conceived very favorable ſentiments of him. He had known *Latimer*'s life in the univerſity to be a life ſtrictly moral and devout; he aſcribed his failings to the genius of his religion, and, notwithſtanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profeſſion of that religion, he could obſerve in him a very candid temper, prejudiced by no ſiniſter views, and an integrity, which gave him great hopes of his reformation.

mation. Induced by theſe favorable appearances, Mr. *Bilney* failed not, as opportunities offered, to ſuggeſt many things to him about corruptions in religion in general, whence he uſed frequently to drop a hint concerning ſome in the *Romiſh* church in particular, till having prepared the way by degrees, he at length made an earneſt perſuaſion, that his friend would only endeavor to diveſt himſelf of his prejudices, and place the two ſides of the queſtion before him. How Mr. *Latimer* at firſt received theſe few declarations, and by what ſteps he came to be ſettled in the truth of the goſpel, we have no particular account; only we find in general, that his friend's application had its deſired effect. This was in the year 1523, when *Latimer* had nearly attained the fifty-third year of his age.

Mr. *Latimer* no ſooner ceaſed from being a zealous papiſt, than he became, with the ſame zeal and integrity, a zealous proteſtant, very active in ſupporting and propagating the reformed doctrine, and aſſiduous to make converts both in the town and univerſity. He preached in public, exhorted in private, and every-where preſſed the neceſſity of true faith and holineſs, in oppoſition to thoſe outward performances, which were then eſteemed the very eſſentials of religion. A behavior of this kind was immediately taken notice of; *Cambridge*, no leſs than the reſt of this kingdom, was entirely popiſh; every new opinion was watched with the utmoſt jealouſy; and Mr. *Latimer* ſoon perceived, how obnoxious he had made himſelf. The firſt remarkable oppoſition he met with from the popiſh party, was occaſioned by a courſe of ſermons he preached, during the Chriſtmas holidays, before the univerſity; in which he ſpoke his ſentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and uſages maintained and practiſed in the *Romiſh* church, and particularly inſiſted upon the great abuſe of locking up the ſcripture in an unknown tongue. Few of the tenets of popery were then queſtioned in *England*, but ſuch as tended to a relaxation of manners; tranſubſtantiation, and other points rather ſpeculative, ſtill held their dominion; Mr. *Latimer* therefore chiefly dwelt upon thoſe of immoral tendency. He ſhewed what true religion was; that it was ſeated in the heart; and that, in compariſon with it, external appointments were of no value. Great was the outcry occaſioned by theſe diſcourſes.

The ſtate of religion at that time is well deſcribed, in the following words, gathered from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians

torians of the reign of king *Henry* the Eighth. 'The 'cathedral clergy (ſay they) throughout the kingdom 'gave themſelves up wholly to idleneſs and pleaſure; 'they decried and diſcouraged learning; affirming, that 'learning would bring in hereſy and all manner of miſ-'chief. The rural and parochial clergy were univerſally 'ignorant, ſlothful, idle, ſuperſtitious, proud, and vicious; 'preaching, moſt of them, but once a quarter on a *Sun-'day*, and, but few, more than once a month, on the 'firſt *Sunday* thereof. In Lent, ſermons were more fre-'quent; but theſe uſually turned on abſtinence, con-'feſſion, the neceſſity of corporal ſeverities, pilgrimages, 'the enriching of the ſhrines, and the relics of the ſaints, 'and the great uſe of indulgences. No pains were taken 'to inform the people of the hatefulneſs of vice, the 'excellency of holineſs, or the wonderful love of *Chriſt*. 'It was far otherwiſe on the holy or ſaints' days; for on 'them the monks, and the friars, and others, would aſcend 'the pulpit, and, inſtead of ſermons, harangue the peo-'ple on the merits, ſupererogations, and miracles, of the 'ſaints, to the memory of whom the days were dedicated; 'magnifying their relics, which they always took care to 'inform them were laid up in ſuch and ſuch places.—— 'The clergy in general were ſo proud and inſolent, that, 'if any man denied them any part of that reſpect, or of 'thoſe advantages to which they pretended, he was pre-'ſently brought under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, and vexed 'with impriſonments; and articles in the ſpiritual courts 'were exhibited againſt him.'

Learning was at a very low ebb, in both the univer-ſities, in the year 1526. *Cambridge* was then the ſeat and aſylum of ignorance, bigotry, and ſuperſtition; and every reformed opinion and perſon was perſecuted with the moſt inveterate hatred and zeal. *Latimer* had, by this time, through his daily and indefatigable ſearching of the ſcrip-tures of the Old and New Teſtaments, made himſelf a complete maſter of all the ſcriptural arguments, proper to confute the reigning errors of the church of *Rome*.— He ſpoke largely againſt the abominable ſuperſtition and idle uſage of ſaying maſs in an unknown tongue, and gave the moſt ſolid reaſons, why the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments ſhould be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, printed, and put into the hands of the moſt illiterate. This preaching of his had a very great effect; and, with great truth, it may be ſaid, that we greatly owe, under

God; to Mr. *Latimer* the ineſtimable bleſſing of reading the bible in our own tongue.

Mr. *Latimer* now became a preacher of particular eminence, and diſplayed a remarkable addreſs in adapting himſelf to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy, obſerving him thus followed, thought it high time to oppoſe him openly. This taſk was undertaken by Dr. *Buckingham*, or *Buckenham*, prior of the *Black-Friars*, who appeared in the pulpit againſt him, and with great pomp and prolixity, ſhewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. *Latimer*'s opinions; particularly, he inveighed againſt his heretical notions of having the ſcriptures in *Engliſh*; laying open the ill effects of ſuch an innovation. 'If 'that hereſy, ſaid he, prevail, we ſhould ſoon ſee an end 'of every thing uſeful among us. The plough-man, 'reading that if he put his hand to the plough, and 'ſhould happen to look back, he was unfit for the king-'dom of God, would ſoon lay aſide his labour; the 'baker likewiſe reading, that a little leaven will corrupt 'his lump, would give us very inſipid bread: The ſimple 'man alſo finding himſelf commanded to pluck out his 'eyes, in a few years we ſhould have the nation full of 'blind beggars.' Mr. *Latimer* could not but ſmile at this ingenious reaſoning; and promiſed to balance accounts with the prior on the next *Sunday*, and to expoſe this ſolemn trifler. The whole univerſity accordingly met together on the next *Sunday*; as the news was generally ſpread, that Mr. *Latimer* would preach. That vein of pleaſantry and humour which ran through all his words and actions, would here, it was imagined, have its full ſcope: And, to ſay the truth, the preacher was not a little conſcious of his own ſuperiority. To complete the ſcene, juſt before the ſermon began, prior *Buckingham* himſelf entered the church with his cowl about his ſhoulders, and ſeated himſelf with an air of importance, before the pulpit. Mr. *Latimer*, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the ſtrongeſt light, and then rallied them with ſuch a flow of wit, and at the ſame time with ſo much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adverſary in the higheſt degree ridiculous. He then, with great addreſs, appealed to the people; deſcanted upon the low eſteem in which their holy guides had always held their underſtandings; expreſſed the utmoſt offence at their being treated with ſuch contempt, and wiſhed his honeſt countrymen might only have the

uſe of the ſcripture, till they ſhewed themſelves ſuch abſurd interpreters, as the prior had ſeemed to make them. He concluded his diſcourſe with a few obſervations upon ſcripture metaphors. "A figurative manner of ſpeech, "he ſaid, was common in all languages:" Repreſentations of this kind were in daily uſe, and generally underſtood. "Thus, for inſtance, continues he, (addreſſing "himſelf to that part of the audience where the prior "was ſeated) when we ſee a fox painted preaching in a "friar's hood, no body imagines that a fox is meant, but "that craft and hypocriſy are deſcribed, which are ſo "often found diſguiſed in that garb."——This pointed ridicule expoſed the poor prior to the laughter and contempt of every body; and, though we do not approve of humor or drollery in ſuch places, and upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions, as the profeſſed worſhip of God, yet certainly he deſerved it. And it is probable, Mr. *Latimer* himſelf thought this levity unbecoming: For when one *Venetus*, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the ſame ſubject, and in a manner the moſt ſcurrilous and provoking, we find him uſing a graver ſtrain. He anſwers, like a ſcholar, what is worth anſwering, and, like a man of ſenſe, leaves the abſurd part to confute itſelf. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reaſoned; with ſo much of the ſpirit of true oratory, conſidering the times, were his harangues animated, that they ſeldom failed of their intended effect: His raillery ſhut up friar *Buckingham* within his monaſtry; and his arguments drove *Venetus* from the univerſity.

Theſe advantages increaſed the credit of the proteſtant party in *Cambridge*, of which *Bilney* and *Latimer* were at the head. The meekneſs, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, and the chearfulneſs, good-humour, and eloquence of the latter, wrought much upon the junior ſtudents.

Theſe things greatly alarmed the popiſh clergy: Of this ſort were all the heads of colleges, and indeed the ſenior part of the univerſity. Frequent convocations were held, tutors were admoniſhed to have a ſtrict eye over their pupils, and academical cenſures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical cenſures were found inſufficient. Mr. *Latimer* continued to preach, and hereſy (as they called it) to ſpread. The heads of the popiſh party applied to the biſhop of *Ely*, as their dioceſan; but that prelate was not a man for their purpoſe; he was a papiſt indeed, but moderate. He came to *Cambridge*, however;

however; examined the ſtate of religion; and, at their intreaty, preached againſt heretics; but he would do nothing farther. Only indeed he ſilenced Mr. *Latimer*. This occurred in the year 1529. But it gave no great check to the Reformers. There was at that time a proteſtant prior in *Cambridge*, Dr. *Barnes**, of the *Auſtin-Friars*: His monaſtry was exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. *Latimer*, he boldly licenſed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late oppoſition having greatly excited the curioſity of the people, the friars chapel was ſoon incapable of containing the crouds that attended: Among others, it is remarkable that the aforeſaid biſhop of *Ely* was often one of his hearers, and had the ingenuouſneſs to declare, that Mr. *Latimer* was one of the beſt preachers he had ever heard, and that he wiſhed, he had the ſame grace and abilities for himſelf.

The credit to the proteſtant cauſe, which our preacher had thus gained in the pulpit, he maintained by a holy life out of it. Mr. *Bilney* and he did not ſatisfy themſelves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving inſtances of goodneſs, which malice could not ſcandalize, nor envy miſinterpret. They viſited the priſoners; relieved the poor, and fed the hungry. They were always together concerting their ſchemes. The place where they uſed to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the *Heretics-Hill*. *Cambridge*, at that time, was full of their good works; their charities to the poor, and friendly viſits to the ſick and unhappy, were common topics of diſcourſe.

But theſe ſerved only to increaſe the heat of perſecution from their adverſaries. Impotent themſelves, and finding their dioceſan either unable or unwilling to work their purpoſes, they determined upon an appeal to the higher powers; and heavy complaints were carried to court of the increaſe of hereſy, not without formal depoſitions againſt the principal abettors of it.

The principal perſons, at this time concerned in eccleſiaſtical affairs, were cardinal *Wolſey*, *Warham*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Tunſtal*, biſhop of *London*; and as *Henry* VIII. was now in expectation of having the buſineſs of his divorce ended in a regular way at *Rome*, he was careful to obſerve all forms of civility with the

* We have mentioned this excellent perſon in the life of *Luther*, p. 224. He loved the truth, and ſuffered for it with great boldneſs and conſtancy.

pope.

pope. The cardinal therefore erected a court, conſiſting of biſhops, divines, and canoniſts, to put the laws in execution againſt hereſy: Of this court *Tunſtal* was made preſident; and *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and one or two more, were called before him. *Bilney* was conſidered as the hereſiarch, and againſt him chiefly the rigor of the court was levelled, and they ſucceeded ſo far that he was prevailed upon to recant; accordingly he bore his faggot (a token of recantation and penance), and was diſmiſſed. As for Mr. *Latimer*, and the reſt, they had eaſier terms. *Tunſtal* omitted no opportunities of ſhewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them. The heretics, upon their diſmiſſion, returned to *Cambridge*, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidſt this mutual joy, *Bilney* alone ſeemed unaffected; he ſhunned the ſight of his acquaintance, and received their congratulations with confuſion and bluſhes. In ſhort, he was ſtruck with remorſe for what he had done, grew melancholy, and after leading a life for two years in all the ſeverity of an aſcetic, he reſolved (as we have ſeen above) to acknowledge the truth unto death.

Bilney's ſufferings, far from ſhocking the Reformation at *Cambridge*, inſpired the leaders of it with new courage. Mr. *Latimer* began now to exert himſelf more than he had yet done, and ſucceeded to that credit, which Mr. *Bilney* had ſo long ſupported. He conſtantly preached in Dr. *Barnes*'s church, and aſſiſted him in the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. Among other inſtances of his zeal and reſolution, he gave one which was indeed very remarkable: He had the courage to write to the king againſt a proclamation then juſt publiſhed, forbidding the uſe of the bible in *Engliſh*, and other books on religious ſubjects. He had preached before his majeſty once or twice at *Windſor*, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch uſually indulged towards his ſubjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his ſovereign's favor might have raiſed in him, he choſe to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. He was generally conſidered as one of the moſt eminent of thoſe, who favored proteſtantiſm; and therefore thought it became him to be one of the moſt forward in oppoſing popery. His letter is the picture of an honeſt and ſincere heart; it was chiefly intended to point to the king the bad intention of the biſhops in procuring the proclamation, and concluded in theſe terms: "Ac-
"cept, gracious ſovereign, without diſpleaſure, what I
"have

" have written; I thought it my duty to mention thoſe " things to your majeſty. No perſonal quarrel, as God " ſhall judge me, have I with any man; I wanted only " to induce your majeſty to conſider well what kind of " perſons you have about you, and the ends for which " they counſel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, " or they are much ſlandered, have very private ends. " God grant your majeſty may ſee through all the de- " ſigns of evil men, and be in all things equal to the " high office with which you are intruſted. Wherefore, " gracious king, remember yourſelf, have pity upon " your own ſoul, and think that the day is at hand, " when you ſhall give account of your office, and of " the blood that hath been ſhed by your ſword; In the " which day, that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and " not be aſhamed, but be clear and ready in your reckon- " ing, and have your pardon ſealed with the blood of " our Saviour *Chriſt*, which alone ſerveth at that day, is " my daily prayer to HIM, who ſuffered death for our " ſins. The Spirit of God preſerve you!"

Though the influence of the popiſh party then prevailed ſo far, that this letter produced no effect: Yet the king, no way diſpleaſed, received it not only with temper, but with great condeſcenſion, graciouſly thanking him for his well-intended advice. The king loved ſincerity and openneſs; and Mr. *Latimer*'s plain and ſimple manner had before made a favorable impreſſion upon him, which this letter contributed not a little to ſtrengthen; and the part he acted in promoting the eſtabliſhment of the king's ſupremacy, in 1535, rivetted him in the royal favor. Dr. *Butts*, the king's phyſician, being ſent to *Cambridge* on that occaſion, and upon the affair of the king's divorce, began immediately to pay his court to the proteſtant party, from whom the king expected moſt unanimity in his favor. Among the firſt, he made his application to Mr. *Latimer*, as a perſon moſt likely to ſerve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the caſe, and do his utmoſt to bring over thoſe of moſt eminence, who were ſtill inclined to the papacy. Mr. *Latimer*, being a thorough friend to the cauſe he was to ſolicit, undertook it with his uſual zeal, and diſcharged himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr. *Latimer* along with him, in the deſign, no doubt, of procuring him a proper conſideration.

About

About this time a perſon was riſing into power, who became his chief friend and patron—the lord *Cromwell*, who, being a friend to the Reformation, encouraged of courſe ſuch churchmen, as moſt inclined towards it. Among thoſe was Mr. *Latimer*, for whom his patron very ſoon obtained the benefice of *Weſt-Kingſton*, in *Wiltſhire*, whither he reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to repair, and keep a conſtant reſidence. His friend Dr. *Butts*, ſurprized at this reſolution, did what he could to diſſuade him from it: 'You are deſerting, ſaid he, the faireſt opportunities of making your fortune: The prime miniſter intends this only as an earneſt of his future favours, and will certainly in time do great things for you. But it is the manner of courts to conſider them as provided for, who ſeem to be ſatisfied; and, take my word for it, an abſent claimant ſtands but a poor chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being preſent.' Thus the old courtier adviſed. But theſe arguments had no weight. He was heartily tired of the court, where he ſaw ſo much debauchery and irreligion, without being able to oppoſe them; having neither authority nor talents, he thought, to reclaim the great. The great deſign, however, of lord *Cromwell* and Dr. *Butts* in procuring *Latimer* this proviſion was, to encourage him in aſſiſting them by his oratory among the people, in their buſineſs of rendering the king's ſupremacy and divorce acceptable to the public. He was then the moſt diligent and popular preacher in the kingdom, and they wiſhed for the exerciſe of his talents in and about *London*. But *Latimer*'s views were of another kind. He thirſted for the ſalvation of ſouls; and, next to that conſideration, he wiſhed to retire from the buſtle of a court, where he had with the deepeſt concern beheld every vice triumphant, and malice, envy, detraction, and vanity, carrying all before them.

He left the palace, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his pariſh. Nor was he ſatisfied within thoſe limits; he extended his labors throughout the county, where he obſerved the paſtoral care moſt neglected, having for that purpoſe obtained a general licence from the univerſity of *Cambridge*. As his manner of preaching was very popular in thoſe times, the pulpits every where were gladly opened for him; and at *Briſtol*, where he often preached, he was much countenanced by the magiſtrates. But this reputation was too much for the popiſh clergy to ſuffer; and their oppoſition firſt broke out at *Briſtol*. The mayor had appointed him to preach

there on *Eaſter-day*. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleaſed; when ſuddenly there came out an order from the biſhop, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. *Latimer*, informed him of the biſhop's order, and, knowing that he had no ſuch licence, 'were extremely ſorry, that they were, by that means, deprived 'of the pleaſure of hearing an excellent diſcourſe from 'him.' Mr. *Latimer* received their compliment with a ſmile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that *theſe* were the very perſons who had written to the biſhop againſt him.

Their oppoſition became afterwards more public; the pulpits were made uſe of to ſpread their invectives againſt him, and ſuch liberties were taken with his character, that he thought it neceſſary to juſtify himſelf, and accordingly called upon his maligners to accuſe him publicly before the mayor of *Briſtol*: And, with all men of candor, he was juſtified; for when that magiſtrate convened both parties, and put the accuſers upon producing legal proof of what they had ſaid, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accuſation was left to reſt upon the uncertain evidence of ſome hearſay information.

His enemies however were not thus ſilenced. The party againſt him became daily ſtronger, and more inflamed. It conſiſted, in general, of the country prieſts in thoſe parts, headed by ſome divines of more eminence. Theſe perſons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles againſt him, extracted chiefly from his ſermons; in which he was charged with ſpeaking lightly of "the worſhip of "ſaints;" with ſaying, "there was no material fire in "hell," and that "he would rather be in purgatory "than in *Lollard*'s tower." This charge being laid before the biſhop of *London*, that prelate cited Mr. *Latimer* to appear before him; and, when he appealed to his own ordinary, a citation was obtained out of *Warham*'s (the archbiſhop's) court, where the biſhop of *London* and ſome other biſhops were commiſſioned to examine him.

An archiepiſcopal citation brought him neceſſarily to a compliance. His friends would have had him fly from it; but their perſuaſions were in vain. He ſet out for *London* in the depth of winter, and under a ſevere fit of the ſtone and cholic, and in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age; but he was more diſtreſſed at the thoughts of leaving his pariſh expoſed to the popiſh clergy, who he feared might undo in his abſence and detention, what he had hitherto

hitherto done. On his arrival at *London*, a court of biſhops and canoniſts were ready to receive him; where, inſtead of being examined, as he expected, about his ſermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to ſubſcribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of maſſes for the ſouls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead ſaints, of pilgrimages to their ſepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive ſins, the doctrine of merit, the ſeven ſacraments, and the worſhip of images: And, when he refuſed to ſign it, the archbiſhop, with a frown, begged he would conſider what he did. 'We intend not, 'ſays he, Mr. *Latimer*, to be hard upon you; we diſmiſs 'you for the preſent; take a copy of the articles, examine 'them carefully, and God grant that, at our next meet-'ing, we may find each other in better temper.' The next and ſeveral ſucceeding meetings, the ſame ſcene was acted over again. *He* continued inflexible; and *they* continued to diſtreſs him. Three times every week they regularly ſent for him, with a view either to draw ſomething from him by captious queſtions, or to teize him at length into compliance. Of one of theſe examinations he gives us the following account: "I was brought out, "ſays he, to be examined in the ſame chamber as be-"fore; but, at this time, it was ſomewhat altered: For, "whereas, before, there was a fire in the chimney, now "the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the "chimney, and the table ſtood near the chimney's end. "There was, among theſe biſhops that examined me, one "with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took "for my great friend, an aged man, and he ſat next the "table-end. Then, among other queſtions, he put forth "one, a very ſubtle and crafty one; and when I ſhould "make anſwer: 'I pray you, Mr. *Latimer*, ſaid he, 'ſpeak out, I am very thick of hearing, and there be 'many that ſit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was "bidden to ſpeak out, and began to miſdeem, and gave "an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly "ſcratching behind the cloth.—They had appointed one "there to write all my anſwers, that I ſhould not ſtart "from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me "anſwers; I could never elſe have eſcaped them." At length he was tired out with ſuch uſage; and, when he was next ſummoned, inſtead of going himſelf, he ſent a letter to the archbiſhop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, that the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into ſuch a diſorder, as rendered him unfit

to attend that day—that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expoſtulate with his grace, for detaining him ſo long from the diſcharge of his duty—that it ſeemed to him moſt unaccountable, that they, who never preached themſelves, ſhould hinder others—that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progreſs—that, if his ſermons were what gave offence, which he perſuaded himſelf were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to anſwer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them—that he wiſhed a little more regard might be had to the judgement of the people; and that a diſtinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man—that if ſome abuſes in religion did prevail, as was then commonly ſuppoſed, he thought preaching was the beſt means to diſcountenance them—that he wiſhed all paſtors might be *obliged* to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to thoſe who were *willing*—that, as for the articles propoſed to him, he begged to be excuſed from ſubſcribing them; while he lived, he never would abet ſuperſtition; and that, laſtly, he hoped the archbiſhop would excuſe what he had written—he knew his duty to his ſuperiors, and would practiſe it; but, in that caſe, he thought a ſtronger obligation laid upon him.

The biſhops ſtill continued their perſecution, till their ſchemes were fruſtrated by an unexpected hand. The king being informed, moſt probably by lord *Cromwell*'s means, of Mr. *Latimer*'s ill uſage, interpoſed in his behalf, and reſcued him out of the hands of his enemies. A figure of ſo much ſimplicity, and ſuch an apoſtolic appearance as his at court, did not fail to ſtrike queen *Ann Boleyn*, who was the favorite wife of *Henry*, and a great friend to the reformed religion. This unfortunate queen mentioned him to her friends, as a perſon, in her opinion, as well qualified, as any ſhe had ſeen, to forward the Reformation; the principles of which ſhe had imbibed from her youth. Lord *Cromwell* raiſed our preacher ſtill higher in her eſteem, and they both joined in an earneſt recommendation of him for a biſhopric to the king, who, remembering probably the ſincerity of his letter to him, did not want much ſolicitation in his favor. It happened that the ſees of *Worceſter* and *Saliſbury* were at that time vacant, by the deprivation of *Ghinuccii* and *Campegio*, two *Italian* biſhops, who fell under the king's diſpleaſure,

upon his rupture with *Rome*. The former of theſe was offered to *Latimer*; and, as he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of providence, and accepted it without much perſuaſion. Indeed he had met with ſo very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and ſaw before him ſo hazardous a proſpect in his old ſtation, that he thought it neceſſary, both for his own ſafety, and for the ſake of being of more ſervice to the goſpel, to avail himſelf of ſuch an acquiſition of refuge and of power. Accordingly, his enemies were diſconcerted in their malevolence, and *Latimer* being out of their power, they quitted all thoughts of moleſtation for the preſent.

All the hiſtorians of theſe times mention him as a perſon remarkably zealous in the diſcharge of his new office, and tell us, that, in overlooking the clergy of his dioceſe, he was uncommonly active, warm and reſolute, and preſided in his eccleſiaſtical court in the ſame ſpirit. In writing, he was frequent and obſervant; in ordaining ſtrict and wary; in preaching indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting ſevere and perſuaſive. Thus far he could act with authority; but in other things he found himſelf under difficulties. The popiſh ceremonies gave him great offence; and he neither durſt, in times ſo dangerous and unſettled, lay them entirely aſide, nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma, his addreſs was admirable; he inquired into their origin, and when he found any of them, as ſome were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate their original, though itſelf a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus, he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were diſtributed, that theſe elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two ſacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm. The former, he ſaid, reminded us of *Chriſt*'s death; and the latter was only a ſimple repreſentation of being purified from ſin. By thus reducing popery to its firſt principles, he improved in ſome meaſure, a bad ſtock, by lopping from it ſome fruitleſs excreſcenſes.

While his endeavors to reform were thus confined to his dioceſe, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner, by a ſummons to parliament and convocation, in 1536. This ſeſſion was thought a criſis by the proteſtant party; at the head of which ſtood the lord *Cromwell*, whoſe favor with the king was now in its meridian.

ridian. Next to him in power was *Cranmer*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; after whom our biſhop of *Worceſter* was the moſt conſiderable man; to whom were added the biſhops of *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, *Saliſbury*, and St. *David*'s. On the other hand, the popiſh party was headed by *Lee*, archbiſhop of *York*, *Gardiner*, *Stokeſley*, and *Tunſtal*, biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, and *Durham*.

The convocation was opened on the ninth of *June*, and, as uſual, by a ſermon, or rather an oration, ſpoken at the appointment of *Cranmer* by our good biſhop of *Worceſter*, whoſe eloquence was at this time every where famous. Many warm debates paſſed in this aſſembly, the reſult whereof was, that four ſacraments out of the ſeven were concluded to be inſignificant. But, as the biſhop of *Worceſter* made no figure in them, for debating was not his talent; it is beſide the purpoſe of this memoir to enter into a detail of the ſeveral tranſactions of it. We ſhall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and *Cromwell* ſtigmatized by ſome public cenſure; but they were too well eſtabliſhed to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the biſhop of *Worceſter*, highly ſatisfied with the proſpect of the times, repaired to his dioceſe, having made no longer ſtay in *London* than was abſolutely neceſſary. He had no talents, and he knew he had none, for ſtate affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. It is upon that account, that biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks in a very ſlight manner of his public character at this time: But it is certain, that he never deſired to appear in any public character at all. His whole ambition was to diſcharge the paſtoral functions of a biſhop, neither aiming to diſplay the abilities of a ſtateſman, nor thoſe of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to ſupport the latter of the characters, will ſufficiently appear from the following ſtory.—It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for the biſhops to make preſents to the king on new-year's-day, and many of them would preſent very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the reſt, the biſhop of *Worceſter*, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but, inſtead of a purſe of gold, which was the common oblation, he preſented a New Teſtament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conſpicuous manner, to this paſſage: *Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.*

Henry VIII. made as little uſe of a good judgement, as any man ever did. His whole reign was one continued

rotation

rotation of violent paſſions, which rendered him a mere machine in the hands of his miniſters; and he among them, who could make the moſt artful addreſs to the paſſion of the day, carried his point. *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was juſt returned from *Germany*, having ſucceſsfully negotiated ſome commiſſions, which the king had greatly at heart. In 1539, when the parliament was called to confirm the ſeizure and ſurrendry of the monaſteries, that ſubtle miniſter took his opportunity, and ſucceeded in prevailing upon his majeſty to do ſomething towards reſtoring the old religion, as being moſt advantageous for his views in the preſent ſituation of *Europe*.

In this ſtate of affairs, the biſhop of *Worceſter* received his ſummons to parliament, and, ſoon after his arrival in town, he was accuſed before the king of preaching a ſeditious ſermon. The ſermon was preached at court; and the preacher, according to his cuſtom, had been unqueſtionably ſevere enough (or rather conſcientiouſly faithful) againſt whatever he obſerved amiſs. The king had called together ſeveral biſhops, with a view to conſult them upon ſome points of religion. When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be diſmiſſed, the biſhop of *Wincheſter* (for it was moſt probably he) kneeled down and accuſed the biſhop of *Worceſter* as above mentioned. The biſhop being called upon by the king, with ſome ſternneſs, to vindicate himſelf, was ſo far from denying, or even palliating, what he had ſaid, that he boldly juſtified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern, which a good conſcience inſpires, made this anſwer: "I never thought myſelf worthy, nor did I ever "ſue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called "to it, and would be willing, if you miſlike it, to give "place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many "more worthy of the room, than I am. And if it be "your grace's pleaſure to allow them for preachers, I "could be content to bear their books after them. But "if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would deſire "you to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, and "to frame my doctrine, according to my audience. I "had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached ſo at the "borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatneſs of this anſwer baffled his accuſer's malice; the ſeverity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious ſmile, and the biſhop was diſmiſſed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never uſed but to thoſe whom he eſteemed.

In

In the year 1538, the bible was publiſhed, by the royal authority, in *Engliſh*; and as our biſhop daily preached up the neceſſity of a tranſlation in the vulgar tongue, we may juſtly conclude, he had no little hand in it. The king commiſſioned only *Graſton* the printer to print it, and he printed fifteen hundred of them at his own charge; and the king by proclamation, according to the advice of archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and alſo of *Latimer*, allowed every one to read it. *Cromwell* procured this great privilege; and 'Cranmer publicly rejoiced to ſee this day of Refor-'mation, which he concluded was riſen now in *England*, 'ſince the light of God's word did ſhine over it without 'any cloud.' This he declared in a letter to *Cromwell*.

Latimer was a true biſhop indeed! for he not only preached the goſpel of *Chriſt* faithfully and diligently, but he watched over his dioceſe, and took care, if poſſible, to right all thoſe poor perſons who were impoſed upon or hardly uſed by their great and wealthy overbearing neighbors. It ſeems, ſays *Fox*, there lived a certain gentleman in *Warwickſhire*, in that part of it which lies within the dioceſe of *Worceſter*, who had wronged a poor man his neighbor, though he had kept within the literal ſenſe of the law. The gentlemen had a large eſtate in the county, and his brother was alſo in the commiſſion of the peace; and theſe two over-awed and cowed the whole neighborhood, for many miles round. The poor man, not knowing what to do, at length applied to his own dioceſan, told him the whole ſtory, and the manner in which he was oppreſſed. *Latimer* heard, pitied the poor man's caſe, and promiſed him he would, if poſſible, ſee him redreſſed. Whereupon *Latimer* wrote a very long letter to the parties, reproved them ſharply for the injury they had done the man, and required them ſpeedily to do him juſtice. They replied to the biſhop, and told him; 'They had done only what was right, and would abide 'by it: That as for the ſufferer the law was open; and 'as for his lordſhip, they could not but think he inter-'fered very impertinently in an affair which did not con-'cern him.' *Latimer* never eſpouſed a cauſe but he would go through with it; and therefore, finding that the gentlemen did not proceed readily to right his client, as we may call the poor man, he ſent them a ſecond letter, acquainting them in few words: "That if the cauſe of "complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly "would himſelf lay the whole affair before the king." This *Latimer* certainly would have done, (as he was then going

going to *London* on the following occaſion) if he had not been prevented, by their making the poor man that reſtitution and ſatisfaction he required.

As *Latimer* was the champion of the doctrine of the king's ſupremacy, he was, about this time, ſent for to *London*, in order to reclaim one *Forreſt*, an obſervant friar, who had denied the king's ſupremacy, and alſo the goſpel. *Latimer* did all that lay in his power, and ſtudied every way he could imagine to cauſe the friar to recant; for, it ſeems, *Henry* had, till he denied his ſupremacy, a very great reſpect for him. However, *Forreſt* could not by any arguments or perſuaſions be induced to recant, and therefore the day came when he was to be put to death in *Smithfield*. The lords of the council came thither, on the day, to offer *Forreſt* his pardon, if he would abjure. *Latimer* alſo, on this occaſion, preached a ſermon, wherein he endeavored to confute his errors, and begged of him to recant; but he continued ſtill in his former opinions. He was hanged to the ſtake with a great chain about his middle, and ſo was burnt.

About this time *Latimer*, together with eighteen other biſhops, all that were then in *England*, drew up and ſigned a declaration againſt the pope's eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which concludes with theſe words: 'That the 'people ought to be inſtructed, that *Chriſt* did expreſsly 'forbid his apoſtles or their ſucceſſors to take to them'ſelves the power of the ſword, or the authority of 'kings; and that if the biſhop of *Rome*, or any other 'biſhop, aſſumed ſuch power, he was a tyrant and an 'uſurper of other men's rights, and a ſubverter of the 'kingdom of *Chriſt*.'

Soon after another declaration was drawn up and ſigned by our biſhop and ſeven others, to ſhew, 'That, by the 'commiſſion which *Chriſt* gave to churchmen, they were 'only miniſters of his goſpel, to inſtruct the people in 'the purity of the faith: But that, by other places of 'ſcripture, the authority of Chriſtian princes, over all 'their ſubjects, as well biſhops and prieſts, as others, 'was alſo clear. And that the biſhops and prieſts have 'charge of ſouls within their cures; power to adminiſter 'ſacraments, and to teach the word of God: To the 'which word of God, Chriſtian princes acknowledge 'themſelves ſubject; and that in caſe the biſhops be neg'ligent, it is the Chriſtian prince's office to ſee them do 'their duty.'

This year alſo the priory of *Great Malverne* (now written *Malverin* major in *Eſton*) in *Worceſterſhire*, was ſuppreſſed. At the ſuppreſſion, *Latimer* with an earneſt deſire recommended to *Cromwell*, who was the king's vicar-general, that that houſe might ſtand, not in monkery, but ſo as to be converted to preaching, ſtudy and prayer. And the good prior was willing to compound for his houſe by a preſent of five hundred marks to the king, and of two hundred to *Cromwell*. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good houſe-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this *Latimer* adds, his farther deſire and recommendation to the vicar-general, "Alas, my good Lord! ſhall we not ſee two or three in "every ſhire, changed to ſuch remedy." He wiſhed, but in vain; the monaſtries were diſſolved, and the money miſapplied. Indeed *Cranmer* and *Latimer* wanted their lands and riches to be applied to found ſeminaries in every cathedral, for the training up youth for the miniſtry, under the eye and tuition of every biſhop, to be tranſplanted into the ſeveral cures in each dioceſe as occaſion ſerved.

In this parliament paſſed the famous act, as it was called, of the ſix articles; which was no ſooner publiſhed, than it gave an univerſal alarm to all favorers of the Reformation*; and, as the biſhop of *Worceſter* could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church, where ſuch terms of communion were required. He therefore reſigned his biſhopric†, and retired into the country, where he reſided during the heat of that perſecution which followed upon this act; and thought of nothing for the remainder of his days but a ſequeſtered life. He knew the ſtorm, which was up, could not ſoon be appeaſed, and he had no inclination to truſt himſelf in it. But, in the midſt of his ſecurity, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempeſtuous

* Theſe articles were, 1. In the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, there remains no ſubſtance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of *Chriſt*. 2. Vows of chaſtity ought to be obſerved. 3. The uſe of private maſſes is to be continued. 4. Communion in both kinds is not neceſſary. 5. Prieſts muſt not marry. 6. Auricular confeſſion is to be retained in the church.

† It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament-houſe to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to thoſe who ſtood about him, that he thought himſelf lighter than ever he found himſelf before. The ſtory is not unlikely, as it is much in character; a vein of pleaſantry and good humour accompanying the moſt ſerious actions of his life.

weather that was abroad. He received a bruiſe by the fall of a tree, and the contuſion was ſo dangerous, that he was obliged to ſeek out for better aſſiſtance than could be afforded him by the unſkilful ſurgeons of thoſe parts. With this view he repaired to *London*; where he had the ſorrow to ſee the fall of his patron, the lord *Cromwell*; a loſs which he was ſoon made ſenſible of. *Gardiner*'s emiſſaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and *ſomething*, that *ſomebody* had *ſomewhere* heard him *ſay* againſt the ſix articles, being alledged againſt him, he was ſent to the tower; where, without any judicial examination, he ſuffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel impriſonment for the remaining ſix years of king *Henry*'s reign.

He was now in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. Here *Latimer* was confined, together with the biſhop of *Chicheſter*, but not ſo ſtrictly as that his friends might not come and ſee, and converſe with him. Neither *Henry*, nor *Gardiner*, had any deſign on his life; but the king had done with him, that is to ſay, *Latimer* had ſerved his majeſty's purpoſe in eſtabliſhing the grand and fundamental doctrine of his ſupremacy in *England* over all perſons as well eccleſiaſtical as civil; and this prince was of ſo ungrateful a temper that he cared not afterwards for the man who had faithfully ſerved him; and this doth moſt flagrantly appear in his beheading Sir *Thomas More*, his cruel uſage of *Wolſey*, and his barbarous, illegal and unjuſt treatment of *Cromwell*.

Our good biſhop therefore, conſidering the diſpoſition of king *Henry*, had mild uſage; but here he lived himſelf, he ſays, "in the daily expectation of being called "to be put to death, becauſe at this time there was held "a ſeſſion in *Newgate* once every three weeks, and exe-"cutions were as frequent." This he tells us in his fourth ſermon preached before king *Edward* VI. at which time he begs of the king, that as there was then no particular perſon, as he whom we now call ordinary, to inſtruct and pray with the unhappy criminals, there might be ſome one appointed thereto of learning and diligence; for, continues he, "many of them are caſt away for "want of inſtruction, and die in miſery for lack of "preaching." And on this occaſion, and in this reign, a chaplain was appointed to do the abovementioned duties; and therefore it may juſtly be concluded, that this office was conſtituted purſuant to his advice.

In the diſcharge of his epiſcopal duty, we are told by the hiſtorians of this time, that he was remarkably and exemplarily zealous. He was a right biſhop, a *Paul*, a *Timothy*, a *Titus*, and as ſuch he continually overlooked his clergy, exciting them to perform the duties of their functions, and he took care, at leaſt, to oblige them to a legal performance of preaching, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, viſitation of the ſick, and priſoners, &c.—There was no part of his dioceſe but he viſited, not in a ſuperficial and cuſtomary manner, but rather in the primitive and apoſtolic mode. With the ſame reſolution he preſided in his own courts, and he either rooted out ſuch crimes as were there cognizable, or drove them into holes and corners. He never ordained any perſon to the ſacred offices, but ſuch as he examined himſelf, and knew to be duly qualified.

Immediately upon the change of government under king *Edward* VI. he and all others, who were impriſoned in the ſame cauſe, were ſet at liberty; and biſhop *Latimer*, whoſe old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection; and he would have found no difficulty in diſpoſſeſſing *Heath*, in every reſpect an inſignificant man, who had ſucceeded to his biſhopric: But he had other ſentiments; he neither would make ſuit himſelf, nor ſuffer his friends to make any for his reſtoration. However, this was done by the parliament, who, after ſettling the national concerns, ſent up an addreſs to the protector to reſtore him. The protector was very well inclined, and propoſed the reſumption to Mr. *Latimer*, as a point which he had very much at heart; but *Latimer* perſevered in the negative, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. And it may be readily believed, that no man ever ſaid *Nolo epiſcopari*, with more ſincerity.

Having thus rid himſelf of all entreaty on this head, he accepted an invitation from his friend archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and took up his reſidence at *Lambeth*, where he led a very retired life, being chiefly employed in hearing the complaints and redreſſing the injuries of poor people. And indeed his character, for ſervices of this kind, was ſo univerſally known, that ſtrangers from every part of *England* would reſort to him; ſo that he had as crouded a levee as a miniſter of ſtate. And ſure no one was better qualified to undertake the office of redreſſing injuries: His free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon thoſe in the higheſt ſtations; while his

his own independence and backwardneſs of aſking any favor for himſelf, allowed him greater liberty in aſking for others.

In theſe employments he ſpent more than two years, interfering as little as poſſible in any public tranſaction, only he aſſiſted the archbiſhop in compoſing the homilies which were ſet forth by authority in the firſt year of king *Edward:* He was alſo appointed to preach the lent ſermons before his majeſty; which office he performed during the three firſt years of his reign.

As to his ſermons, which are ſtill extant, they are indeed far enough from being exact pieces of compoſition; yet his ſimplicity and low familiarity, his humor and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action and manner of preaching too were very affecting; and no wonder, for he ſpoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator, made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher: What particularly recommends him is that noble and apoſtolic zeal, which he exerts in the cauſe of truth.

But in the diſcharge of this duty a ſlander paſſed upon him, which being taken up by a low hiſtorian of thoſe times, hath found its way into theſe. The matter of it is, that, after the lord high admiral's attainder and execution, which happened about this time, he publicly defended his death in a ſermon before the king; that he aſperſed his character; and that he did it merely to pay a ſervile compliment to the protector. The firſt part of the charge is true; but the ſecond and third are falſe. As to his aſperſing the admiral's character; his character was ſo bad, there was no room for aſperſion: His treaſonable practices too were notorious, and though the proceeding againſt him by a bill in parliament, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, may be deemed inequitable; yet he paid no more than a due forfeit to the laws of his country. However, his death occaſioned great clamour, and was made uſe of by the lords of the oppoſition (for he left a very diſſatisfied party behind him) as a handle to raiſe a popular odium againſt the protector, for whom Mr. *Latimer* had always a high eſteem. He was mortified, therefore, to ſee ſo invidious and baſe an oppoſition, thwarting the ſchemes of ſo public-ſpirited a man; and endeavored to leſſen the odium, by ſhewing the admiral's

character

character in its true light, from ſome anecdotes not commonly known.

Upon the revolution which happened at court, after the death of the duke of *Somerſet*, *Latimer* ſeems to have retired into the country, and made uſe of the king's licence as a general preacher in thoſe parts, where he thought his labors might be moſt ſerviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued in the ſame courſe, for a ſhort time, in the beginning of the next*; but as ſoon as the introduction of popery was reſolved on, the firſt ſtep towards it was the prohibition of all preaching throughout the kingdom, and a licenſing only ſuch as were known to be popiſhly inclined. Accordingly, a ſtrict inquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers; and many of them were taken into cuſtody. The biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was now prime miniſter, having proſcribed Mr. *Latimer* from the firſt, ſent a meſſage to cite him before the council. He had notice of this deſign, ſome hours before the meſſenger's arrival; but he made no uſe of the intelligence. The meſſenger found him equipped for his journey; at which expreſſing his ſurprize, Mr. *Latimer* told him, that he was as ready to attend him to *London*, thus called upon to anſwer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had enabled him to ſtand before two princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally. The meſſenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter, and departed. Hence ſome have imagined, that the ſecret deſign of thus ſerving on him a citation was to drive him out of the kingdom, that ſo they might get rid of him, 'leſt (ſays Mr. *Fox*) his 'firmneſs and conſtancy ſhould deface them in their po-'pery, and confirm the godly in the truth.'

* Mr. *Fox* ſays, that in all king *Edward*'s days, he travelled up and down, preaching for the moſt part twice every Sunday, to the no ſmall ſhame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, who occupy great rooms, and do little good: He took little eaſe and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. And notwithſtanding his great age, he would, in the purſuit of his private ſtudies, every morning, commonly through winter and ſummer, ariſe and moſt diligently apply himſelf thereto. At king *Edward*'s death, which occurred on the ſixth of *July*, 1553, *Latimer* was in the country preaching there as opportunity and occaſion led him; going about, in imitation of the apoſtles, ſtrengthening the people every where in the proteſtant faith and principles.

Mr.

Mr. *Latimer*, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, reſolved to obey it. He ſet out therefore immediately, and as he paſſed through *Smithfield*, where heretics were uſually burnt, he ſaid chearfully, "*Smithfield* hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having treated him rudely, and loaded him with many ſevere reproaches, ſent him to the *Tower*.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he *now* met with harſher treatment, and had more frequent occaſion to exerciſe his reſignation, which perhaps few men poſſeſſed in a larger meaſure; nay, even the uſual chearfulneſs of his diſpoſition did not now forſake him, of which we have one inſtance ſtill remaining. A ſervant leaving his apartment in the *Tower*, Mr. *Latimer* called after him, and bade him tell his maſter, that unleſs he took better care of him, he would certainly eſcape him. Upon this meſſage, the lieutenant, with ſome diſcompoſure in his countenance, came to Mr. *Latimer*, and deſired an explanation. "Why, you expect, "I ſuppoſe, ſir, replied Mr. *Latimer*, that I ſhould be "burnt; but if you do not allow me a little fire this "froſty weather, I can tell you, I ſhall be ſtarved to "death with cold."

Cranmer and *Ridley* were alſo priſoners in the ſame cauſe with *Latimer*; and when it was reſolved to have a public diſputation at *Oxford*, between the moſt eminent of the popiſh and proteſtant divines; theſe three were appointed to manage the diſpute on the part of the proteſtants. Accordingly, they were taken out of the *Tower*, where they had lain all the winter of 1553, and ſent to *Oxford*, in the ſpring of 1554; where they were cloſely confined in the common priſon; and they might eaſily imagine how free the diſputation was likely to be, when they found themſelves denied the uſe even of books and pen and ink.

Mr. *Fox* has preſerved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this time between *Ridley* and *Latimer*, which ſets our author's temper in a ſtrong light. The two biſhops are repreſented ſitting in their priſon, ruminating upon the ſolemn preparations then making for their trial, of which, probably, they were now firſt informed. *Ridley* firſt. 'The time (ſaid he) is now 'come; we are now called upon, either to deny our 'faith, or to ſuffer death in its defence. You, Mr. '*Latimer*, are an old ſoldier of *Chriſt*, and have fre-

'quently

'quently withſtood the fear of death; whereas I am raw 'in the ſervice and unexperienced.' With this preface he introduces a requeſt, that Mr. *Latimer*, whom he calls his father, would hear him propoſe ſuch arguments, as he thinks it moſt likely his adverſaries would urge againſt him, and aſſiſt him with providing himſelf with proper anſwers to them.

To this, Mr. *Latimer*, in his uſual ſtrain of good humour, replied, that he fancied the good biſhop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. *Bilney* uſed formerly to do; who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himſelf. "But, in "the preſent caſe, (ſaid he) my lord, I am determined "to give them very little trouble; I ſhall juſt offer them "a plain account of my faith, and ſhall ſay very little "more; for I know any thing more will be to no pur-"poſe. They talk of a free diſputation; but I am well "aſſured their grand argument will be, as it once was "their forefathers, *We have a law, and by our law ye "ought to die.*"—Biſhop *Ridley* having afterwards deſired his prayers, that he might truſt wholly upon God. "Of "my prayers, (replied the old biſhop) you may be well "aſſured; nor do I doubt but I ſhall have yours in re-"turn: And indeed prayer and patience ſhould be our "great reſources. For myſelf, had I the learning of "St. *Paul*, I ſhould think it ill laid out upon an elabo-"rate defence: Yet our caſe, my lord, admits of com-"fort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; "and God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be "tempted above our ſtrength. Be at a point with them; "ſtand to that; and let them ſay and do what they pleaſe. "To uſe many words would be vain: Yet it is requiſite "to give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they "will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked "judgement-hall, a man may keep ſilence after the ex-"ample of *Chriſt*. As for their ſophiſtry, you know "falſhood may often be diſplayed in the colours of truth. "But, above all things, be upon your guard againſt the "fear of death: This is THE GREAT ARGUMENT you "muſt oppoſe.—Poor *Shaxton!* it is to be feared, this "argument had the greateſt weight in his recantation. "But let us be ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, aſſuring our-"ſelves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being "ſuch *Philippians*, as not only believe in *Chriſt*, but dare "to ſuffer for his ſake." Agreeably to this noble fortitude did our martyr behave himſelf, through this diſpute; wherein,

wherein, though much artifice was uſed for the purpoſe, he never could be drawn into any formal reaſoning with his adverſaries. Mr. *Addiſon* greatly admires his behavior on this occaſion, but does not aſſign the true cauſe of it. 'This remarkable old man (ſays he) knowing how his 'abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impoſ-'ſible for him to recollect all thoſe reaſons which had 'directed him in the choice of his religion, left his com-'panions, who were in the full poſſeſſion of their parts 'and learning, to baffle and confound their antagoniſts 'by the force of reaſon: As for himſelf, he only repeated 'to his adverſaries the articles in which he firmly be-'lieved, and in the profeſſion of which he was determined 'to die.'—The truth is, he knew it would anſwer no end to be more explicit.

However, he anſwered their queſtions as far as civility required, and in theſe anſwers it is obſervable he managed the argument much better than either *Ridley* or *Cranmer*, who, when they were preſſed in defence of tranſubſtantiation, with ſome paſſages from the fathers, inſtead of diſavowing an inſufficient authority, weakly defended a good cauſe, evading and diſtinguiſhing after the manner of ſchoolmen. Whereas, when the ſame proofs were multiplied upon *Latimer*, he told them plainly, that ſuch proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived, and that he never depended upon *them*, but when *they* depended upon ſcripture. 'Then 'you are not of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s faith, (replied his anta-'goniſt) nor of St. *Auſtin*'s.'—"I have told you (ſays "Mr. *Latimer*) I am not; except they bring ſcripture "for what they ſay." The diſpute being ended, ſentence was paſſed upon him in the beginning of *October*; and he and *Ridley* were executed on the ſixteenth. When they came to the ſtake, *Latimer* lift up his eyes with a ſweet and amiable countenance, ſaying, *Fidelis eſt Deus; &c.* i. e. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above that which we are able. When they were brought to the fire, on a ſpot of ground on the north ſide of *Baliol College*; where, after an abuſive ſermon, being told by an officer they might now make ready for the ſtake, [illegible] *Latimer*, having thrown off his priſon attire, appeared [illegible] a ſhroud prepared for the purpoſe; 'and 'wherein before (ſays Mr. *Fox*) he ſeemed a withered 'and crooked old man, he ſtood now bolt upright, as 'comely a father as one might lightly behold.' Being thus ready, he recommended his ſoul to God, and deli-

vered himſelf to the executioner, ſaying to the biſhop of *London*, "We ſhall this day, brother, light ſuch a "candle in *England*, as ſhall never be put out."

It is ſaid, that as he was burning, the blood ran from his heart in ſuch abundance, that it aſtoniſhed the ſpectators, and brought to mind what he had before wiſhed, that he might be ſo happy as to ſhed his heart's blood for the truth. When the fire was firſt kindled, he cried, "O Father of heaven, receive my ſoul;" and ſo receiving the flame, and (as it ſeemed) embracing it, and having ſtroked his face with his hands and bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died without the leaſt appearance of ſuffering pain.

Such was the death of *Hugh Latimer*, biſhop of *Worceſter*, one of the leaders of that noble army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in *England*. He had a happy temper, improved by the beſt principles; and ſuch was his chearfulneſs, that none of the circumſtances of life were ſeen to diſcompoſe him. Such was his Chriſtian fortitude, that not even the ſevereſt trials could unman him; he had a collected ſpirit, and on no occaſion wanted a reſource; he could retire within himſelf, feel the ſupport of a gracious Maſter, and hold the world at defiance.

And, as danger could not daunt, ſo neither could ambition allure him. Though converſant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preſerved to the laſt a rare inſtance of moderation in his original plainneſs. In his profeſſion he was indefatigable: And, that he might beſtow as much time as poſſible on the active part of it, he allowed himſelf only thoſe hours for his private ſtudies, when the buſy world is at reſt; conſtantly riſing, at all ſeaſons of the year, by two in the morning. How conſcientious he was in the diſcharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could perſuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occaſions, a more commanding ſeverity. The wicked, in whatever ſtation, he rebuked with dignity, and awed vice more than a penal law.

He was not eſteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only uſeful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compaſs. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himſelf *only* in his profeſſion. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not thoſe commanding talents which give ſuperiority in buſineſs; but, for honeſty and ſincerity of heart, for true ſimplicity

of

BRITISH MUSEUM



From an original Painting.

of manners, for apoſtolic zeal in the cauſe of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, that ſhould adorn the life of a Chriſtian; he was eminent and exemplary beyond moſt men of his own or of any other time; well deſerving that evangelical commendation, *with the teſtimony of a good conſcience in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, he had his converſation in the world.*

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

THIS moſt learned of all our *Engliſh* martyrs, was born, of an antient and worthy family at *Willymondſwyke*, in *Northumberland*. He was educated in grammatical learning at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*; from thence he was removed to *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, at the expence of his uncle Dr. *Robert Ridley*, about the year 1518, when *Luther* was preaching againſt indulgences in *Germany*. Here he acquired a great proficiency in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, and in the other learning of that time. His reputation was ſuch, as to procure him the eſteem of the other univerſity, as well as of his own; for in the beginning of 1524, the maſter and fellows of *Univerſity College*, in *Oxford*, invited him to accept of an exhibition, founded by *Walter Skyrley*, biſhop of *Durham*, which he declined. The next year he took his maſter's degree, and was appointed by the college their general agent in ſome cauſes relating to it.

His uncle was now willing to add to his attainments, the advantages of travel, and the improvement of foreign univerſities; and as his ſtudies were now directed to divinity, he ſent him to ſpend ſome time among the doctors of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*, (which was then the moſt celebrated univerſity in *Europe*) and afterwards among the profeſſors of *Louvain*. Having ſtaid three years abroad, viz. the years, 1527, 1528, 1529, he returned to *Cambridge*, and purſued his theological ſtudies; and as his ſafeſt guide in them, diligently applied himſelf to the read-

ing of the ſcriptures in the original; and in a walk in the orchard at *Pembroke-Hall*, which is to this day called *Ridley's-Walk*, he got to repeat without book almoſt all the epiſtles in *Greek*.

His behavior here was very obliging, and very pious, without hypocriſy or monkiſh auſterity: For very often he would ſhoot in the bow, or play at tennis: And he was eminent for the great charities he beſtowed. He was ſenior proctor of the univerſity, when the important point of the pope's ſupremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of ſcripture: And their reſolution, after mature deliberation, 'That the biſhop of *Rome* had 'no more authority or juriſdiction derived to him from 'God, in this kingdom of *England*, than any other fo-'reign biſhop,' was ſigned in the name of the univerſity by *Simon Heynes*, vice chancellor, *Nicholas Ridley*, *Richard Wilkes*, proctors. He loſt his uncle in 1536, but the education he had received, and the improvements he had made, ſoon recommended him to another and greater patron, *Cranmer*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who appointed him his domeſtic chaplain, and collated him to the vicarage of *Herne* in *Eaſt Kent*. He bore his teſtimony in the pulpit here againſt the act of the ſix articles; and inſtructed his charge in the pure doctrines of the goſpel, as far as they were yet diſcovered to him; but tranſubſtantiation was at this time an article of his creed. During his retirement at this place, he read a little treatiſe written ſeven hundred years before, by *Ratramus* or *Bertram*, a monk of *Cerbey*. This firſt opened *Ridley*'s eyes, and determined him more accurately to ſearch the ſcriptures on this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers. His diſcoveries he communicated to his patron, and the event was the conviction of them both, that this doctrine was novel and erroneous.

After he had ſtaid about two years at *Herne*, he was choſen maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*, and appointed chaplain to the king; and the cathedral church of *Canterbury* being made collegiate, he obtained the fifth prebendal ſtall in it; and ſuch was his courage and zeal for the Reformation, that, next to the archbiſhop, he was thought to be its greateſt ſupport among the clergy. In the ſucceeding reign of *Edward* VI. when a royal viſitation was reſolved on through the kingdom, he attended the viſitors of the northern circuit as their preacher, to inſtruct that part of the nation, in the principles of religion. 'His cha-'racter, at this time, (ſays his biographer Dr. *Ridley*)

'was that of a celebrated diſputant, a favourite preacher, 'undoubting in the article of tranſubſtantiation, a zeal-'ous ſcripturiſt, and particularly well acquainted with 'the fathers.'

It was not before the year 1545, that *Ridley* was convinced of the error, which prevailed, concerning *Chriſt*'s corporal preſence in the ſacrament. The ſufferings and arguments of *Frith*, *Tindale*, *Lambert*, and others, made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions, during his retirement at *Herne* about this time, that, by the grace of God, they ended in his conviction of the truth of their doctrine.

He was made chaplain to king *Edward* VI. conſecrated biſhop of *Rocheſter* in 1547, and tranſlated to *London* on the deprivation of *Bonner* in 1550: But he died in the flames at *Oxford* in 1555.

Ridley, of all the reforming divines of that time, approached the neareſt to the church of *England* in her preſent doctrines and diſcipline. His notions of eccleſiaſtical polity were high, but in general juſt; and, in the œconomy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the ſtate. He ſaw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modeſty of his behavior, gave him a general eſteem with all ranks of men.

The church of *Rome* had laid ſuch a ſtreſs on the indiſpenſible neceſſity of the ſacraments, that the people were taught to believe, that by the very action itſelf, without the inward grace, they were ſufficient to juſtification, unleſs the receiver himſelf prevented it; and this ſeems to have given riſe to the homilies about juſtification. Public diſputations were held in both univerſities, between the Reformers and the papiſts, concerning the real preſence of *Chriſt* in the ſacrament. *Ridley* was ſent to *Cambridge*, with ſome other delegates, where a diſputation was held for three days together, to prove, that tranſubſtantiation was not to be found in the plain and manifeſt words of ſcripture, nor could neceſſarily be collected from it, nor confirmed by the conſent of the antient fathers; and that there is no other ſacrifice and oblation in the Lord's Supper, than of a remembrance of *Chriſt*'s death, and of thankſgiving. The debate was ſummed up with a great deal of temper and learning by biſhop *Ridley*, in a ſtrong determination againſt the corporal preſence. The truth is, he was then maſter of that ſubject more than any man of the age; for having met with a book of *Bertram*'s

tram's in the ninth century, in which he, who was much eſteemed, had confuted this notion of the preſence of *Chriſt*'s real fleſh and blood in the ſacrament, the biſhop concluded (as we have obſerved before) that it was not the antient doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors and ſuperſtitions in the later centuries. He communicated this diſcovery to his friend archbiſhop *Cranmer*, ſoon afterwards, and they ſet themſelves to examine it with more than common care; making great collections out of the fathers, and other antient writers, to prove the novelty and the abſurdity of the opinion. They ſhewed, that all the high expreſſions which were to be found in *Chryſoſtom*, and other antient writers on this ſubject, were only ſtrains and figures of eloquence, to raiſe the devotion of the people in this holy ceremony; though the following ages had built their opinion on theſe expreſſions, and were diſpoſed to believe every thing the more readily as it appeared above all belief. But this opinion of the real preſence having been ſo generally received in *England*, above three hundred years, theſe eminent Reformers proceeded gradually in diſcuſſing it, that the people might be better diſpoſed to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh.

The lord protector had a deſign of ſuppreſſing *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and unite it with *Trinity-Hall*, to augment the number of fellows there to twenty, in order to found a new college for Civilians. For this purpoſe a commiſſion was granted to the biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, *William Paget*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *John Cheeke*, Dr. *May*, dean of St. *Paul*'s, and *Thomas Wendy*, M. D. When the commiſſion paſſed, the biſhop of *Rocheſter* was in his dioceſe, ignorant of the deſign. Thither Mr. ſecretary *Smith* and the dean of St. *Paul*'s ſent to acquaint him that he was in commiſſion to viſit the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and that he was appointed to preach the ſermon at the opening of it. Upon which the biſhop immediately diſpatched a ſervant to *London* to Dr. *May*, deſiring information to what ends the viſitation and commiſſion were intended, that he might frame his ſermon accordingly. The dean returned for anſwer, that it was only to remove ſome ſuperſtitious practices and rites, and to make ſuch ſtatutes as ſhould be needful. The inſtructions themſelves by which they were to proceed were not ſhewn him till after they had acted in the commiſſion.

Preſently after the paſſing of this, he was again put into commiſſion with the archbiſhop, the biſhops of *Ely*, *Worceſter*,

Worceſter, *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Lincoln*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and others, to ſearch after all Anabaptiſts, Hereticks, and contemners of the common prayer. For complaint had been brought to the council, that, with the ſtrangers who were come into *England*, ſome Anabaptiſts were mingled, who were diſſeminating their errors and making proſelytes. Under this general name were comprehended men of various opinions, driven out of *Germany* with the more ſober proteſtants, who were in danger from the emperor, for not complying with the *interim*. Theſe, as biſhop *Burnet* informs us, building upon *Luther*'s principles, that ſcripture was to be the only rule of faith, rejected all deductions from it, how obvious or certain ſoever; and among theſe the baptiſm of infants was one, whom therefore, when adults, they baptized again, and from thence were called Rebaptizers, or Anabaptiſts. Some were more modeſt and moderate, others extravagant and fierce. The opinions of the latter may be learned from ſome tradeſmen in *London*, who abjured before theſe commiſſioners in *May*; ſuch as, That a man regenerate could not ſin; that though the outward man ſinned, the inward man ſinned not; that there was no trinity of perſons; that *Chriſt* was only a holy prophet, and not God at all; that all we had by *Chriſt* was, that he taught us the way of heaven; that he took no fleſh of the virgin; and that the baptiſm of infants was not profitable, becauſe it goeth before faith. Among the people who held theſe and ſuch like heretical opinions was *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan* of *Kent*. She appearing before the commiſſioners behaved with extreme obſtinacy there, perſiſting in the maintenance of her error, namely, that the Son of God penetrated through the virgin *Mary* as through a glaſs, taking no ſubſtance of her, as *Latimer* reports, who ſat in the commiſſion. Her own words diſtinguiſhing betwixt *Chriſt* and the *word*, and betwixt the *outward* and *inward* man of the virgin; allowing the *word* to have taken fleſh by the conſent of the virgin's *inward* man, but denying that *Chriſt* took fleſh of her *outward* man, becauſe it was ſinful, are not very intelligible. She treated with ſcorn all the means made uſe of to recover her to a better mind; and ſentence paſſed upon her, pronouncing her an heretic, and delivering her over to the ſecular arm. *Ridley* was ſtill at *Rocheſter*, for only the archbiſhop, Sir *John Smith*, *William Cook*, dean of the arches, *Hugh Latimer*, and *Richard Lyel*, LL. D. were named in the ſentence. The king was hardly prevailed upon

by

by *Cranmer* to ſign the warrant for her burning: But the archbiſhop diſtinguiſhing betwixt errors in other points, and the open ſcornful rejecting an expreſs article of the creed, *born of the virgin* Mary; thinking that theſe latter, always eſteemed heretics from the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, deſerved not the lenity with which others might be treated: And repreſented, that it betrayed an indifference towards religion to neglect putting in execution the laws eſtabliſhed for maintaining God's honor, while they were diligent in thoſe that were enacted to maintain the king's honor, and the peace or property of the ſubject. However, the archbiſhop was not ſo earneſt to get the warrant executed, as ſigned. He labored much to convince and ſave her from the fire. In which charitable office, *Ridley*, when he came to *London*, joined; they both of them viſited her; they ſeverally took her home with them to their own houſes, and earneſtly endeavored to recover her from her errors: But ſhe reſiſted with great ſtubbornneſs and indecency all their kind pains to recover her. After their unſucceſsful attempts for a whole year, ſhe was at laſt burned the ſecond of *May*, 1550, perſiſting obſtinately in her opinion, and behaving with great inſolence to the laſt. The like ſentence was executed upon *George Van Parre*, a *Dutchman*, for denying the divinity of our Saviour. Which is mentioned here, though it happened not till the twenty-fifth of *April*, 1551; on the ſixth of which month *Ridley*, who was a commiſſioner, ſigned the ſentence of excommunication. Mild and gentle as his nature was to every modeſt enquirer, though in error, he would not break the laws in being, in indulgence to obſtinate blaſphemers. The reproach caſt on the Reformers as enemies to all religion; and the diviſions and diſturbances raiſed in the kingdom by emiſſaries from the church of *Rome*, under the name of Anabaptiſts, called for puniſhment; which the ſeverity of the laws then in being determined in theſe caſes to be by burning.

One occaſion of this ſeverity was, probably, that in the preceding winter, there had been a deſign of uniting the proteſtants abroad, and at home under the *Engliſh* diſcipline. The churches abroad, who, not from choice, but neceſſity, were under the government of preſbyters (becauſe reformed in places where all the biſhops were papiſts) were very ready to come into epiſcopal government: And great conſultations had been held, not only concerning the Reformation of *this* church, but alſo of the

the other foreign churches in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, for uniting them together in one uniform doctrine. *Bullinger* and *Calvin*, with others, in a letter to king *Edward*, offered to make him their defender, and to have biſhops in their churches as there were in *England*; with the tender of their ſervice to aſſiſt and unite together. This alarmed the *Roman* fathers, who came to the knowledge of it by ſome of their private intelligencers; for they verily thought that all the heretics (as they called them) would now unite among themſelves, and become one body, receiving the ſame diſcipline exerciſed in *England*. Whereupon they ſent two of their emiſſaries from *Rotterdam* hither, who were to pretend themſelves Anabaptiſts, and preach againſt baptizing infants, and recommending rebaptizing, and inculcate a fifth monarchy upon earth. Beſides this one D. G. authoriſed by theſe fathers, diſpatched a letter written in *May*, 1549, from *Delf* in *Holland* to two biſhops, (of which *Wincheſter* was one) ſignifying the coming of theſe pretended Anabaptiſts, and that they ſhould receive and cheriſh them, and take their parts, if they ſhould receive any checks: Telling them that it was left to them to aſſiſt in this cauſe, and to ſome others whom they well knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter was found by Sir *H. Sidney* in queen *Elizabeth*'s cloſet among ſome papers of queen *Mary*'s. Some knowledge or ſuſpicion of theſe intrigues might occaſion the uſing greater ſeverity to the officious and irreclaimable Anabaptiſts, who were heretics in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, than would otherwiſe have been exerciſed againſt them: And if *Bonner* was the other biſhop, as none more likely, both from his zeal and ſituation, it may account for his and *Wincheſter*'s ſufferings in this reign. But if neither the bold contradicting the articles of the creed drawn from ſcripture, and confirmed by the four firſt general councils; nor the laws of the country then in force; nor the reproach caſt on the Reformers, as careleſs of the truths of Chriſtianity, except in oppoſition to the *Romiſh* church; nor the diſturbances occaſioned both in church and ſtate by theſe real or pretended Anabaptiſts, can excuſe the commiſſioners for paſſing this ſentence, when the facts were open and notorious, and their endeavors to reclaim the offenders were earneſt and unwearied; we muſt leave them to the cenſure of the Reader.

And now, ſometime in *May*, the biſhop of *Roche ſter* repaired to *Cambridge* with his fellow commiſſioners to

hold the viſitation for the aboliſhing ſtatutes and ordinances which maintained popery and ſuperſtition (as he was informed;) not knowing the further end propoſed, which was the ſuppreſſion of *Clare-Hall*. He deſired to ſee the inſtructions: But was put off by his aſſociates, who ſeemed afraid to ſhew them unto him, till they had engaged him in the action, by opening it with a ſermon, and proceeding two days in the buſineſs of it. They then ventured to ſhew him their inſtructions; in which he found the ſuppreſſion of *Clare-Hall* was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to *Trinity-Hall*, and erecting there a new college of Civilians. However the biſhop might diſreliſh this deſign, he found it was his duty now to concur with the other commiſſioners in laboring for two days together with the maſter and fellows *voluntarily* to ſurrender their college into the king's hands: But the ſociety could not be induced to conſent to ſuch a ſurrender. The commiſſioners ſat ſecretly by themſelves, conſulting how to proceed. The majority determined that they might proceed to the union of the two colleges, by the king's abſolute power, without the conſent of the ſocieties. But the biſhop of *Rocheſter* modeſtly oppoſed this counſel, and with great calmneſs diſſented: though reſolute and determined not to violate the king's honor, and his own conſcience, by forcibly invading the liberties and properties of the maſter and fellows of *Clare-Hall*, yet not cenſuring his fellows, but exhorted them to act ſo as to ſatisfy their own conſciences; and if it ſhould be ſo that he could not concur, he deſired leave to ſatisfy his own conſcience, by abſenting himſelf, or by ſilence to refuſe his conſent. This put a ſtop to the proceedings at preſent: The commiſſioners acquainting the protector with this interruption from the biſhop of *Rocheſter*, complained, that he *by his barking* hindered them from proceeding in the king's ſervice; imputing his diſſent to a partial affection for his own countrymen, with whom at that time *Clare-Hall* abounded. This exaſperated the protector, who wrote a chiding letter to the biſhop: To which the biſhop immediately returned the following anſwer.

" Right honourable,

" I Wiſh your grace the holy and wholeſome fear of
" God, becauſe I am perſuaded your grace's goodneſs
" to be ſuch unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's
" letter doth ſore blame me, yet in the ſame the adver-

" tiſement

" tiſement of the truth ſhall not diſpleaſe your grace:
" And alſo perceiving that the cauſe of your grace's
" diſcontent was wrong information, therefore I ſhall
" beſeech your grace to give me leave to ſhew your grace
" wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong
" informed.

" Your grace's letters blame me, becauſe I did not
" (at the firſt before the viſitation began, having know-
" ledge of the matter) ſhew my mind. The truth is,
" before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknow-
" ledge of the matter, of the uniting the two colleges,
" before we had begun and had entered two days in the
" viſitation; and that your grace may plainly thus well
" perceive.

" A little before *Eaſter*, I being at *Rocheſter*, received
" letters from Mr. Secretary *Smith*, and the dean of St.
" *Paul*'s, to come to the viſitation of the univerſity, and
" to make a ſermon at the beginning thereof. Where-
" upon I ſent immediately a ſervant up to *London* to the
" dean of St. *Paul*'s, deſiring of him to have had ſome
" knowledge of things there to be done; becauſe I
" thought it meet that my ſermon ſhould ſomewhat have
" ſavoured of the ſame. From Mr. Dean I received a
" letter inſtructing me only, that the cauſe of the viſi-
" tation was to aboliſh ſtatutes and ordinances, which
" maintained papiſtry, ſuperſtition, blindneſs, and igno-
" rance; and to eſtabliſh and ſet forth ſuch as might
" further God's word and good learning: And elſe, the
" truth is, he would ſhew me nothing, but bad me be
" careleſs, and ſaid, there were informations how all
" things were to be done. The which, I take God to
" witneſs, I did never ſee, nor could get knowledge
" what they were, before we were entered in the viſita-
" tion two days, although I deſired to have ſeen them in
" the beginning.

" Now when I had ſeen the inſtructions, the truth is,
" I thought peradventure the maſter and company would
" have ſurrendered up their college: But when their
" conſent, after labour and travail taken therein two
" days, could not be obtained, then we began ſecretly
" to conſult, (all the commiſſioners thinking it beſt,
" that every man ſhould ſay his mind plainly, that in
" execution there might appear but one way to be taken
" of all.) There, when it was ſeen to ſome, that with-
" out the conſent of the preſent incumbents, by the
" king's abſolute power, we might proceed to the uniting

" the two colleges, I did, in my courſe, ſimply and " plainly declare my conſcience; and that there only, " ſecretly among ourſelves alone, with all kind of ſoft- " neſs, ſo that no man could juſtly be offended. Alſo, " I perceive by your grace's letters, I have been noted of " ſome for *my barking* there: And yet *to bark*, leſt God " ſhould be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a " part of my profeſſion; for God's word condemneth the " dumb dogs that will not *bark*, and give warning of " God's diſpleaſure.

" As for that, that was ſuggeſted to your grace, that " by my aforeſaid barking, I ſhould diſhonour the king's " majeſty, and diſſuade others from the execution of the " king's commiſſion, God is my judge, I intended, ac- " cording to my duty to God and the king, the main- " tenance and defence of his highneſs's royal honour " and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, " which the prophet ſaith, *Honor regis judicium diligit*, " *(The king's power loveth judgement;)* and as the com- " miſſioners muſt needs, and I am ſure will all teſtify, " that I diſſuaded no man, but contrariwiſe, exhorted " every man (with the quiet of other) to ſatisfy his own " conſcience; deſiring only, that if it ſhould otherwiſe " be ſeen unto them, that I might either by my abſence " or ſilence, ſatisfy mine. The which my plainneſs, " when ſome, otherwiſe than according to my expecta- " tion, did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the " good opinion I had, and yet have, in your grace's " goodneſs; and alſo eſpecially becauſe your grace had " commanded me ſo to do) to open my mind, by my " private letters freely to your grace.

" And thus I truſt your grace perceiveth now, both " that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my con- " ſcience, and alſo that the matter was not opened unto " me before the viſitation was two days begun.

" If in this I did amiſs, that before the knowledge of " the inſtructions, I was ready to grant to the execution " of the commiſſion; truly, I had rather herein acknow- " ledge my fault, and ſubmit myſelf to your grace's " correction, than, after knowledge had, wittingly and " willingly commit that thing whereunto my conſcience " doth not agree, for fear of God's diſpleaſure.

" It is a godly wiſh that is wiſhed in your grace's " letters, that fleſh, and blood, and country, might not " more weigh with ſome men than godlineſs and reaſon: " But the truth is, country in this matter (whatſoever

" ſome

" ſome men do ſuggeſt unto your grace) ſhall not move
" me. And that your grace ſhall well perceive, for I
" ſhall be as ready as any other, firſt thence to expel
" ſome of my own country, if the report which is made
" of them, can be tried true.

" And as for that your grace ſaith of fleſh and blood,
" that is, the favour or fear of mortal man: Yea, marry
" ſir, that is a matter of weight indeed; and the truth
" is, (alas! my own feebleneſs) of that I am afraid: But
" I beſeech your grace, yet once again, give me good
" leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confeſs
" the truth.

" Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the
" king's majeſty for the honour only excepted) whoſe
" favour or diſpleaſure I do either ſeek or fear, as your
" grace's favour or diſpleaſure; for of God, both your
" grace's authority, and my bound duty for your grace's
" benefits bind me ſo to do. So that if the deſire of any
" man's favour, or fear of diſpleaſure, ſhould weigh more
" with me than godlineſs and reaſon, truly, if I may
" be bold to ſay the truth, I muſt needs ſay, that I am
" moſt in danger to offend herein, either for deſire of
" your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's diſ-
" pleaſure. And yet I ſhall not ceaſe (God willing)
" daily to pray to God ſo to ſtay and ſtrengthen my frailty
" with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for
" favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my con-
" ſcience may threaten me with the loſs of the favour of
" the living God: But that it may pleaſe him of his gra-
" cious goodneſs (howſoever the world goes) to blow
" this in the ears of my heart, *Deus diſſipavit oſſa eorum*
" *qui hominibus placuerint. (God hath broken the bones of*
" *them that pleaſe men.)* And this, *Horrendum eſt incidere*
" *in manus Dei viventis. (It is a fearful thing to fall into*
" *the hands of the living God.)* And again, *Nolite timere*
" *eos qui occidunt corpus. (Fear not thoſe who kill the body.)*

" Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your grace for
" God's love not to be offended with me, for renewing
" of this my ſuit unto your grace; which is, that wherein
" my conſcience cannot well agree, if any ſuch thing
" chance in this viſitation, I may, with your grace's
" favour have licence, either by mine abſence or ſilence,
" or other like means, to keep my conſcience quiet. I
" wiſh your grace, in God, honour and endleſs felicity.

" Your grace's humble and daily orator,

From *Pembroke-Hall*, in *Cambridge*, *June* 1, 1549. " NICHOLAS ROFFEN."

The

The protector was at that time with the king at *Richmond*. And on the receipt of the biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s letter, he conferred with the archbiſhop, who was *Ridley*'s chief intimate, to diſcover the ſecret motives, if any he had, why the biſhop diſliked the proceedings at the viſitation. And in a little more than a week the protector returned the following anſwer;

'AFTER our right hearty commendations to you. We have received your letters of the firſt of *June*, again replying to thoſe which we laſt ſent unto you. And as it appeareth, you yet remaining in your former requeſt, deſire, if things do occur ſo, that according to your conſcience, you cannot do them, that you might abſent yourſelf, or otherwiſe keep ſilence. We would be loth any thing ſhould be done by the king's majeſty's viſitors, otherwiſe than right and conſcience might allow, and approve: And viſitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worſe; to eaſe conſciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wiſh the executors thereof ſhould not be ſcrupulous in conſcience, otherwiſe than reaſon would. Againſt your conſcience it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is againſt right and conſcience; and we truſt the king's majeſty hath not in this matter. And we think in this you do much wrong, and much diſcredit the other viſitors, that you ſhould ſeem to think and ſuppoſe, that they would do things againſt conſcience. We take them to be men of that honour and honeſty, that they will not. My lord of *Canterbury* hath declared unto us, that maketh partly a conſcience unto you, that divines ſhould be diminiſhed. That can be no cauſe; for firſt, the ſame was met before in the late king's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are ſure you have heard, and Sir *Edward North* can tell: And for that cauſe, all ſuch as were ſtudents of the law, out of the new-erected cathedral church, were diſappointed of their livings, only reſerved to have been in that civil college. The *King's-Hall* being in a manner all lawyers, canoniſts were turned out and joined to *Michael-Houſe*, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminiſhed. Now at this preſent alſo, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the ſtatutes, or the king's injunctions, you do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye

'ſhall

'shall rather have more divines upon this change than 'ye had before. The *King's College* should have six 'lawyers; *Jesus College*, some; the *Queen's College*, and 'other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed by 'the late king's injunctions every college in *Cambridge*, 'one at the least: All these together do make a greater 'number than the fellows of *Clare-Hall* be, and they 'now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed, 'divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, 'but encreased, as appeareth, although these two colleges 'be so united. And we are sure you are not ignorant, 'how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all 'treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how 'few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's 'service therein. For we would the encrease of divines, 'as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to 'maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to 'have consideration how much you do hinder the king's 'majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, 'who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back, and 'discourage the other, you should much hinder the whole 'doings; and peradventure, that thing known, maketh 'the master and fellows of *Clare-Hall* to stand the more 'obstinate. Wherefore we require you to have regard 'of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet perform-'ings of that visitation, most to the glory of God, and 'benefit of that university: The which thing is only 'meant in your instructions. To the performing of 'that, and in that manner, we can be content you use 'your doings as you think best, for the quieting of your 'conscience. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. From '*Richmond*, the tenth of *June*, 1549.

'Your loving friend,

'E. Somerset.'

By which letter it appears how earnest the protector was to persuade, or intimidate, this worthy prelate to countenance the proceedings by his concurrence. The reigning vice of the age was *spoliation*; from which the duke of *Somerset* was not free; as appears not only from his palace of *Somerset-House*, as was before taken notice of, but one of the articles against him was, 'That he did 'dispose offices of the king's gift for money, and made 'sale of the king's lands.' This, perhaps, will give us to guess at the secret of this visitation; while the establishing a college of civilians, by uniting two colleges together,

together, was the pretence for demoliſhing *Clare-Hall*, the ſale of the lands belonging to that ſociety was probably the leading motive. The other viſitors, who were privy to the deſign, durſt not acquaint *Ridley* with it, but induſtriouſly concealed the inſtructions from him, till they had engaged him to preach on the occaſion, and proceeded ſome time in the buſineſs of the viſitation, when they hoped they ſhould entangle him ſo far, that for fear or ſhame he could not recede. But he boldly riſked the diſpleaſure of the protector, who was now grown very imperious and arbitrary, rather than concur in ſuch unjuſt meaſures. The affair dropt: The protector had his attention immediately drawn off to ſuppreſs ſeveral inſurrections raiſed by the diſcontented commons almoſt throughout the kingdom. The viſitors, eſpecially the biſhop of *Rocheſter*, had another commiſſion to execute, which was to preſide at a public diſputation appointed to be held at *Cambridge*, as there had been one a little before at *Oxford*, relating to the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Two poſitions were appointed to be the ſubjects of this public diſputation; and after they had been ſufficiently ventilated, a determination of the matters debated was to be made by the biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The two poſitions were,

1. Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifeſt words of ſcripture, nor can thereof be neceſſarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the conſents of the antient fathers for theſe one thouſand years paſt.

2. In the Lord's Supper is none other oblation or ſacrifice, than one only remembrance of *Chriſt*'s death, and of thankſgiving.

The firſt diſputation was on *Thurſday* the twentieth of *June*, Dr. *Madew* of *Clare-Hall*, reſpondent, maintaining the above poſitions: Dr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Langdale*, *Sedgwick* and *Young*, opponents. The ſecond diſputation was held on *Monday* the twenty-fourth, Dr. *Glyn*, reſpondent, maintaining the contrary poſitions: Mr. *Perne*, *Grindal*, *Geſt*, and *Pilkington*, opponents. The third was on *Thurſday* the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, Mr. *Perne*, reſpondent, maintaining the poſitions: Mr. *Parker*, (not *Matthew*, who was afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) *Pollard*, *Vavaſor*, and *Young*, opponents. There is one difference obſerved between the diſputations at *Oxford* and at *Cambridge*: *Peter Martyr* admitted a change in the elements; and *Langdale*, one of the opponents, the firſt day at *Cambridge*, aſked, ſuppoſing a change admitted,

" Whether

'Whether that change was wrought in the ſubſtance, or 'in the accidents, or elſe in both, or in nothing?' When *Ridley* interpoſed and anſwered, "There is no "change, either of the ſubſtances or of the accidents; "but in very deed there do come unto the bread other "accidents, inſomuch, that whereas the bread and wine "were not ſanctified before, nor holy, yet afterward they "be ſanctified, and ſo do receive then another ſort or "kind of virtue, which they had not before."

After the diſputations were finiſhed, the biſhop determined,

I. Againſt tranſubſtantiation, on theſe five principal grounds:

1. The authority, majeſty, and verity of holy ſcripture: *I will not hereafter drink of the fruit of the vine.* St. *Paul* and St. *Luke* call it bread after conſecration. They ſpeak of *breaking*, which agrees with bread, not with *Chriſt*'s body. It was to be done *in remembrance* of him. *This is the bread that came down from heaven*; but *Chriſt*'s body came not down from heaven. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing.*

2. The moſt certain teſtimonies of the antient catholic fathers, who (after my judgement) do ſufficiently declare this matter.

Here he produced many fathers, *Dionyſius*, *Ignatius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Cyprian*, *Theodoret*, *Gelaſius*, *Auſtin*, *Cyril*, *Iſychius*, and *Bertram*, who call it bread after conſecration, ſacramental bread, the figure of *Chriſt*'s body: And expreſsly declare, that bread ſtill continues after conſecration, and that the elements ceaſe not to be the ſubſtance of bread and wine ſtill.

3. The nature of a ſacrament. In which he ſuppoſes natural ſymbols to repreſent like ſpiritual effects, which in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper are unity, nutrition, and converſion. They who take away the union of the grains making one bread, of which partaking we become one myſtical body of *Chriſt*; or they who deny the nutrition, or ſubſtance of thoſe grains, by which our bodies being nouriſhed is repreſented the nouriſhment of our ſouls by the body of *Chriſt*; theſe take away the ſimilitude between the bread and the body of *Chriſt*, and deſtroy the nature of a ſacrament. As neither is there any thing to ſignify our being turned into *Chriſt*'s body, if there be no converſion of the bread into the ſubſtance of our bodies.

The 4th ground was, that tranſubſtantiation deſtroys one of the natures in *Chriſt*.

They, which ſay that *Chriſt* is carnally preſent in the euchariſt, do take from him the verity of man's nature. *Eutyches* granted the divine nature in *Chriſt*, but his human nature he denied. So they, that defend tranſubſtantiation, aſcribe that to the human nature, which only belongeth to the divine nature.

The 5th ground is the moſt ſure belief of the article of our faith, *He aſcended into heaven.*

He quotes from St. *Auſtin* on St. *John*, 'The Lord 'is above, even to the end of the world: But yet the 'verity of the Lord is here alſo. For his body wherein 'he roſe again muſt needs be in one place, but his verity 'is ſpread abroad every where.'

By verity he means an eſſential divine preſence by his inviſible and unſpeakable grace, as he diſtinguiſhes on *Matth.* xxviii. 'As touching his majeſty, his providence, 'his inviſible and unſpeakable grace, theſe words are 'fulfilled, which he ſpake, *I am with you unto the end of 'the world:* But according to the fleſh which he took 'upon him, ſo *ye ſhall not have me always with you.* And 'why? becauſe as concerning his fleſh he went up into 'heaven, and is not here, for he ſitteth at the right hand 'of the Father: And yet concerning the preſence of his 'divine majeſty he is not departed hence.' And from *Vigilus* he quoted, 'Concerning his fleſh we look for him 'from heaven; whom, as concerning the WORD (or di-'vine nature) we believe to be with us on earth.' And again, 'the courſe of ſcripture muſt be ſearched of us, 'and many teſtimonies muſt be gathered, to ſhew plainly 'what a wickedneſs and ſacrilege it is, to refer thoſe 'things to the property of the divine nature, which do 'only belong to the nature of the fleſh: And contrari-'wiſe, to apply thoſe things to the nature of the fleſh, 'which do properly belong to the divine nature.' Which he obſerves the tranſubſtantiators do, who affirm *Chriſt*'s body not to be contained in any one place, and aſcribe that to his humanity, which properly belongs to his divinity.

II. Againſt the oblation of *Chriſt* in the Lord's Supper he determined on theſe two grounds:

1. Scripture; as *Paul* ſaith, *Hebrews* ix. Chriſt *being become an high prieſt of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building: Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us. And, now in the end of the world he hath appeared* ONCE *to put away ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf.*

himſelf. And again, *Chriſt was* ONCE *offered to take away the ſins of many.* Moreover he ſaith, *With* ONE *offering hath he made perfect for ever thoſe that are ſanctified.* Theſe ſcriptures do perſuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of *Chriſt* (albeit I am not ignorant that there are many ſacrifices) but that which was ONCE made on the croſs.

2. The teſtimonies of the antient fathers. *Auſtin ad Bonif.* epiſt. 23. Again, in his book of forty-three queſtions, queſtion forty-one, *contra Tranſubſtan. lib.* 20. *cap.* 21, 22, where he writes, how the Chriſtians keep a memorial of the ſacrifice paſt, with an oblation, and participation of the body and blood of *Chriſt. Fulgentius*, in his book *de Fide*, calls the ſame oblation a commemoration. And theſe things are ſufficient at this time for a ſcholaſtic determination of theſe matters.

Yet this was more than a mere ſcholaſtic exerciſe; the occaſion of appointing this diſputation aroſe at *Oxford*, where Dr. *Smith*, taking offence at *Peter Martyr*'s expoſition of ſcripture, challenged *Martyr* to a public diſputation: Which *Martyr* declared himſelf ready to engage in, but not without the king's leave. The privy council gave leave, but *Smith* ran away from his challenge. Then *Martyr* challenged all the *Roman* catholics in that univerſity to maintain their tranſubſtantiation, and the privy council appointed delegates to hear and preſide at the diſputation. And like diſputations were appointed at *Cambridge*, that the papiſts there might likewiſe have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could.

Langdale, one of the diſputants, and for his zeal made archdeacon of *Chicheſter* by queen *Mary*, compoſed a pretended refutation of biſhop *Ridley*'s determination: But with this ſuſpicion of unfairneſs in his account of managing the diſpute, that though he had the king's licence for printing it, at *Paris*, *February* 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when *Langdale* was ſecure that *Ridley* could make no reply. However, *Pilkington*, another of the diſputants, afterward biſhop of *Durham*, ſays, that the biſhop made all things ſo clear in his determination, and the auditors were ſo convinced, that ſome of them would have turned archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s book on that ſubject into *Latin.*

Ridley aſſiſted *Cranmer* in the firſt edition of the liturgy, or common-prayer, which was publiſhed in 1548. He was ranked with *Cranmer*, *Hooper*, and *Ferrar*, among thoſe called the *zealous proteſtants*, in oppoſition to *Gardiner*, *Tunſtal*, and *Bonner*, who were called *zealous papiſts.*

Ridley printed the injunctions which he had ſet forth for the viſitation of his dioceſe; and they clearly ſhew the progreſs that the Reformation had made in *England*. They particularly enjoined, that none ſhould receive the communion, but ſuch as ſhould be ready with meekneſs to confeſs the articles of the creed upon requeſt of the curate. That the homilies ſhould be read orderly, without omiſſion of any part thereof; and that the common-prayer be read in every church upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. That none ſhould maintain purgatory, invocation of ſaints, the ſix articles, bead-rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primmers, juſtification of man by his own works, holy bread, pſalms, aſhes, candles, creeping to the croſs, hallowing of fire, or altars, or ſuch like abuſes.

The king was under a viſible decay, and biſhop *Ridley* preached before him about the latter end of his ſickneſs. The biſhop enlarged much in his ſermon on the good effects of charity; and the king was ſo moved with what he ſaid, that immediately after the ſermon he ſent for the biſhop, whom he commanded to ſit down and be covered. His majeſty reſumed the heads of the diſcourſe, and ſaid his lordſhip muſt give ſome directions how he might acquit himſelf of his duty. The biſhop, aſtoniſhed at ſo much tenderneſs and ſenſibility in ſo young a prince, burſt into tears; but deſired time to conſider of the particular channel in which the royal charity ſhould be directed; and that the king would give him leave to conſult with the lord-mayor and aldermen about it. His majeſty accordingly wrote them a letter by the biſhop, who returned to him with a ſcheme of three foundations; one for the ſick and wounded, another for ſuch as were willfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans: And his majeſty endowed St. *Bartholomew*'s hoſpital for the firſt, *Bridewell* for the ſecond, and *Grey-Friars* church for the third.

The king died in 1553, and was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Mary*, whoſe reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs, of whom *Ridley* was one of the chief. The queen was a rigid papiſt, and cauſed lady *Jane Grey* to be beheaded, who openly profeſſed the proteſtant religion, and to whom *Edward* had conveyed the crown by his will. The duke of *Northumberland* and his ſon, and the duke of *Norfolk* and his brother, were alſo beheaded for attempting to place that moſt excellent lady on the throne; and biſhop *Ridley* was ſent to the *Tower*, among others, whom *Mary* was determined to ſacrifice to her vengeance.

The queen releaſed *Gardiner* and *Bonner* out of the *Tower*, and employed them to pull down the Reformation.

The

The maſs was reſtored, the proteſtants inhumanly perſecuted, and ſeveral laws enacted for re-eſtabliſhing popery. The parliament revived the ſtatutes againſt hereſy; and the queen commiſſioned *Gardiner*, as her bloody inſtrument, for the extirpation of what ſhe called hereſy. He was particularly ordered to purge the churches of all married biſhops and prieſts; in conſequence of which, four biſhops were deprived for marriage, as alſo three for preaching erroneous doctrines; and of 16,000 of the inferior clergy then in *England*, 12,000 were turned out for having wives.

As *Gardiner* was for forcing the proteſtants into the pale of the *Romiſh* church, he began with exerting his rage againſt the biſhops, and the moſt eminent divines. The biſhops *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Hooper*, and *Ferrar*, were all impriſoned, and all ſuffered martyrdom; which cauſed an univerſal conſternation; and the popiſh biſhops themſelves ſeemed aſhamed of theſe barbarities.

The convocation was adjourned, and removed to *Oxford*, that the diſpute with the proteſtant divines might be held before the whole univerſity. To give a colour of juſtice to this conference, archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and biſhops *Ridley* and *Latimer*, were ſent from the *Tower* of *London* to the priſon at *Oxford*, where they were ill accommodated, denied the convenience of their books and papers, the converſation of each other, and any mutual aſſiſtance in the conference; for each was to have his day ſeparate from the others. To theſe three prelates, under ſuch diſadvantages, a committee from the convocation and the two univerſities were to be oppoſed. The queen ſent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of *Oxford*, to bring the priſoners into the public ſchools, at the times appointed for the diſputations; calling *Ridley* a doctor, and *Latimer* only clerk. It was intended to expoſe theſe three great prelates to inſolence and abuſe. 'This diſputation (ſays *Fuller*) was intended 'as a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of theſe biſhops' deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more 'afore-hand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter 'and clearer for the ſame.'

The government and clergy are charged with the moſt infernal proceedings. The queen was married to *Philip* of *Spain*, and imagined herſelf pregnant: But ſhe declared, ſhe could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled all the jails about *London*, were burnt; while the clergy and council of *England* were to be the executioners of the bloody purpoſe. 'All the nation ſeemed 'to be in a blaze from perſecuting flames;' and three

martyrs were particularly ſingled out—*Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Cranmer*.

Commiſſions for trying them were directed to three biſhops and ſeveral others: But the impriſoned prelates, at their different appearances, refuſed to acknowledge the papal authority. *Cranmer* was brought out firſt before the committee. The next was *Ridley*; who began with a ſolemn declaration, that though he was once of another opinion than what he was of at preſent, yet he had not changed it upon any worldly conſiderations, but merely for love of truth: And ſince it was the cauſe of God he was now to maintain, he proteſted that he would have leave to add to, or alter, any argument, as he ſhould ſee cauſe for it; and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak without interruption. All this was promiſed him; but not complied with; and, though all the committee aſſailed him by turns, even ſometimes four or five at once, he maintained his ground, till the prolocutor put an end, by ſaying, 'You ſee the obſtinate, vain-glorious, crafty, 'and inconſtant mind of this man; but you alſo ſee the 'force of truth cannot be ſhaken; therefore, cry out 'with me; truth has the victory.'

The three biſhops were adjudged to be obſtinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. *Ridley* told the commiſſioners, that although he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written in another place, whither this ſentence would ſend him ſooner than by the courſe of nature he ſhould have gone.

The priſoners were then parted, and conducted to their ſeparate priſons; where *Ridley* wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noiſy and irregular manner with which the diſpute was carried on; wherein he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamor; and the indecent abuſe of four or five opponents at a time: He deſired, however, that he might have a copy of what the notaries had ſet down; which was not granted.

Ridley and *Latimer* refuſed to recant, or to renounce their reaſon upon the unintelligible jargon of a popiſh euchariſt, the common watch-word for murder in thoſe days, and they were to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. The biſhops of *Glouceſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Briſtol*, were ſent to *Oxford*, to proceed againſt them. When the commiſſion was read, and it appeared that the judges proceeded in the name of the pope, *Ridley* put on his cap and refuſed to pay any reverence to thoſe who acted by ſuch a com-

a commiſſion. *Latimer* alſo proteſted againſt the papal authority; and being both accuſed of the opinions, which they had maintained in the public ſchools a year and a half before, were allowed till the next morning to conſider, whether they would retract, or perſevere in them. Both adhered to the anſwers they had already made; and on the next morning they were pronounced guilty of hereſy, degraded from prieſts orders, and conſigned over to the ſecular magiſtrate to be puniſhed.

Great attempts were made on *Ridley* to perſuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, which he refuſed, and a warrant was ſent down for the execution of him and *Latimer*. They ſuffered on the ſixteenth of *October*, 1555, on the north ſide of *Oxford*, in the ditch oppoſite *Baliol-College*. When they came up to the ſtake, they embraced each other with great affection; and *Ridley*, with an air of pleaſure, ſaid to *Latimer*, "Be of good heart, brother; "for God will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or "elſe enable us to bear it." He then returned to the ſtake, and, falling upon his knees, kiſſed it and prayed very fervently. After which ſetting himſelf to ſpeak to the ſpectators, ſome perſons ran to him and ſtopped his mouth. Being afterwards ſtripped, he ſtood on a ſtone near the ſtake, and offered up the following prayer; "O "heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks for that "thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto "death. I beſeech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this "realm of *England*, and deliver it from all its enemies." They were not permitted to ſpeak, in anſwer to a long ſermon preached by a Dr. *Smith*, unleſs they would recant. To this *Ridley* replied, That he would never deny his Lord, nor the truths of which he was perſuaded; but "God's will be done." He ſaid, he had received fines when he was biſhop of *London* for leaſes which were now voided, and deſired that the queen might give order, either that the leaſes might be made good, or the fines reſtored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than ſufficient for that purpoſe. After this, they were ordered to fit themſelves for the ſtake; and as a ſmith was knocking in the ſtaple, which held the chain, he ſaid to him; "Good man, knock it in "hard; for the fleſh will have its courſe." Some gunpowder was hanged about their bodies to haſten their deaths; and the fire was put to the wood. The powder took fire with the firſt flame, which inſtantly put *Latimer* out of his pain: But there was ſo much wood thrown on the fire where *Ridley* was, that the flame could not break through

through it; ſo that his legs were almoſt conſumed before it was obſerved; and then a paſſage being made to the flame, it put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. A little before he gave up the ghoſt, he cried with a loud voice; "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit. Lord, receive my ſoul!"

The ſtation which both theſe martyrs had held, the regularity of their lives, the peaceableneſs of their tempers, their age, and their behaviour at the ſtake, raiſed great commiſeration in the ſpectators, and ſent them home greatly diſpleaſed with thoſe who had brought them to this end.

Ridley's fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature neceſſary to a divine, gave him the firſt rank in his profeſſion; and his life was anſwerable to his knowledge. He was of an eaſy obliging temper; and though he wanted not a proper ſpirit to ſupport his character, or to do himſelf juſtice againſt the great and powerful; yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries, or offences. His zeal for religion did not ſhew itſelf in promoting ſeverities againſt thoſe who differed from it; but in diligently explaining the parts that were miſunderſtood, and ſhewing their foundation in ſcripture and antiquity. The grace of his Maſter was not only ſhewn in the candor and charity of his ſentiments; but he did good offices for thoſe who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a biſhop; he maintained and treated *Heath*, the deprived biſhop of *Worceſter*, for a year and a half, in the ſame ſplendor as though Fulham-houſe had been his own; and *Bonner*'s mother, who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilſt her ſon was in the *Tower*. The Reformation was greatly promoted by his zeal and learning while he lived, as well as by his courage and conſtancy at his death: For of all who ſerved the altar of the church of *England*, he bore, perhaps, the moſt uſeful teſtimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine.

To this we may add the character given of him by his learned biographer, Dr. *Gloceſter Ridley*, whoſe maſterly performance we would recommend to our Readers for the hiſtory, not of biſhop *Ridley* only, but of the whole time in which he lived. Biſhop *Ridley* (ſays he) was 'meek 'and gentle to tender conſciences, patiently bearing with 'their weakneſs; but where he ſaw the will was in fault 'from vanity, malice, or obſtinacy, he ſet himſelf with 'great earneſtneſs and ſteadineſs to reduce it to a ſub-

'miſſion,

'miſſion.—With reſpect to himſelf, he was mortified, 'and given to prayer and contemplation: With reſpect 'to his family, careful and inſtructive. His mode of 'life was, as ſoon as he roſe and had dreſſed himſelf, to 'continue in private prayer half an hour; then (unleſs 'other buſineſs interrupted him) he retired to his ſtudy, 'where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour 'he came to common prayer with his family, and there 'daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the acts of 'the apoſtles, and ſo going regularly through St. *Paul*'s 'epiſtles, giving to every one that could read a New 'Teſtament, and hiring them to learn by heart ſome 'choſen chapters, &c.'

He was a perſon ſmall in ſtature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in divinity. Among ſeveral things that he wrote, were theſe: A treatiſe concerning images, not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped in churches. A brief declaration of the Lord's Supper. A treatiſe of the bleſſed ſacrament. A piteous lamentation of the miſerable ſtate of the church of *England*, at the time of the late revolt from the goſpel. A compariſon between the comfortable doctrine of the goſpel, and the traditions of popiſh religion. He had a hand in compiling the common prayer-book; as alſo diſputations and conferences about matters of religion.

Here follow two of his letters.

I.

"MASTER *Cheke*, I wiſh you grace and peace. Sir, "in God's cauſe, for God's ſake, and in his name, "I beſeech you of your help and furtherance towards "God's word. I did talk with you of late what caſe I "was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the "good will and grant to be with me, of three preachers, "men of good learning, and (as I am perſuaded) of ex-"cellent virtue; which are all able, both with life and "learning, to ſet forth God's word in *London*, and in "the whole dioceſe of the ſame, where is moſt need of "all parts in *England*; for from thence goeth example "(as you know) into all the reſt of the king's majeſty's "whole realm. The men's names be theſe; Mr. *Grindal*, "whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning: "Mr. *Bradford*, a man by whom (as I am aſſuredly in-"formed) God hath and doth work wonders, in ſetting "forth of his word: The third is a preacher, the which "for detecting and confuting the Anabaptiſts and Papiſts

" is enforced now to bear *Chriſt*'s croſs. The two firſt be " ſcholars in the univerſity: The third is as poor as " either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a pre- " bend in *Paul*'s, called *Cantrells*, by the death of one " *Layton*. This prebend is an honeſt man's living of " thirty-four pounds and better in the king's books. I " would with all my heart give it unto Mr. *Grindal*; and " ſo I ſhould have him continually with me, and in my " dioceſe to preach.

" But alaſs! Sir, I am letted by the means (I fear me) " of ſuch as do not fear God. One Mr. *William Thomas*, " one of the clerks to the council, hath in times paſt ſet " the council upon me, to have me to grant that *Layton* " might have alienated the ſaid prebend unto him and " his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender, " that I did not conſent unto his ungodly enterpriſe. Yet " I was then ſo handled before the council, that I granted, " that whenſoever it ſhould fall, I ſhould not give it be- " fore I ſhould make the king's majeſty privy unto it. " Now *Layton* is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and " certain of the council (no doubt by this ungodly man's " means) have written unto me, to ſtay the collation. " And whereas he deſpaireth, that ever I would aſſent " that a preacher's living ſhould be beſtowed on him, he " hath procured letters unto me, ſubſcribed with certain " of the council's hands, that now the king's majeſty hath " determined it unto the furniture of his highneſs's ſtable. " Alaſs! Sir, this is a heavy hearing: When papiſtry was " taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. " When the biſhop gave his benefices unto ideots, un- " learned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleaſure, for ſervice, " and other worldly reſpects, all was then well allowed. " Now, when a poor living is to be given unto an excel- " lent clerk, a man known and tried to have both diſ- " cretion and alſo virtue; and ſuch a one as, before God, " I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, " more meet to ſet forth God's word in all *England:* " When a poor living, I ſay, which is founded for a " preacher, is to be given unto ſuch a man, that then an " ungodly perſon ſhall procure in this ſort letters to ſtop " and let the ſame; alaſs! Mr. *Cheke*, this ſeemeth unto " me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of " the goſpel? Speak, Mr. *Cheke*, ſpeak for God's ſake, " in God's cauſe, unto whomſoever you think you may " do any good withal. And if you will not ſpeak, then " I beſeech you let theſe my letters ſpeak unto Mr. *Gates*,

" to

" to Mr. *Wrothe*, to Mr. *Cecil*, whom all I do take for men " that do fear God.

" It was ſaid here conſtantly, my lord chamberlain to " have been departed: Sir, though the day be delayed, " yet he hath no pardon of long life, and therefore I do " beſeech his good lordſhip, and ſo many as ſhall read " theſe letters, if they fear God, to help that neither " horſe, nor yet dog, be ſuffered to devour the poor liv- " ings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the " miniſters of God's word. The cauſes of conſcience, " which do move me to ſpeak and write thus, are not only " thoſe which I declared once in the cauſe of this prebend " before the king's majeſty's council, which now I let " paſs; but alſo now the man, Mr. *Grindal*, unto whom " I would give this prebend, doth move me very much; " for he is a man known to be both of virtue, honeſty, " diſcretion, wiſdom and learning. And beſide all this, " I have a better opinion of the king's majeſty's honour- " able council, than (although ſome of them have ſub- " ſcribed, at this their clerk's crafty and ungodly ſuit, to " ſuch a letter) than, I ſay, they will let, and not ſuffer " (after the requeſt made to them) the living appointed " and founded for a preacher, and be beſtowed upon ſo " honeſt and well a learned man.

" Wherefore, for God's ſake, I beſeech you all, help, " that with the favour of the council, I may have know- " ledge of the king's majeſty's good pleaſure, to give this " preacher's living unto Mr. *Grindal*. Of late there have " been letters, directed from the king's majeſty and his " honourable council unto all the biſhops, whereby we " be charged and commanded, both in our own perſons, " and alſo to cauſe our preachers and miniſters, eſpecially " to cry out againſt the inſatiable ſerpent of covetouſneſs, " whereby is ſaid to be ſuch a greedineſs amongſt the " people, that each one goeth about to devour another; " and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues, " both now preſently thrown upon them, and that ſhall " be likewiſe in the world to come. Sir, what preachers " ſhall I get to open and ſet forth ſuch matters, and ſo " as the king's majeſty and the council do command them " to be ſet forth, if either ungodly men, or unreaſonable " beaſts, be ſuffered to pull away and devour the good and " godly learned preachers' livings? Thus I wiſh you in " God ever well to fare, and to help *Chriſt*'s cauſe, as " you would have help of him at your moſt need. From " *Fulham* this preſent, the 23d of *July*, 1551.

" Your's in *Chriſt*."

II.

" GOOD Mr. *Cecil*, I muſt be a ſuitor unto you in " your good maſter *Chriſt*'s cauſe: I beſeech you be " good to him. The matter is, Sir, alaſs! he hath lain " too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging, in " the ſtreets of *London*, both hungry, naked and cold. " Now, thanks be to almighty God! the citizens are " willing to refreſh him, and to give him both meat, drink, " cloathing and firing: But alaſs! ſir, they lack lodging " for him. For in ſome one houſe I dare ſay they are fain " to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a " wide, large, empty houſe of the king's majeſty's, called " *Bridewell*, that would wonderfully well ſerve to lodge " *Chriſt* in, if he might find ſuch good friends in the " court to procure in his cauſe. Surely I have ſuch a " good opinion of the king's majeſty, that if *Chriſt* had " ſuch faithful and hearty friends who would heartily " ſpeak for him, he ſhould undoubtedly ſpeed at the king's " majeſty's hands. Sir, I have promiſed my brethren the " citizens to move you, becauſe I do take you for one " that feareth God, and would that *Chriſt* ſhould lie no " more abroad in the ſtreets."

JOHN PHILPOT.

THIS very learned divine, ſon of ſir *Peter Philpot*, was born near *Wincheſter*; and was, in his youth, put to *Wyckham*, or *New-College*, *Oxford*; where he ſtudied the civil law for ſix or ſeven years, beſides the other liberal ſciences, and eſpecially the languages*. From *Oxford* he ſet out upon his travels through *Italy*; where he was in ſome danger on account of his religion; a Franciſcan friar at *Padua*, endeavoring to trouble him for

* Mr. *Strype* records an amuſing incident, relative to Mr. *Philpot*, after he went to *Oxford*;—' Where (ſays he) he profited in learn-' ing, ſo well, that he laid a wager of TWENTY PENCE with *John* ' *Harpsfield*, that he would make two hundred verſes in one night, ' and not make above two faults in them. Mr. *Thomas Tuchymer*, ' ſchoolmaſter, was judge: And adjudged the TWENTY PENCE to ' Mr. *Philpot*.' *Strype*'s eccl. mem. III. p. 263.

hereſy.

hereſy. But returning to *England* in the time of king *Edward*, he was collated to the preferment of archdeacon of *Wincheſter* by the pious and excellent Dr. *Ponet*, the firſt proteſtant biſhop of that ſee. *Stephen Gardiner*, (*Ponet*'s predeceſſor) biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (ſays *Strype*†) ever bore ill-will againſt this godly gentleman [Mr. *Philpot*], and forbad him preaching, oftentimes in king *Henry*'s reign. But he [*Philpot*] could not in conſcience hide his talent, under this prince, and in ſo popiſh a dioceſe. At laſt, the biſhop ſent for certain juſtices, who came to his houſe: And there calling Mr. *Philpot*, ROGUE; *Philpot* ſaid to the biſhop, "My lord, do you keep a privy ſeſ-"ſions in your own houſe for me, and call me ROGUE, "whoſe father is a knight, and may ſpend a thouſand "pounds within one mile of your noſe? And he that "can ſpend TEN POUNDS by the year, as I can, I thank "God, is no vagabond."

Mr. *Philpot*, when archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, labored abundantly in word and doctrine, with great ſucceſs, in *Hampſhire*, during the time of king *Edward*. He was very well furniſhed both by grace and natural acquirements for his calling, to which he zealouſly devoted them all. Biſhop *Ridley* and our martyr were eſteemed the two moſt learned of all our *Engliſh* Reformers. *Philpot* appears to have poſſeſſed great fervency of ſpirit, which appeared in all his controverſies and troubles with the papiſts, whom he boldly attacked, leaving all conſequences in the hand of God. He had the glowing ardor of a martyr, and deſired the martyr's crown. He was valiant for the truth, and feared not the faces of men; for, at the beginning of queen *Mary*'s reign, in a convocation of biſhops and dignitaries, appointed for the purpoſe of changing religion from proteſtant to popiſh; our learned archdeacon, with a few others, bore a noble teſtimony againſt the deſign; and, for his vigorous oppoſition, notwithſtanding the promiſed liberty of free debate, he was called before the chancellor, the ſaid biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his ordinary; and by him committed a cloſe priſoner for about a year and a half. He was then ſent to *Bonner*, biſhop of *London*, and other commiſſioners, who confined him in the biſhop's coal-houſe; to which adjoined a little dark houſe with a great pair of ſtocks, both for hand and foot. There he met with two fellow-ſufferers in the ſame good cauſe; one of whom was a clergyman of *Eſſex*,

† *Strype*'s eccl. mem. III. p. 263.

a godly

a godly miniſter, and a married man*; who, upon hearing that archdeacon *Philpot* was brought to the coal-houſe, deſired much to ſee him; to whom he grievouſly lamented, that in the hour of temptation, through the frailty of the fleſh, and the extremity of impriſonment, he had ſinfully complied, by writing, with the biſhop of *London*. He added, that he was immediately ſet at liberty; but afterwards felt ſuch a hell in his conſcience, that he could ſcarce refrain from laying violent hands on himſelf. Nor could he be at peace in his mind, till he went to the biſhop's regiſter, deſiring to ſee the writing in which he had yielded to the biſhop; which he had no ſooner got into his hands, than he tore it in pieces. The biſhop, being informed of this, ſent for him, and acted indeed more in the character of a popiſh biſhop, than of a biſhop of *Jeſus Chriſt, who muſt be no* STRIKER; for he fell upon him like a lion, beat his face black and blue, and pluckt off great part of his beard. He then ſent him to be confined hand and foot in the ſtocks in the dark hole; where Mr. *Philpot* found him, "as joyful (ſaid he) under the croſs "as any of us, and very ſorry for his former infirmity."

The ſecond day after Mr. *Philpot* had been in the coal-houſe, he was ſent to make his appearance before *Bonner*; who, among other things, ſaid, 'I marvel that you are ſo 'merry in priſon, ſinging and rejoicing in your naughtineſs; when you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.' Mr. *Philpot* anſwered, "We are in a dark comfortleſs "place, and therefore as St. *Paul* wills us, we make "*merry in the Lord, ſinging together, in hymns and pſalms.*" After ſome further altercation, he was remanded back to the coal-houſe; "where, (ſaid he) I, with my ſix fellow "priſoners, do rouze together from the ſtraw, as chearfully, we thank God, as others do from their beds of "down." But as though reſolved, if poſſible, to put a ſtop to the rejoicing of this great and godly man, the papiſts were continually adding new ſeverities; ſo that when biſhop *Bonner*, in one of his fawning fits, aſked him, 'If he could ſhew him any pleaſure, and he would 'do it.' Mr. *Philpot* anſwered, "My lord, the pleaſure "that I will require of your lordſhip is, to haſten my "judgement which is committed unto you, and to diſpatch me forth of this miſerable world, unto my eternal "reſt. For notwithſtanding this fair ſpeech (added he

* This was the Revd. Mr. *Thomas Whittle*, a moſt excellent man, as appears by his writings preſerved by Mr. *Fox*. He ſuffered in the flames with great joy and conſtancy, not long afterwards.

"in

" in his account of this matter) I cannot obtain hitherto, " for this fortnight paſt, either fire, or candle, or good " lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low " in this world, and to be counted amongſt the vileſt, " that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and " glory. Therefore, praiſed be God, that he hath hum- " bled me, and given me grace with gladneſs to be con- " tent withal."

Mr. *Philpot* was examined fifteen or ſixteen ſeveral times before biſhop *Bonner* and others; but being well ſkilled in the civil and canon law, he pleaded his privilege of *exceptionem fori*, and refuſed to be examined before the biſhop of *London*; becauſe he was not his ordinary, being archdeacon of *Wincheſter*. The biſhop urged his right of being his judge; becauſe the convocation, in which Mr. *Philpot* was accuſed of hereſy, in zealouſly maintaining the proteſtant doctrines of the church of *England*, as then by law eſtabliſhed, was held in St. *Paul*'s church, and conſequently in his dioceſe: ' Therefore as you were ſent ' hither to me (ſaid the biſhop) by the queen's commiſ- ' ſioners, and are *now* in my dioceſe, I will proceed againſt ' you as your ordinary.'

" I cannot deny (ſaid Mr. *Philpot*) but I am in your " coal-houſe, which is in your dioceſe; yet am I not *of* " your dioceſe. I was brought hither through violence, " and by ſuch men as had no juſt authority ſo to do; and " therefore my being at preſent in your dioceſe, is not " enough to deprive me of my own ordinary's juriſdic- " tion; nor does it make me willingly ſubject to your " juriſdiction, any more than a ſanctuary man, being by " force brought forth of his place of privilege, loſes his " privilege, but may always claim his privilege whereſo- " ever he is brought: Nor does my conduct in the con- " vocation ſubject me to your juriſdiction, or make you " my ordinary; for although St. *Paul*'s be *in* your dio- " ceſe, it is nevertheleſs a *peculiar* of the dean and chap- " ter, and therefore not *of* your dioceſe." The biſhop then endeavored to enſnare him in private examinations; but Mr. *Philpot* ſaid, " My lord, *Omnia judicia debent* " *eſſe publica*; i. e. all judicial proceedings ought to be " public. Therefore, if your lordſhip have any thing to " charge me lawfully withal; let me be in judgement " lawfully and openly called, and I will anſwer accord- " ing to my duty; otherwiſe in corners I will not."

Biſhop of London. ' No; wilt thou not knave? Thou ' art a fooliſh knave, I ſee well enough: Thou ſhalt ' anſwer whether thou wilt or not.'

Philpot. "I will make no further anſwers than I have "ſaid already."

Biſhop of London. 'Have him away, and ſet him in 'the ſtocks: What, fooliſh knave!'

The next morning early, an hour before day, Mr. *Philpot* was ſent for by the biſhop; but fearing ſome foul play, becauſe it was at ſo unſeaſonable a time, he refuſed to go. The biſhop then ordered him to be brought by violence, and charged him to take the book and ſwear to anſwer truly to all ſuch articles as he ſhould demand of him. But as the biſhop was not Mr. *Philpot*'s ordinary, he would not ſwear. The conſequence of which was, the biſhop ordered him to be put into the ſtocks; "where "(ſays *Philpot*) I ſat from morning till night, when the "keeper upon favour let me out."

For a great while, they pretended to examine him every day, and ſometimes oftener, and meanly to abuſe him with the taunts of *blockhead*, *knave*, *fool*, &c. But this good man's arguments, on account of his great ſuperiority in learning and knowledge of the ſcriptures, they could neither anſwer nor refute; 'ſo that (ſays Mr. *Fox*) biſhop '*Bonner* having taken his pleaſure with Mr. *Philpot* in his 'private talks; and ſeeing his zealous, learned, and immu-'table conſtancy; thought it high time to rid his hands 'of him. And therefore ſitting in the conſiſtory at St. '*Paul*'s, he cauſed him to be brought before him and 'others, as it ſeemeth, more for order's ſake, than for any 'good affection to juſtice and right judgement.'

Bonner then began by charging Mr. *Philpot* with being fallen from the unity of *Chriſt*'s catholic church—with blaſphemouſly ſpeaking againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry—and with ſpeaking againſt, and denying, the real preſence of *Chriſt*'s body and blood to be in the ſacrament of the altar. He labored, with the reſt of the biſhops, both by perſuaſions and promiſes, and by cruel threatenings, to make him abjure. To all which he anſwered, "You, and all your ſort, are hypocrites, "and I would all the world knew your hypocriſy, your "tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

After a great deal more altercation upon a variety of matters, which ſerved only to ſhew the biſhop's tyranny and the martyr's conſtancy; *Bonner* aſked *Philpot* if he had any juſt cauſe to alledge why he ſhould not condemn him as a heretic? "Well, (ſaid Mr. *Philpot*) your ido-"latrous ſacrament, that you have found out, you would "fain defend, but you are not able, nor ever ſhall."

'My

'My lords, (ſaid *Bonner*) my predeceſſor, *Stokeſley*, 'when he proceeded to give ſentence againſt a heretic, 'made uſe of a certain prayer, whoſe example I will now 'follow; and ſo with a loud voice prayed, *Deus, qui 'errantibus, ut in viam poſſint redire, juſtitiæ veritatiſque 'tuæ lumen oſtendis; da cunctis, qui Chriſtianâ profeſſione 'cenſentur, & illa reſpuere quæ huic inimica ſint nomini, '& ea quæ ſint apta ſectari, per Chriſtum Dominum noſ-'trum; Amen.'*

Philpot. "I wiſh you would ſpeak in *Engliſh*, that all "men might underſtand you; for St. *Paul* commands, "that all things, ſpoken in the congregation, ſhould be "ſpoken in a tongue that all men may underſtand and "be edified." The biſhop then repeated it in *Engliſh*, and when he came to theſe words—'to refuſe thoſe things 'which are enemies to his [i. e. *Chriſt*'s] name;' *Philpot* ſaid, "Then they muſt all turn away from you; for you "are enemies to that name: May God ſave us from ſuch "hypocrites, as would have things in a tongue that the "people cannot underſtand." 'Whom do you mean?' ſaid the biſhop.—"You, anſwered *Philpot*, and all who "are of your congregation and ſect. And I am ſorry to "ſee you ſit in the place you now do, pretending to ex-"ecute juſtice, while you do nothing elſe but deceive "all men." And turning to the people, he ſaid, "O all "you gentlemen, beware of theſe men [the biſhops] and "all their doings; for they are contrary to God's word "and the primitive church."

The biſhop then pronounced ſentence of condemnation againſt him as a heretic; upon which *Philpot* ſaid, "I "thank God, I am an heretic out of your curſed church: "But I am no heretic before God.—But God bleſs you, "and give you grace to repent of your wicked doings; but "let all men beware of your bloody church."

In *Newgate* he was treated moſt cruelly by the keeper, though Mr. *Philpot* begged of him, upon the foot of old acquaintance, not to do it. He ordered him on the block, and as many irons to be rivetted on him as he was able to bear; and allowed his man to extort money from him, before he would allow him to be taken from the block. And notwithſtanding Mr. *Philpot* pleaded his being a long time in priſon, and his conſequent poverty, and that he would willingly ſell his gown off his back for twenty ſhillings, ("for, ſaid he, the biſhop told me, I ſhould "ſoon be diſpatched") the keeper demanded four pounds; and becauſe Mr. *Philpot* had it not to give him, he or-

dered his man to take him on his back, and carry him into *limbo*.

When notice was given him, the night before he ſuffered, that he was to be burnt the next day, he ſaid,—"I am ready; God give me ſtrength, and a joyful re-"ſurrection." He then poured out his ſpirit in prayer to the Lord, giving him hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to ſuffer for his truth. As he was going into *Smithfield*, the way being very dirty, two officers took him up, in order to bear him through the dirt; on which he merrily ſaid—"What! will you make a pope of me?" When he was come into *Smithfield*, he kneeled down and ſaid, "I will pay my vows in thee, O *Smithfield!*" Being come to the ſtake, he kiſſed it, and ſaid; "Shall "I diſdain to ſuffer at this ſtake, when my Lord and "Saviour refuſed not to ſuffer a moſt vile death upon "the croſs for me." When he was bound to the ſtake, he repeated the hundred and ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth *Pſalms*, and prayed moſt fervently; till at length, in the midſt of the flames, with great meekneſs and comfort, he gave up his ſpirit to God.

THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.

The firſt PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

THIS great and good man was the ſon of *Thomas Cranmer*, eſq; a gentleman of an antient and wealthy family, which came in with the conqueror; and was born at *Aſlacton*, in *Nottinghamſhire*, *July* 2, 1498. His father died, when he was very young: And his mother, when he was fourteen years old, ſent him to *Cambridge*. He was elected fellow of *Jeſus-College*; where he was ſo well beloved, that when his fellowſhip was vacant by marriage, yet his wife dying about a year after, the maſter and fellows choſe him again. This favor he ſo gratefully acknowledged, that when he was nominated to a fellowſhip in cardinal *Wolſey*'s new foundation at *Oxford*, though the ſalary was much more conſiderable, and the way to preferment more ready by the favor of the cardinal, he nevertheleſs declined it, and choſe rather to continue with



From an Original Painting in the British Museum.

BRITISH MUSEUM

his old fellow-collegians, who had given him ſo ſingular a proof of their affection.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age; and being in great eſteem for theological learning, he was choſen reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college, and appointed by the univerſity to be one of the examiners of thoſe, who took their degrees in divinity. Theſe candidates he examined chiefly out of the ſcriptures; and finding many of them groſly ignorant thereof, having thrown away their time on the dark perplexities and uſeleſs queſtions of the ſchoolmen, he rejected them as inſufficient; adviſing them to apply themſelves cloſely to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, before they came for their degrees; it being ſhameful for a profeſſor of divinity to be unſkilled in that book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the grounds of divinity lay. And though ſome hated him for this, yet the more ingenuous publicly returned him thanks, for having been the means of their great improvement in the ſound knowledge of religion.

During his reſidence at *Cambridge*, the queſtion aroſe concerning king *Henry*'s divorce; and the plague breaking out in the univerſity about that time, he retired to *Waltham-Abbey*: Where caſually meeting with *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the one the king's ſecretary, the other his almoner; and diſcourſing with them about the divorce, he greatly commended the expedient ſuggeſted to the king by cardinal *Wolſey*, of conſulting the divines of our own and the foreign univerſities; which he thought would bring the matter to a ſhort iſſue, and be the ſafeſt and ſureſt method of giving the king's troubled conſcience a well-grounded ſatisfaction. This converſation *Fox* and *Gardiner* related to the king; who was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he ſaid, '*Cranmer* had got the ſow by the right 'ear,' and immediately ſent for him to court; and admiring his gravity, modeſty and learning, reſolved to cheriſh and promote him. Accordingly he made him his chaplain, and gave him a good benefice: He was alſo nominated by him to be archdeacon of *Taunton*. At the king's command he drew up his own judgement of the caſe in writing; and ſo ſolidly defended it in the public ſchool at *Cambridge*, that he brought over many of the contrary part to his opinion; particularly five of thoſe ſix doctors, who had before given in their judgement to the king, for the lawfulneſs of the pope's diſpenſation with marrying the brother's wife.

In a matter of ſo great importance, it may not be improper to give an abſtract of thoſe arguments, on which they, who, with doctor *Cranmer*, favored the divorce, grounded their judgement. Theſe were taken partly from ſcripture; partly from fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen.

From ſcripture they argued, 'That the prohibited degrees in *Leviticus* were not only obligatory to the *Jewiſh* nation, but moral precepts and the primitive laws of marriage; as appeared from the judgements denounced againſt the *Canaanites* for the violation of them, and their being ſaid to have polluted the land thereby; which cannot be accounted for, if theſe were only poſitive *Jewiſh* conſtitutions: That among thoſe prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother's wife was one; *Lev.* xviii. 16. and 20, 21. And that the breach of theſe precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedneſs and an abomination: That the diſpenſation in *Deuteronomy*, of marrying with the brother's wife, only ſhewed, that the foundation of the law was not in its own nature immutable, but might be diſpenſed with by immediate divine revelation; but that it did not follow, that the pope by his ordinary authority could diſpenſe with it: And to pretend the ſenſe of the precept to be only a prohibition of having the father's wife in his life time, was a poor low cavil, it being univerſally unlawful to have any man's wife whatever, while he was yet living.

'The conſtant tradition of the church was clear againſt the lawfulneſs of the marriage. *Origen* on *Lev.* xx. St. *Chryſoſtom* on *Matth.* xxii. and St. *Baſil* in his epiſtle to *Diodorus*, expreſsly aſſert theſe precepts to be obligatory under the goſpel; and in the *Latin* church, St. *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, and *Auſtin*, were of the ſame opinion. And *Tertullian*, who lived within an age after the apoſtles, in his fourth book againſt *Marcion*, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife does ſtill oblige Chriſtians. Pope *Gregory* the Great had given the ſame determination, in anſwer to *Auſtin*, the firſt archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and directed him to adviſe all, who had married their brother's wife, to look on the marriage as a moſt grievous ſin, and to ſeparate from her ſociety. Other popes had declared themſelves of the ſame judgement; and particularly *Innocent* the Third had wrote with great vehemence againſt ſuch marriages.'

To theſe were added many teſtimonies from the writers of later ages, and the ſchoolmen and canoniſts; but the judgement of the pureſt antiquity being ſo full and expreſs,

preſs, we ſhall paſs them over, as leſs material; only obſerving, that on the contrary ſide none could be produced, before *Wickliffe* and *Cajetan*, who looked on theſe prohibitions as only branches of the judicial law of the *Jews*.

'The ſecond canon of the council of *Neo-cæſarea* decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, 'ſhe ſhould be excommunicated till death; and that the 'man, who married his brother's wife, ſhould be anathe-'matized: Which was confirmed in a council held by pope 'Gregory the Second. The fifty-firſt canon of the council 'at *Agde* reckons the marriage with his brother's wife 'among inceſtuous marriages; and decrees, that all ſuch 'marriages are null, and the parties ſo contracting to be 'excommunicated till they ſeparate from each other. And 'the contrary doctrine and error of *Wickliffe* had been 'condemned, not only in convocation at *London* and 'Oxon, but in the general council of *Conſtance*.'

And becauſe ſome endeavors were uſed to evade all this by a pretence, that the marriage with prince *Arthur* was never conſummated; it was farther alledged, 'that con-'ſummation was not neceſſary to make a marriage com-'plete, as might be inferred from *Deut.* xxii. 24. where 'the woman, who was only eſpouſed to a man, if ſhe 'admitted another to her bed, is commanded to be ſtoned 'as an adultereſs; and the man is ſaid to have humbled 'his neighbour's wife: And though *Joſeph* had never 'conſummated the marriage with the bleſſed virgin, yet 'it appears from *Matt.* i. 19, that he could not put her 'away, without a ſolemn bill of divorce.'

But, in this caſe, there was not the leaſt ground to imagine, that the marriage had not been conſummated. The marriage-bed was ſolemnly bleſſed when they were put into it; they were ſeen publicly in bed together, for ſeveral days after. The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador had, by his maſter's order, taken proofs of the conſummation of the marriage, and ſent them into *Spain:* And the young prince, who was then ſixteen, had by many expreſſions given his ſervants cauſe to believe, that it was conſummated the firſt night. Nay it was thought, that his too early marriage haſtened his death, he having been ſtrong, vigorous, and healthy, before it; but afterwards declined apace, which was attributed to his being too uxorious. After his death, his brother was not created prince of *Wales*, till ten months were elapſed, that they might be certain that the princeſs was not with child, before they conferred that honor upon him. She herſelf never ſaid any thing then to the contrary; and in the petition offered

to

to the pope in her name, as repeated in his bull, it is ſaid, that the marriage was perhaps conſummated: Nay farther, in the pope's brief, it is plainly confeſſed, that the marriage was fully conſummated.

In the year 1530, doctor *Cranmer* was ſent by the king to diſpute on this ſubject at *Paris*, *Rome*, and in other foreign parts. At *Rome* he delivered his book to the pope, and offered to juſtify it in a public diſputation: But after ſundry promiſes and appointments, none appeared to oppoſe him publicly; and in more private conferences he forced them to confeſs, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope conſtituted him pœnitentiary general of *England*, and diſmiſſed him. In *Germany*, he gave full ſatisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary perſuaſion; and prevailed on the famous *Oſiander*, to declare the king's marriage unlawful, in his treatiſe of inceſtuous marriages, and to draw up a form of direction, how the king's proceſs ſhould be managed; which was ſent over to *England*. Before he left *Germany*, he was married to *Oſiander*'s niece; whom, when he returned from his embaſſy, he did not take over with him, but ſent for her privately in 1534.

In *Auguſt*, 1532, archbiſhop *Warham* departed this life; and the king, thinking Dr. *Cranmer* the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed him in the ſee of *Canterbury*, wrote to him to haſten home, concealing the reaſon: But *Cranmer* gueſſing at it, and deſirous to decline the ſtation, moved ſlowly on; in hopes that the ſee might be filled, before his arrival. But all this backwardneſs, and the excuſes which his great modeſty and humility prompted him to make, when after his return the king opened his reſolution to him, ſerved only to raiſe the king's opinion of his merit; ſo that at laſt he found himſelf obliged to ſubmit, and undertake the weighty charge. 'This declining of preferment (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) being a 'thing of which the clergy of that age were ſo little 'guilty, diſcovered, that he had maxims very far different from moſt church-men.'

The pope, notwithſtanding *Cranmer* was a man very unacceptable to *Rome*, diſpatched eleven bulls to complete his character. By the firſt, which is directed to the king, he is, on his nomination, promoted to the ſee of *Canterbury*; by the ſecond, directed to himſelf, notice is given him of this promotion; the third abſolves him from all cenſures; the fourth was ſent to the ſuffragans; the fifth to the dean and chapter; the ſixth to the clergy of *Canterbury*; the ſeventh to all the laity; the eighth

to

to all that held lands of the ſee, requiring them to acknowledge him as archbiſhop; by the ninth his conſecration is ordered, upon taking the oath in the pontifical; by the tenth the pall was ſent him; and by the eleventh, the archbiſhop of *York*, and biſhop of *London*, were ordered to put it on. Theſe bulls, the archbiſhop according to cuſtom received; but immediately ſurrendered them to the king, becauſe he would not acknowledge the pope's power of conferring eccleſiaſtical dignities in *England*, which he eſteemed the king's ſole right.

He was conſecrated on *March* 30, 1533, by *John Longland*, biſhop of *Lincoln*, *John Voicy*, biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Henry Standiſh*, biſhop of St. *Aſaph*: And becauſe in the oath of fidelity to the pope, which he was obliged to take before his conſecration, there were ſome things ſeemingly inconſiſtent with his allegiance to the king; he made a public proteſtation, that he intended not to take the oath in any other ſenſe than that which was reconcilable to the laws of God, the king's juſt prerogative, and the ſtatutes of this kingdom; ſo as not to bind himſelf thereby, to act contrary to any of theſe. This proteſtation he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the pope, at his receiving the pall; and both times deſired the protonotary to make a public inſtrument of his proteſtation, and the perſons preſent to ſign it.

The firſt ſervice the archbiſhop did for the king, was pronouncing the ſentence of his divorce from queen *Catharine*, which was done *May* 23. *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Winchester*, and the biſhops of *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, being in commiſſion with him. The queen, after three citations, neither appearing in perſon, nor by proxy, was declared contumax; the depoſitions, relating to the conſummation of the marriage with prince *Arthur*, were read, together with the concluſions of the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the opinions of the moſt noted canoniſts and divines in favor of the divorce: And the archbiſhop, with the unanimous conſent of the reſt of the commiſſioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen *Catharine* null, and of no force, from the beginning; and declared them ſeparated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleaſed. In this affair the archbiſhop proceeded, only upon what had been already concluded by the univerſities, convocations, &c. and did no more than put their deciſions into a form of law. On the twenty-eighth of *May* he held another court at *Lambeth*, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with *Anne Boleyn*.

The

The pope, alarmed at theſe proceedings, by a public inſtrument, declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the archbiſhop, unleſs he would revoke all that he had done: Whereupon the archbiſhop appealed from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and ſent the appeal under his ſeal to *Bonner*, deſiring him and *Gardiner* to acquaint the pope with it, in ſuch a manner, as they thought moſt expedient.

On the ſeventh of *September*, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized the *Wedneſday* following, and named *Elizabeth*; archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſtanding godfather.

When the ſupremacy came under debate, and the uſurped power of the biſhop of *Rome* was called in queſtion, the archbiſhop anſwered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with ſuch ſtrength and perſpicuity, and ſo ſolidly confuted its advocates from the word of God, and the univerſal conſent of the primitive church; that the foreign power was, without ſcruple, aboliſhed by full conſent in parliament and convocation. The deſtruction of this uſurped juriſdiction *Cranmer* had prayed for many years, as himſelf declared in a ſermon at *Canterbury*; becauſe it was the occaſion of many things being done contrary to the honor of God, and the good of this realm; and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. This he now ſaw happily effected; and ſoon after, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiſcopal titles, inſtead of *Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatus*, ſtyling himſelf *Metropolitanus*.

The king, whoſe ſupremacy was now almoſt as univerſally acknowledged, as the pope's had been before, looked on the monaſtries with a jealous eye; theſe he thought were by their privileges of exemption engaged to the ſee of *Rome*, and would prove a body of reſerve for the pope, always ready to appear in the quarrel, and to ſupport his claim. This, it is probable, was the chief motive which inclined the king to think of diſſolving them: And *Cranmer*, being conſulted on this head, approved of the reſolution. He ſaw how inconſiſtent thoſe foundations were with the Reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and propoſed, that, out of the revenues of the monaſtries, the king ſhould found more biſhoprics; that the dioceſes being reduced into leſs compaſs, the biſhops might the better diſcharge their duty according to ſcripture and private practice. He hoped alſo, that from theſe ruins there would be new foundations erected in every

every cathedral, to be nurſeries of learning, under the inſpection of the biſhop, for the uſe and benefit of the whole dioceſe. But theſe noble deſigns were unhappily defeated, by the ſiniſter arts of ſome avaricious courtiers, who, without fear of the divine vengeance, or regard to the good of the public, ſtudied only how ſacrilegiouſly to raiſe their own fortunes out of the church's ſpoils.

When queen *Anne Boleyn* was ſent to the *Tower*, on a ſudden jealouſy of the king, the archbiſhop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmoſt endeavor to aſſiſt her in her diſtreſs. He wrote a conſolatory letter to the king, in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and reſignation to Providence, he put him in mind of the great obligations he had received from the queen, and endeavored to diſpoſe the king to clemency and a good humor. Finally, he moſt humbly implored him, that, however unfortunate the iſſue of this affair might prove, he would ſtill continue his love to the goſpel; leſt it ſhould be thought, that it was for her ſake only, that he had favored it. But neither this letter of the archbiſhop, nor another very moving one wrote with her own hand, made the leaſt impreſſion upon the king: For her ruin was decreed, and (after *Cranmer* had declared her marriage with the king null and void, upon her confeſſion of a præ-contract with the earl of *Northumberland*) ſhe was tried in the *Tower*, and executed on the nineteenth of *May*, 1536.

In 1537, the archbiſhop, with the joint authority of the biſhops, ſet forth the famous book, entitled, "The "Erudition of a Chriſtian-man." This book was compoſed in convocation; and drawn up for a direction to the biſhops and clergy. It contains an explication of the creed, the Lord's-prayer, the ave-maria, juſtification, and purgatory. This was a great ſtep towards the future Reformation; for in this book the univerſal paſtorſhip of the biſhop of *Rome* is declared to have no foundation in the word of God; the church of *England* is aſſerted to be as truly and properly a catholic and apoſtolic church, as that of *Rome*, or any other church where the apoſtles perſonally reſided; and all churches are affirmed to be equal in power and dignity, built upon the ſame foundation, governed by the ſame Spirit, and on as good grounds expecting the ſame glorious immortality.——In the article of the ſacrament of the altar, though the corporal preſence is aſſerted, yet it is only ſaid, that the ſacrament is to be uſed with "all due reverence and honor," without any mention of the adoration of the elements.

The ſuperſtitious notions of the people concerning the ceremonies and injunctions of the church, in thinking them of ſtricter obligation than moral duties, are cenſured. In the expoſition of the ſecond commandment, bowing down to, or worſhipping of images, is expreſly condemned. The invocation of ſaints is reſtrained to begging their interceſſion for us; and health of body and mind, remiſſion of ſin, grace and future happineſs, are ſaid to be above the diſpoſal of created beings; and bleſſings, for the obtaining which, we muſt apply only to God Almighty. The clergy are forbid to pretend to temporal juriſdiction, independent on the civil magiſtrate; paſſive obedience is aſſerted without reſtriction; and all reſiſtance, on what pretence ſoever, condemned. The people are cautioned againſt miſtaking the *ave-maria* for a prayer, which is only an hymn of praiſe. Juſtification is attributed to the merits and ſatisfaction of *Jeſus Chriſt* ALONE, excluſive of the merit of good works: And the pope's pardon, maſſes at *Scala Cœli*, or before any celebrated images, are declared unprofitable to deliver ſouls out of the middle ſtate of puniſhment; concerning the nature and degrees of which it is affirmed, that we have no certainty from revelation.—All this was doing ſomething towards a more perfect Reformation, when Providence ſhould afford both time and opportunity.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, from the day of his promotion to the ſee of *Canterbury*, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the ſcriptures tranſlated into *Engliſh*: He had often ſolicited his majeſty about it, and, at length, obtained a grant that they might be tranſlated and printed. For want of good paper in *England*, the copy was ſent to *Paris*; and by *Bonner*'s means a licence was procured for printing it there. As ſoon as ſome of the copies came to the archbiſhop's hands, he ſent one to the lord *Cromwell*, deſiring him to preſent it in his name to the king, importuning him to intercede with his majeſty, that by his authority all his ſubjects might have the liberty of uſing it without conſtraint; which lord *Cromwell* accordingly did, and the king readily aſſented. Injunctions were forthwith publiſhed, requiring an *Engliſh* bible of the largeſt ſize to be procured for the uſe of every pariſh church, at the expence of the miniſter and church-wardens; and prohibited all diſcouraging the people from reading or hearing the ſcriptures. The book was received with inexpreſſible joy; every one, that was able, purchaſed the ſame; and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Some perſons in years learned to read on purpoſe

that

that they might peruſe it; and even little children crouded with eagerneſs to hear it.

The archbiſhop was not yet convinced of the falſeneſs of the abſurd doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, but continued a ſtiff maintainer of the corporal preſence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the proſecution of *Lambert*, who was burnt, *November* the 20th, 1538, for denying tranſubſtantiation.

In 1539, the archbiſhop and the other biſhops, who favored a Reformation, fell under the king's diſpleaſure; becauſe they could not be perſuaded, to give their aſſent in parliament, that the king ſhould have all the revenues of the monaſtries which were ſuppreſſed, to his own ſole uſe. They had been prevailed upon to conſent, that he ſhould have all the lands which his anceſtors gave to any of them; but the reſidue they would have beſtowed on hoſpitals, ſchools, and other pious and charitable foundations. In particular, *Cranmer* had projected, that a proviſion ſhould be made, out of this fund, in every cathedral, for readers of divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and ſo to render them, inſtead of ſtalls of lazineſs, ſeminaries of learning. *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the reſt of the popiſh faction, took this opportunity to inſinuate themſelves, by their hypocriſy and flattery, into the king's favor, and to incenſe him againſt the archbiſhop. This is thought to have been the cauſe of the king's zeal, in preſſing the bill containing the ſix bloody articles; by which none were allowed to ſpeak againſt tranſubſtantiation, on pain of being burnt as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in caſe of treaſon: It was alſo thereby made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or thoſe who had vowed celibacy, or to ſpeak againſt private maſſes and auricular confeſſion.

The archbiſhop argued boldly in the houſe againſt the ſix articles, three days together; and that ſo ſtrenuouſly, that though the king was obſtinate in paſſing the act, yet he deſired a copy of his reaſons againſt it; and ſhewed no reſentment towards him for his oppoſition to it. The king would have perſuaded him to withdraw out of the houſe, ſince he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuſe, he told his majeſty, that he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience, to ſtay and ſhew his diſſent. When the bill paſſed, he entered his proteſt againſt it; and ſoon after he ſent his wife away privately to her friends in *Germany*. The king, who loved him for his probity

and courage, ſent the dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the lord *Cromwell*, to acquaint him with the eſteem he had for him, and to aſſure him of his favor, notwithſtanding the paſſing of the act. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, upon this matter, 'that *Cranmer* put his reaſons againſt the ſix 'articles together, and gave them to his ſecretary to be 'written out in a fair hand for the king's uſe: But the 'ſecretary croſſing the *Thames* with the book in his bo-'ſom, met with ſuch an adventure on the water, as might 'at another time have ſent the author to the fire. There 'was a bear baited near the river, which breaking looſe, 'ran into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which '*Cranmer*'s ſecretary was; and he, being in danger of 'his life, took no care of the book, which falling from 'him floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-'keeper, who put it into the hand of a prieſt that ſtood 'by, to ſee what it might contain. The prieſt preſently 'found it was a confutation of the ſix articles, and ſo 'told the bear-keeper, that the author of it would cer-'tainly be hanged. So when the ſecretary came to aſk 'for it, and ſaid it was the archbiſhop's book; the other, 'being an obſtinate papiſt, refuſed to give it, and reckoned 'that now *Cranmer* would certainly be ruined. But the 'ſecretary acquainted lord *Cromwell* with it, who called 'for the prieſt, and ſeverely chid him for preſuming to 'keep a privy counſellor's book; and ſo he took it out 'of his hands. Thus the archbiſhop was delivered out 'of his danger.'

In 1540, the king iſſued out a commiſſion, to the archbiſhop, and a ſelect number of biſhops, to inſpect into matters of religion, and explain ſome of the chief doctrines of it. The biſhops drew up a ſet of articles favoring the old popiſh ſuperſtitions; and, meeting at *Lambeth*, vehemently urged the archbiſhop, that they might be eſtabliſhed, it being the king's will and pleaſure. But, neither by fear nor flattery, could they prevail upon him to conſent to it; no, though his friend the lord *Cromwell* lay then in the *Tower*, and himſelf was ſuppoſed to loſe ground daily more and more in the king's affections. He went himſelf to the king, and expoſtulated with him, and ſo wrought upon him, that he joined with the archbiſhop againſt the reſt of the commiſſioners; and the book of articles was drawn up and paſſed according to *Cranmer*'s judgement.

In this year the largeſt volume of the *Engliſh* bible was publiſhed, with an excellent preface of the archbiſhop's prefixed to it; and the king required all pariſhes to pro-

vide

vide one of them by the next *All-hallowtide*, under the penalty of forty ſhillings a month, till they had got one. The people were alſo charged not to diſpute about it, nor to diſturb divine ſervice by reading it during the maſs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their inſtruction. Six of theſe were ſet up in ſeveral parts of St. *Paul*'s; but *Bonner*, afraid of the effect, poſted up near them an admonition, 'that none ſhould read them with vain glory and 'corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when 'they read them.' But ſuch was the eager deſire of the people after this *new-old* treaſure (if I might ſo ſpeak) that great numbers gathered about thoſe who read; and ſuch as had good voices uſed to read them aloud, in ſucceſſion, almoſt all day long. Many ſent their children to ſchool, and when they had learned to read, they carried them to church to read the bible. In ſhort, the eyes of the people being opened, they began boldly to ſpeak againſt thoſe doctrines of the church of *Rome*, which either contradicted or could not be found in the bible; inſomuch that *Bonner* ſet up a new advertiſement, threatening to take away the bibles, if this uſe were made of them. And upon the complaints he and his brethren preſented upon this ſubject, the free uſe of the ſcriptures was afterwards much reſtrained.

After the fall of the lord *Cromwell*, archbiſhop *Cranmer*, obſerving the reſtleſs ſpirit of his adverſaries, and how they lay upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble; thought it prudent to retire for a ſeaſon, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his ſtation would permit him. Notwithſtanding which, his implacable enemy, biſhop *Gardiner*, was daily contriving his ruin; and he having procured one Sir *John Goſtwicke* to accuſe the archbiſhop in parliament, of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nurſery of hereſy and ſedition; divers lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbiſhop to the *Tower*, till enquiry ſhould be made into the truth of this charge.

The king, who perceived that there was more malice than truth in theſe clamors againſt *Cranmer*, one evening, under pretence of diverting himſelf on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to *Lambeth* ſide. The archbiſhop's ſervants acquainting their lord of his majeſty's being ſo near, the archbiſhop came to the water-ſide, to pay his reſpects to the king, and to invite him into his palace. The king commanded the archbiſhop to come into the barge, and made him ſit down cloſe by him; having ſo done, the king began to complain to him, of the nation's

being over-run with hereſy and new notions of divinity, which he had reaſon to fear might be of dangerous conſequence, and that the faction might in time break out into a civil war, and be the cauſe of much blood-ſhed, and the total ruin of many of his honeſt and peaceable ſubjects. To prevent which, his majeſty told him, he was reſolved to ſeek after the grand incendiary, and to take him off by ſome exemplary puniſhment: And then proceeded to aſk the archbiſhop, what his opinion was of ſuch a reſolution. Though *Cranmer* ſoon ſmelt the meaning of that queſtion, yet he freely, and without the leaſt appearance of concern, replied; that his majeſty's reſolution was greatly to be commended; and that not only the prime incendiary, but alſo the reſt of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others: But then he cautioned the king, not to charge thoſe with hereſy, who made the divinely-inſpired ſcriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear teſtimonies from the word of God. Upon this, the king came cloſer, and plainly told him, he had been informed by many, that he was the grand hereſiarch, who encouraged all this heterodoxy, and that his authority had occaſioned the ſix articles to be conteſted ſo publicly in his province. The archbiſhop modeſtly replied, that he could not acknowledge himſelf to be of the ſame opinion, in reſpect of thoſe articles, as he had declared himſelf of, when the bill was paſſing; but that notwithſtanding he was not conſcious to himſelf, of having offended againſt the act. Then the king, putting on an air of pleaſantry, aſked him, whether his bed-chamber would ſtand the teſt of thoſe articles; the archbiſhop gravely and ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he was married in *Germany* during his embaſſy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the ſee of *Canterbury*; but, at the ſame time, aſſured the king, that on the paſſing that act, he had parted with his wife, and ſent her abroad to her friends. His anſwering thus, without evaſion or reſerve, ſo pleaſed the king, that he now pulled off the maſk, and aſſured him of his favor; and then freely told him of the information preferred againſt him, and who they were that pretended to make it good. The archbiſhop ſaid, that he was not afraid of the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny; and therefore was willing to ſubmit himſelf to a legal trial. The king aſſured him, he would put the cauſe into his own hands, and truſt him entirely with the management of it. This, the archbiſhop remonſtrated, would be cenſured as partiality, and the king's juſtice called in queſtion: But his majeſty had ſo ſtrong

an

an opinion of *Cranmer*'s integrity, that he was reſolved to leave it to his conduct; and, having farther aſſured him of the entire confidence he repoſed in him, diſmiſſed him.

The archbiſhop immediately ſent down his vicar-general, and principal regiſter, to *Canterbury*, to make a thorough enquiry into the affair, and trace the progreſs of this plot againſt him. In the mean time his adverſaries importunately preſſed the king to ſend him to priſon, and oblige him to anſwer to the charge of hereſy. At length his majeſty reſigned ſo far to their ſolicitations, as to conſent, that if the archbiſhop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime againſt either church or ſtate, he ſhould be ſent to priſon: In this the king acted the politician, intending, by thus ſeemingly giving countenance to the proſecution, to diſcover who were *Cranmer*'s chief adverſaries, and what was the length of their deſign againſt him. At midnight he ſent a gentleman of his privy-chamber to *Lambeth*, to fetch the archbiſhop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to priſon, as a favorer of hereſy; and how far he had complied. The archbiſhop thanked his majeſty for this timely notice, and declared himſelf willing to go to priſon, and ſtand a trial; for being conſcious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the beſt way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreaſonable and groundleſs ſuſpicions.

The king, admiring his ſimplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely ſo much on his innocence; for if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to priſon, there would be villains enough to ſwear any thing againſt him; but while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be ſo eaſy to ſuborn witneſſes againſt him. 'And therefore, continued he, ſince your own unguarded 'ſimplicity makes you leſs cautious than you ought to 'be, I will ſuggeſt to you the means of your preſerva-'tion. To-morrow you will be ſent for to the privy-'council, and ordered to priſon; upon this you are to 'requeſt, that ſince you have the honor to be one of the 'board, you may be admitted unto the council, and the 'informers againſt you brought face to face; and then, 'if you cannot clear yourſelf, you are willing to go to 'priſon: If this reaſonable requeſt is denied you, appeal 'to me, and give them this ſign, that you have my 'authority for ſo doing.' Then the king took a ring of great value off his finger, gave it to the archbiſhop, and diſmiſſed him.

The

The next morning, the archbiſhop was ſummoned to the privy-council; and, when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr. *Butts*, one of the king's phyſicians, heard of this, he came to the archbiſhop, who was waiting in the lobby amongſt the footmen, to ſhew his reſpect, and to protect him from inſults. The king ſoon after ſending for the doctor, he acquainted his majeſty with the ſhameful indignity put upon the archbiſhop. The king, incenſed, that the PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND ſhould be uſed in ſo contumelious a manner, immediately ſent to command them to admit the archbiſhop into the council-chamber. At his entrance he was ſaluted with an heavy accuſation, of having infected the whole realm with hereſy; and commanded to the *Tower*, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbiſhop deſired to ſee the informers againſt him, and to have the liberty of defending himſelf before the council, and not to be ſent to priſon on bare ſuſpicion. But when this was abſolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a ſtop to their proceedings. When they came before the king, he ſeverely reprimanded them, expatiated on his obligations to *Cranmer* for his fidelity and integrity, and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to expreſs it, by their love and kindneſs to the archbiſhop. *Cranmer*, having eſcaped the ſnare, never ſhewed the leaſt reſentment for the injuries done him; and, from this time forwards, had ſo great a ſhare in the king's favor, that nothing farther was attempted againſt him.

Theſe troubles of the good archbiſhop are ſomewhat differently related by doctor *Burnet* and Mr. *Strype*; but I rather chuſe to follow archbiſhop *Parker*'s account, who, living in thoſe times, muſt be allowed to be a much better authority in things of this nature, than any who lived at ſo great a diſtance.

The archbiſhop's vicar-general and regiſter, being found negligent and dilatory, the king ſent doctor *Lee* privately to *Canterbury*, to examine into this conſpiracy againſt the archbiſhop, and make his report of what he could diſcover. On a ſtrict enquiry, he found letters from biſhop *Gardiner*'s ſecretary, by which it appeared, that that prelate had been the principal promoter of this proſecution againſt *Cranmer*. When the biſhop of *Wincheſter* perceived, that his deſigns againſt the archbiſhop were detected, fearing the conſequence, he wrote him a very penitent letter, in which

which he acknowledged himſelf to have been guilty of great folly in giving credit to thoſe ſlanderous reports, which were raiſed againſt the archbiſhop, as if he had been a favorer of hereſy and falſe doctrines; declaring, that he was now entirely ſatisfied, that theſe accuſations were wholly falſe and groundleſs; aſking pardon in moſt ſubmiſſive and affectionate terms, for his great raſhneſs and undutifulneſs, and promiſing all future obedience and fidelity to the archbiſhop, whom he ſtiled his good and gentle father. On the reception of this letter, the archbiſhop, laying aſide all reſentment againſt him, reſolved to forget what was paſt; and ſaid, ſince *Gardiner* called him father, he would prove a father to him indeed: And when the king would have laid the biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s letter before the houſe of lords, *Cranmer* prevailed with him, not to give the biſhop any trouble about it, but to let the matter drop.

The ſame lenity he ſhewed towards doctor *Thornton*, the ſuffragan of *Dover*, and doctor *Barbar*; who though entertained in his family, and entruſted with his ſecrets, and indebted to him for many favors, had ungratefully conſpired, with *Gardiner*, to take away his life. When he firſt diſcovered their treachery, he took them aſide into his ſtudy, and telling them that he had been baſely and falſly abuſed by ſome, in whom he had always repoſed the greateſt confidence, deſired them to adviſe him, how he ſhould behave himſelf towards them. They, not ſuſpecting to be concerned in the queſtion, replied, that ſuch vile abandoned villains ought to be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigor; nay, deſerved to die without mercy. At this the archbiſhop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man truſt!" and then pulling out of his boſom the letters, by which he had diſcovered their treachery, aſked them if they knew thoſe papers. When they ſaw their own letters produced againſt them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion, and, falling down on their knees, humbly ſued for forgiveneſs. The archbiſhop told them, that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they muſt not expect him ever to truſt them for the future.

And now I am upon this ſubject of the archbiſhop's readineſs to forgive and forget injuries, I cannot but take notice of a pleaſant ſtory which happened ſome time before this: The archbiſhop's firſt wife, whom he married at *Cambridge*, lived at the *Dolphin-inn*; and he often reſorting thither on that account, the popiſh party had raiſed a ſtory, that he was hoſtler of that inn, and never had the

benefit of a learned education. This idle ſtory a *Yorkſhire* prieſt had with great confidence aſſerted, in an ale-houſe, which he uſed to frequent; railing at the archbiſhop, and ſaying, that he had no more learning than a gooſe. Some of the pariſh, who had a reſpect for *Cranmer*'s character, informed the lord *Cromwell* of this, who immediately ſent for the prieſt, and committed him to the *Fleet* priſon. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he ſent a relation of his to the archbiſhop, to beg his pardon, and humbly ſue to him for a diſcharge. The archbiſhop inſtantly ſent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, aſked the prieſt whether he knew him; to which he anſwered, no. The archbiſhop expoſtulated with him, why he ſhould then make ſo free with his character. The prieſt excuſed himſelf by his being in drink: But this, *Cranmer* told him was a double fault; and then let him know, that if he had a mind to try what a ſcholar he was, he ſhould have liberty to oppoſe him in whatever ſcience he pleaſed. The prieſt humbly aſked his pardon, and confeſſed himſelf to be very ignorant, and to underſtand nothing but his mother tongue. "No doubt then, (ſaid *Cranmer*) you are "well verſed in the *Engliſh* bible, and can anſwer any "queſtions out of that: Pray tell me who was *David*'s "father?" The prieſt ſtood ſtill a while to conſider; but at laſt told the archbiſhop, he could not recollect his name. "Tell me then (ſays *Cranmer*) who was *Solomon*'s father?" The poor prieſt replied, that he had no ſkill in genealogies, and could not tell. Then the archbiſhop adviſed him to frequent alehouſes leſs, and his ſtudy more; and admoniſhed him, not to accuſe others for want of learning, till he was maſter of ſome himſelf; diſcharged him out of cuſtody, and ſent him home to his cure.

Thus much may ſuffice concerning the clemency and charitable forgiving temper of the archbiſhop. He was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the popiſh faction to make freſh attempts againſt him. The king, obſerving their implacable hatred towards him, and the perils to which he was expoſed, on account of the zeal for the Reformation of thoſe abuſes under which the church groaned, changed his coat of arms, from three cranes, to three pelicans; thereby intimating to him, that he muſt, like the pelican, ſhed his blood for his ſpiritual children's benefit, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call him thereto.

And now the archbiſhop, finding the juncture ſomewhat favorable, argued againſt the ſanguinary act of the ſix articles, in the parliament houſe, and preſſed for a mitigation

of

of its ſeverity; and made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, and the temporal lords, by his ſtrong and perſuaſive reaſoning, that they agreed to moderate the rigour of the ſtatute.

Soon after, the king prepared for an expedition againſt *France*, and ordering a litany to be ſaid for a bleſſing on his arms, the archbiſhop prevailed with him to let it be ſet forth in *Engliſh*; the ſervice in an unknown tongue making the people negligent in coming to church. This, with the prohibition of ſome ſuperſtitious and unwarrantable cuſtoms, touching vigils and the worſhip of the croſs, was all the progreſs the Reformation made, during the reign of king *Henry*: For the intended Reformation of the canon law, was, by the craft of biſhop *Gardiner*, ſuppreſſed for reaſons of ſtate; and the king, towards the latter end of his life, ſeemed to have a ſtrong byaſs towards the popiſh ſuperſtitions, and to frown on all attempts of a Reformation.

On the 28th of *January*, 1546, king *Henry* departed this life; and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Edward*, who was godſon to the archbiſhop, and had been inſtructed by men who favored the Reformation. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was one of thoſe, whom the late king had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the adminiſtration of the government into their hands, till king *Edward* was eighteen years old: And when the earl of *Hertford* was afterwards choſen protector, his power was limited, ſo as not to be able to do any thing, without the advice and conſent of all the other executors.

The biſhops of the popiſh party (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) took ſtrange methods to inſinuate themſelves into the late king's confidence; for they took out commiſſions, by which they acknowledged, that 'all juriſdiction, civil and ecclesiaſtical, flowed from the king, and that they exerciſed 'it only at the king's courteſy, and would reſign it at his 'command.' That archbiſhop *Cranmer* adopted this error, is plain, not only from his anſwers to ſome queſtions relating to the government of the church, firſt publiſhed by doctor *Stillingfleet*, in his *Irenicum*, but from the commiſſion, which he now took out from the new king; whom he petitioned for a revival of his juriſdiction; and that as he had exerciſed the functions of an archbiſhop during the former reigns, ſo that authority determining with the late king's life, his preſent majeſty would truſt him with the ſame juriſdiction. On this error of the archbiſhop, the modern papiſts make tragical outcries, forgetting, that it was the common miſtake of thoſe times; and that *Bonner* not only took out the ſame commiſſion now, but had before taken out that other in the reign of king *Henry*, in which

(as we have obſerved) the king was declared the fountain of all authority, civil and eccleſiaſtical; and thoſe, who formerly exerciſed eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, are ſaid to have done it precariouſly, and at the courteſy of the king, and that it was lawful for him to revoke it at pleaſure: And therefore, ſince the lord *Cromwell*, the king's vicar-general in eccleſiaſtical affairs, was ſo far employed in matters of ſtate, as not to be at leiſure to diſcharge his function every where, the king gave *Bonner* authority to exerciſe epiſcopal juriſdiction in the dioceſe of *London*.

This ſeems to have been the precedent, after which the new commiſſions were now formed. Mr. *Strype*, indeed, confidently affirms the archbiſhop to have had a hand in drawing them up; but the very words, which he quotes to prove it, are manifeſtly taken from the preamble to *Bonner*'s commiſſion. But from theſe unprimitive and uncatholic notions, our archbiſhop was happily recovered by that bright luminary of our reformed church, biſhop *Ridley*.

The late king, who died in the *Roman* communion, (though his imperfections are ſo freely charged on the Reformation by the papiſts) had, in his will, left ſix hundred pounds per annum, for maſſes for his ſoul, with proviſion for four ſolemn obits every year; but, by the influence of the archbiſhop, this ſuperſtitious part of his will, notwithſtanding his ſtrict and ſolemn charge for its execution, was neglected.

On the 20th of *February*, the coronation of king *Edward* was ſolemnized at *Weſtminſter Abbey*. The ceremony was performed by archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who made an excellent ſpeech to the king; in which, after a cenſure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the ſolemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whoſe power is derived immediately from God; he goes on to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good *Joſias*, to regulate the worſhip of God, to ſuppreſs idolatry, reward virtue, execute juſtice, relieve the poor, repreſs violence, and puniſh the evil doer. It may not be improper, to tranſcribe what he ſays concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words; to rectify ſome prevailing notions amongſt us. "The ſolemn rites of corona-
"tion (ſays he) have their ends and utility, yet neither
"direct force or neceſſity; they be good admonitions to
"put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increaſe-
"ment of their dignity: For they be God's anointed, not
"in reſpect of the oil, which the biſhop uſeth, but in
"conſideration of their power which is ordained, of the
"ſword

" ſword which is authorized, of their perſons which are " elected of God; and indued with the gifts of his Spirit, " for the better ruling and guiding of the people. The " oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the " king is yet a perfect monarch notwithſtanding, and " God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled." Then follows his account of the king's duty; after which he goes on, " Being bound by my function, to lay theſe " things before your royal highneſs; yet I openly declare, " before the living God, and before the nobles of the land, " that I have no commiſſion to denounce your majeſty " deprived, if your highneſs miſs in part, or in whole, of " theſe performances."

This ſpeech had ſo good an effect on the young king, that a royal viſitation was reſolved on, to rectify the diſorders of the church, and reform religion. The viſitors had ſix circuits aſſigned them; and every diviſion had a preacher, whoſe buſineſs it was, to bring off the people from ſuperſtition, and diſpoſe them for the intended alterations. And to make the impreſſions of their doctrine more laſting, the archbiſhop thought it highly expedient to have ſome homilies compoſed; which ſhould, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and ſuperſtitions. On this head he conſulted the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and deſired his concurrence; but to no purpoſe: For *Gardiner*, forgetting his large profeſſions of all future obedience to the archbiſhop, was returned with the dog to his vomit, and wrote to the protector, to put a ſtop to the Reformation in its birth. When *Cranmer* perceived that *Gardiner* was obſtinate, he went on without him, and ſet forth the firſt book of homilies, in which himſelf had the chief hand. Soon after, *Eraſmus*'s paraphraſe on the New Teſtament was tranſlated, and placed in every church, for the inſtruction of the people.

On *November* 5, 1547, a convocation was held at St. *Paul*'s, which the archbiſhop opened with a ſpeech; in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themſelves to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and proceeding according to that rule, in the throwing off the corrupt innovations of popery. But the terror of the ſix articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the archbiſhop with their fears; who, reporting it to the council, prevailed to have that act repealed. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be adminiſtred in both kinds, and the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the clergy affirmed by a great majority.

In

In the latter end of *January*, the archbiſhop wrote to *Bonner*, to forbid, throughout his dioceſe, the ridiculous proceſſions, which were uſual in the popiſh times, on *Candlemas-Day*, *Aſh-Wedneſday* and *Palm-Sunday*; and to cauſe notice thereof to be given to the other neighboring biſhops, that they might do the ſame. He was alſo one of the committee appointed to inſpect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to ſcripture and the pureſt antiquity: And by them a new office for the holy communion was drawn up, and ſet forth by authority.

This year was alſo publiſhed the archbiſhop's catechiſm, entitled, "A ſhort inſtruction in Chriſtian religion, for "the ſingular profit of children and young people," and a *Latin* treatiſe of his, againſt unwritten verities. From this catechiſm, it is plain, that he had now recovered himſelf from thoſe extravagant notions of the regal ſupremacy, which he had once run into; for here he ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the divine commiſſion of biſhops and prieſts, inlarges on the efficacy of their abſolution and ſpiritual cenſures, and earneſtly wiſhes for the reſtoring the primitive penitentiary diſcipline.

In 1550, the archbiſhop publiſhed his "Defence of "the true and catholic doctrine of the ſacrament of the "body and blood of our Saviour *Chriſt*." He had now, by the advice and aſſiſtance of biſhop *Ridley*, overcome thoſe ſtrong prejudices he had ſo long labored under, in favor of the corporal preſence; and in this treatiſe, from ſcripture and reaſon, excellently confuted it. The popiſh party were alarmed at the publication of it; and ſoon after two anſwers to it were publiſhed, the one written by Dr. *Smith*, the other by *Gardiner*. The archbiſhop defended his book againſt them both; and was allowed, by all impartial readers, vaſtly to have the ſuperiority in the argument. The archbiſhop's book was afterwards tranſlated into *Latin*, by ſir *John Cheke*, and was highly eſteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical antiquity therein diſcovered.

The next material occurrence relating to the archbiſhop, was the publication of the forty-two articles of religion; which, with the aſſiſtance of biſhop *Ridley*, he drew up for preſerving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church. They were alſo reviſed by ſeveral other biſhops and learned divines; and, after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by *Cranmer*. Theſe articles were agreed to in convocation in 1552, and in 1553 were publiſhed by royal authority, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

The

The archbiſhop had formed a deſign, in the reign of the late king *Henry*, to review and purge the old canon law from its popiſh corruptions, and had made ſome progreſs in the work: But by the ſecret artifices of *Gardiner* and others, that king was prevailed upon not to countenance or encourage it. In this reign he reſumed his deſign, and procured a commiſſion from the king, for himſelf, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws; and to compile ſuch a body of laws as they thought moſt expedient to be practiſed in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and moſt conducive to order and good diſcipline. The archbiſhop proſecuted this noble undertaking with great vigor, and had the principal hand in it: But when a correct and complete draught of it was finiſhed and prepared for the royal aſſent, the unhappy death of the good young king blaſted this great deſign, and prevented its confirmation. The book was publiſhed by archbiſhop *Parker*, in the year 1571, entitled, *Reformatio legum eccleſiaſticarum.*

King *Edward* was now far gone in a conſumption, not without ſome ſtrong ſuſpicions of being brought into that condition by ſlow poiſon; and, finding himſelf decay apace, began to think of ſettling the ſucceſſion. He had been perſuaded by the artifices of the duke of *Northumberland*, to exclude his ſiſters, and to bequeath the crown to the lady *Jane Grey*, who was married to *Northumberland*'s ſon. This, the duke pretended, was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the reformed religion, which would be in great danger from the ſucceſſion of the princeſs *Mary*. —But, in fact, he had nothing at heart but the aggrandizing his own family, and intailing the crown on his poſterity; for he was even then a ſecret papiſt, as he afterwards confeſſed at his execution. The archbiſhop did his utmoſt to oppoſe this alteration of the ſucceſſion: He argued againſt it with the king, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by ſuch unrighteous methods; that it was one of the groſs errors of the papiſts, to juſtify the excluding or depoſing princes from their juſt rights, on account of religion; and, let the conſequence be what it would, juſtice ought to take place, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a bleſſing to thoſe, who endeavored to preſerve themſelves from any imminent danger by unlawful means. But his majeſty, being over-perſuaded by *Northumberland*'s agents, was not to be moved from his reſolution: The will was made, and ſubſcribed by the council and the judges. The archbiſhop

biſhop was ſent for, laſt of all, and required to ſubſcribe: But he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having ſworn to the entail of the crown on the two princeſſes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. To this the king replied, that the judges, who beſt knew the conſtitution, ſhould be moſt regarded in this point; and they had informed him, that, notwithſtanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the lady *Jane*. The archbiſhop deſired to diſcourſe with them himſelf about this matter; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully ſubſcribe the king's will, he was, after many perſuaſions, prevailed upon to reſign his own private ſcruples to their authority, and at laſt, not without great reluctancy, he ſet his hand to it.

On the ſixth of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleaſed Almighty God to take to himſelf this pious and good prince, king *Edward*; and the archbiſhop, having ſubſcribed to the king's will, thought himſelf obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the lady *Jane*. But her ſhort-lived power ſoon expired, and queen *Mary*'s title was univerſally acknowledged, and ſubmitted to.

Not long after her acceſſion, a falſe report was raiſed; that archbiſhop *Cranmer*, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to reſtore the *Latin* ſervice, and that he had already ſaid maſs in his cathedral church of *Canterbury*. To vindicate himſelf from this vile and baſe aſperſion, the archbiſhop publiſhed a declaration; in which he not only cleared himſelf from that unjuſt imputation, but offered publicly to defend the *Engliſh* liturgy, and prove it conſonant to ſcripture, and the pureſt antiquity; and challenged his enemies to a diſputation. This declaration ſoon fell into the hands of the council, who ſent a copy of it to the queen's commiſſioner's; and they immediately ſent for the archbiſhop, and queſtioned him about it. *Cranmer* acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intent, ſtolen abroad in ſo imperfect a condition: For his deſign was to review and correct it, and then, after he had put his ſeal to it, to fix it up at St. *Paul*'s, and on all the church-doors in *London*. This bold and extraordinary anſwer ſo irritated them, that they ſent him, within a week, to the *Tower*, there to be confined, till the queen's pleaſure concerning him was known. Some of his friends, who foreſaw this ſtorm, had adviſed him to conſult his ſafety, by retiring beyond ſea; but he thought it would reflect a great diſhonor on the cauſe he had eſpouſed, if he ſhould deſert his ſtation at ſuch a time as this; and choſe rather

to

to hazard his life, than give ſuch juſt cauſe of ſcandal and offence. The ſubſtance of this remarkable paper was as follows: That he found the devil was, more than ordinary, buſy in defaming the ſervants of God; and that whereas the corruptions of the maſs had been caſt out, and that the Lord's Supper was again ſet up, according to its firſt inſtitution; the devil now, to promote the maſs, which was his invention, ſet his inſtruments on work, who gave it out, that it was now ſaid in *Canterbury* by the archbiſhop's order: Therefore he proteſted, that it was falſe, and that a diſſembling monk (meaning *Thornton*, ſuffragan biſhop of *Dover*) had done it without his knowledge. He alſo offered, that he and *Peter Martyr*, with four or five more whom he would name, were ready to prove the errors of the maſs, and to defend the doctrine and ſervice ſet forth by the late king, as moſt conformable to the word of God, and to the practice of the antient church for many ages.

In the middle of *November*, archbiſhop *Cranmer* was attainted by the parliament, (which in thoſe times yielded to any thing, and to every thing) and adjudged guilty of high treaſon, at *Guildhall*. His ſee was hereupon declared void: And on the tenth of *December* the dean and chapter of *Canterbury* gave commiſſions to ſeveral perſons to exerciſe archiepiſcopal juriſdiction in their name, and by their authority. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the queen; in the moſt humble manner acknowledging his fault, in conſenting to ſign the king's will; acquainting her, what preſſing inſtances he made to the king againſt it; and excuſing his fault, by being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, underſtood the conſtitution better than he did himſelf. The queen had pardoned ſo many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the lady *Jane*'s uſurpation, that *Cranmer* could not for ſhame be denied; ſo he was forgiven the treaſon: But, to gratify *Gardiner*'s malice, and her own implacable hatred againſt him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed againſt him for HERESY.

The *Tower* being full of priſoners, archbiſhop *Cranmer*, biſhop *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Bradford*, were all put into one chamber; for which they bleſſed God, and for the opportunity of converſing together, reading and comparing the ſcriptures, confirming themſelves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to conſtancy in profeſſing it, and patience in ſuffering for it.

In *April*, 1544, the archbiſhop, with biſhop *Ridley*, and biſhop *Latimer*, was removed from the *Tower* to *Windſor*, and from thence to *Oxford*, to diſpute with ſome ſelect perſons of both univerſities. At the firſt appearance of the archbiſhop in the public ſchools, three articles were given him to ſubſcribe: In which the corporal preſence, by tranſubſtantiation, was aſſerted, and the maſs affirmed to be a propitiatory ſacrifice, for the ſins of the living and dead. Theſe, he declared freely, he eſteemed groſs untruths; and promiſed to give an anſwer concerning them in writing. Accordingly he drew it up; and when he was brought again to the ſchools to diſpute, he delivered the writing to Dr. *Weſton*, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the diſputation began, and held till two in the afternoon; all which time the archbiſhop conſtantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, againſt a multitude of clamorous and inſolent opponents. And three days after, he was again brought forth to oppoſe Dr. *Harpsfield*, who was to reſpond for his degree in divinity: And here he acquitted himſelf ſo well, clearly ſhewing the groſs abſurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, that *Weſton* himſelf, as great a bigot as he was, could not but diſmiſs him with commendation.

In theſe diſputations, among other ſlanderous reproaches, the archbiſhop was accuſed for corrupting and falſifying a paſſage, which in his book of the ſacrament he had quoted from St. *Hilary:* In anſwer to which, he replied that he had tranſcribed it *verbatim* from the printed book; and that Dr. *Smith*, one of their own divines there preſent, had quoted it word for word alſo. But *Smith* made no reply, being conſcious that it was true. When the diſputation was over, one Mr. *Halcot*, remembering that he had *Smith*'s book, went directly to his chamber in *Univerſity-College*; and comparing it with *Cranmer*'s, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of *Gardiner*'s, called, 'The devil's ſophiſtry,' where the ſame paſſage was cited; and both the *Latin* and *Engliſh* agreed exactly with *Cranmer*'s quotation and tranſlation. Upon this he reſolved to carry the ſaid books to the archbiſhop in priſon, that he might produce them in his own vindication: When he came thither he was ſtopped, and brought before Dr. *Weſton* and his colleagues; who, upon information of his deſign, charged him with treaſon, and abetting *Cranmer* in his hereſy; and committed him to priſon. The next day he was again brought before them; and they threatened to ſend him to biſhop

Gardiner, to be tried for treaſon, unleſs he would ſubſcribe the three articles, concerning which the diſputation had been held. This he then refuſed; but being ſent for again, after the condemnation of *Cranmer*, through fear he conſented to do it; yet not till they had aſſured him, that, if he ſinned by ſo doing, they would take the guilt upon themſelves, and anſwer for it to God. And yet even this ſubſcription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the reſtoring his books, leſt he ſhould ſhew them to their ſhame; nor for his entire diſcharge, the maſter of *Univerſity-College* being commanded to keep a ſtrict watch over him, till *Gardiner*'s pleaſure concerning him was known; and if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of *April*, *Cranmer* was brought to St. *Mary*'s, before the queen's commiſſioners; and refuſing to ſubſcribe, was pronounced an heretic, and ſentence of condemnation was read againſt him as ſuch. Upon which he told them that he appealed from their unjuſt ſentence and judgement, to the judgement of the Almighty; and that he truſted to be received to his preſence in heaven, for maintaining the truth of whoſe ſpiritual preſence at the altar, he was there condemned. After this, his ſervants were diſmiſſed from their attendance, and himſelf cloſely confined in priſon.

The latter end of this year a popiſh convocation met; and did archbiſhop *Cranmer* the honor, to order his book of the ſacrament to be burnt, in company with the *Engliſh* bible and common-prayer-book. *Cranmer*, in the mean time, ſpent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatiſe concerning the euchariſt, from the objections of *Gardiner*; who had publiſhed a book againſt it, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Conſtantius*. Many learned men of the *Romiſh* perſuaſion came to viſit him in priſon, and endeavored, by diſputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church; but in vain.

In 1555, a new commiſſion was ſent from *Rome*, for the trial of archbiſhop *Cranmer* for hereſy; the former ſentence againſt him being void in law, becauſe the authority of the pope was not then re-eſtabliſhed. The commiſſioners were Dr. *Brooks*, biſhop of *Glouceſter*, the pope's delegate; Dr. *Story*, and Dr. *Martin*, doctors of the civil law, the queen's commiſſioners. On *September* 12, they met at St. *Mary*'s church; and being ſeated at the high altar, commanded the archbiſhop to be brought before them. To the queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme

authority of the nation, he paid all due reſpect; but abſolutely refuſed to ſhew any to the pope's delegate, leſt he ſhould ſeem to make the leaſt acknowledgment of his uſurped ſupremacy. *Brooks*, in a long oration, exhorted him to conſider from whence he was fallen, adviſing him, in the moſt earneſt and pathetic manner, to return to his holy mother, the *Roman* catholic church, and, by the example of his repentance, to reclaim thoſe whom his paſt errors had miſled.

In this oration, he betrayed great ignorance both of ſcripture and antiquity; of ſcripture, by affirming, that the Arians had more texts, by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the catholics had for the maintenance of the truth; of antiquity, by making *Origen* write of *Berengarius* who lived near eight hundred years after him; and by confounding the great St. *Cyprian* with another *Cyprian* of *Antioch*, laying the magical ſtudies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finiſhed his harangue, Dr. *Martin*, in a ſhort ſpeech, began to open the trial, acquainting the archbiſhop with the articles alledged againſt him, and requiring his anſwer. The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and hereſy; the firſt, on account of his oppoſition to the papal tyranny; the ſecond, in reſpect to his marriage; and the laſt, on account of the Reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand. The archbiſhop having liberty to ſpeak, after he had repeated the Lord's-prayer and the creed, began with a juſtification of his conduct, in relation to his renouncing the pope's ſupremacy; the admiſſion of which, he proved by many inſtances, to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the ſubject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original conſtitution of the Chriſtian church: And in the cloſe, he boldly charged *Brooks* with perjury, for ſitting there by the pope's authority, which he had ſolemnly abjured. *Brooks* endeavored to vindicate himſelf, and retort the charge on the archbiſhop, by pretending, that he was ſeduced by *Cranmer* to take that oath: But this, the archbiſhop told him, was a groſs untruth; the pope's ſupremacy having received the ſaid blow from his predeceſſor, archbiſhop *Warham*; by whoſe advice king *Henry* had ſent to both the univerſities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God; to which they replied, and gave it under their ſeal, that, by the word of God, the ſupremacy was veſted in the king, not in the pope; and that *Brooks* had then ſubſcribed this determination, and therefore wronged him, in pretending that he was ſeduced by him.

him. At this *Brooks* was in a great confuſion, and cried, 'We came to examine you; and, I think, you examine us.'

Then Dr. *Story* began to rail at the archbiſhop, in an indecent manner, for excepting againſt the authority of his judge; and moved biſhop *Brooks*, to require from him a direct anſwer to the articles, whereof he ſtood accuſed; or, if he continued to deny the pope's authority, and to decline anſwering, to proceed to ſentence againſt him.

After this, doctor *Martin* had a ſhort conference with the archbiſhop, about his conduct in relation to the ſupremacy, and the doctrine of the euchariſt; and then they proceeded to demand his anſwer to certain interrogatories, concerning the crimes laid to his charge; to which he replied in ſo full and ſatisfactory a manner, that *Brooks* thought himſelf obliged to make another ſpeech, to take off the impreſſion his defence might have made upon the people. The ſpeech was much unbecoming the gravity of a biſhop, conſiſting only of ſcurrilous and unchriſtian railings, and uncouth and ſophiſtical miſapplications of ſcripture and the fathers. After this, the archbiſhop was cited to appear at *Rome*, within fourſcore days, and there to anſwer in perſon: To which he replied, that he would very willingly conſent, if the queen would give him leave to go to *Rome*, and juſtify the Reformation to the pope's face. But this was only a mock citation; for he was kept all that time cloſe confined, and yet at the end of fourſcore days was declared contumax, for wilfully abſenting himſelf from *Rome*, whither he was legally ſummoned; and in conſequence thereof was degraded, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

It is worth while to obſerve his laſt judgement, concerning the extent of the regal ſupremacy, as contained in his anſwer to Dr. *Martin*. When that doctor aſked him, who was ſupreme head of the church of *England?* the biſhop anſwered; "*Chriſt* is head of this member, as he is "of the whole body of the catholic church." When the doctor again demanded, whether he had not declared king *Henry* head of the church? "Yes, ſaid the archbiſhop, of "all the people in *England*, as well eccleſiaſtical as tem-"poral." 'What, ſays *Martin*, and not of the church?' "No, replied the archbiſhop, for *Chriſt* only is head of "his church, and of the faith and religion of the ſame."

In the *February* following, 1556, a new commiſſion was given to biſhop *Bonner* and biſhop *Thirlby*, for the degradation of the archbiſhop. When they came down to *Oxford*, the archbiſhop was brought before them, and, after they had read their commiſſion from the pope, *Bonner*, in a ſcurril-

a ſcurrilous oration, inſulted over him, after a moſt unchriſtian manner; for which he was often rebuked by biſhop *Thirlby*, who had been *Cranmer*'s particular friend, and ſhed many tears upon the occaſion. In the commiſſion it was declared, that the cauſe had been impartially heard at *Rome*, the witneſſes on both ſides were examined, and the archbiſhop's counſel allowed to make the beſt defence for him that they could: At the reading this, the archbiſhop could not forbear crying out, "Good God, "what lyes are theſe! that I, being continually in pri- "ſon, and not ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at "home, ſhould produce witneſſes, and appoint my coun- "ſel at *Rome!* God muſt needs puniſh this open and "ſhameleſs lying." When *Bonner* had finiſhed his invective againſt him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the epiſcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvaſs and old clouts. Then the archbiſhop, pulling out of his ſleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, ſaying, that he was not ſorry to be cut off, even with all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of *Rome*, that the pope had no authority over him, and that he appealed to the next general council. When they had degraded him, they put on him an old threadbare beadle's gown, and a townſman's cap; and in that garb delivered him over to the ſecular power. As they were leading him to priſon, a gentleman came, and gave ſome money to the bailiffs, for the archbiſhop: But this charitable action gave ſuch offence to *Bonner*, that he ordered the gentleman to be ſeized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have ſent him up to the council, to be tried for it.

While the archbiſhop continued in priſon, no endeavors were omitted to win him over to the church of *Rome*. Many of the moſt eminent divines in the univerſity reſorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and perſuaſions to work upon him; but all in vain, for he held faſt the profeſſion of his faith, without wavering, and could not be ſhaken by any of the terrors of this world, from his conſtancy in the truth. Nay, even when he ſaw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, biſhop *Ridley* and biſhop *Latimer*, he was ſo far from ſhrinking, that he not only prayed to God to ſtrengthen them, but alſo, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the ſame fiery trial.

At laſt the papiſts bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem, which proved fatal to him: They removed him from priſon,

ſon, to the lodgings of the dean of *Chriſt-church*; they treated him with the greateſt civility and reſpect, and made him great promiſes of the queen's favor, and the reſtitution of his former dignities, with many other honors and preferments accumulated, if he would recant. And now, behold a moſt aſtoniſhing inſtance of human frailty! The man, who had with ſuch undaunted reſolution, ſuch unſhaken conſtancy, and ſo truly primitive a ſpirit of martyrdom, faced the terrors of death, and defied the moſt exquiſite tortures, ſinks under this laſt temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocriſy, and conſents to recant!

It is a vulgar error, even in our beſt hiſtorians, to ſuppoſe, that the archbiſhop acknowledged the whole of popery at once, and ſubſcribed but one recantation. But this miſtake is now rectified by the labor of the induſtrious Mr. *Strype*; who has diſcovered how ſubtilly he was drawn in by the papiſts, to ſubſcribe ſix different papers; the firſt being expreſſed in ambiguous words, capable of a favorable conſtruction, and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the firſt. It is very probable, that had they acquainted *Cranmer* with the whole of their deſign at once, he could never have been ſeduced to redeem his life with ſuch a diſhonorable compliance: But when they had, by their hypocriſy and artifice, drawn him in to a firſt and ſecond recantation; a ſhame to retreat after he had gone ſo far, and unwillingneſs to loſe the benefit of his paſt ſubſcriptions, prevailed with him to go on. The path of duty is the only path of comfort and ſafety. Yet we have inſtances in holy writ, that ſome of the greateſt believers have been ſo left to their own wills, as to be ſuffered to commit the fouleſt crimes, that he who thinketh he ſtandeth may take heed leſt he fall; and to convince all Chriſtians, that their perſeverance is in God's faithfulneſs and ſtrength, and not in their own.

The copy of the archbiſhop's firſt ſubſcription ran thus.

"Foraſmuch as the king's and queen's majeſties, by "conſent of their parliament, have received the pope's "authority in this realm, I am content to ſubmit myſelf "to their laws herein, and to take the pope for the chief "head of this church of *England*, ſo far as God's laws, "and the laws and cuſtoms of this realm will permit.

"THOMAS CRANMER."

This paper was immediately ſent up to the queen and council; but being not ſatisfactory, another was offered him to ſubſcribe, in fewer words, but more full, and with leſs reſerve; and was as follows:

"I *Thomas*

" I *Thomas Cranmer*, doctor in divinity, do ſubſcribe " myſelf to the catholic church of *Chriſt*, and unto the " pope, ſupreme head of the ſame church, and to the king " and queen's majeſties, and unto all their laws and or- " dinances. THOMAS CRANMER."

This alſo being thought too brief and ambiguous, a third, yet fuller and more expreſs, was required of him; which was this:

" I am content to ſubmit myſelf to the king's and " queen's majeſties, and to all their laws and ordinances, " as well concerning the pope's ſupremacy, as others: " And I ſhall, from time to time, move and ſtir all others " to do the like, to the uttermoſt of my power, and to " live in quietneſs and obedience to their majeſties, moſt " humbly, without murmur, or grudging againſt any of " their holy proceedings. And for my book which I have " written, I am content to ſubmit to the judgement of " the catholic church, and the next general council.

" THOMAS CRANMER."

This, like the reſt, not giving ſatisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in theſe following words, viz.

" Be it known by theſe preſents, that I *Thomas Cranmer*, " doctor of divinity, and late archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, do " firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly believe, in all articles and " points of the Chriſtian religion and catholic faith, as " the catholic church doth believe, and hath believed from " the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the ſacraments " of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points, as " the ſaid catholic church doth, and hath believed from " the beginning of Chriſtian religion. In witneſs whereof " I have humbly ſubſcribed my hand unto theſe preſents, " the eighteenth day of *February*, in the year 1555.

" THOMAS CRANMER."

Having gained ground upon him thus far, they grew bold and barefaced; and in the fifth paper (which is in *Fox*'s martyrology, and has been commonly thought to be his only recantation) they required him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian hereſies and errors; to acknowledge the one holy catholic church, to be that, whereof the pope is the head; and to declare him the ſupreme biſhop, and *Chriſt*'s vicar, to whom all Chriſtians ought to be ſubject. Then followed an expreſs acknowledgement of tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven ſacraments, purgatory, and of all the doctrines of the church of *Rome* in general; with a prayer to God to forgive his paſt oppoſition to them, and an earneſt entreaty to all, who had been miſled

miſled by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the church.

And yet even this, full and expreſs as it was, did not give content; but a ſixth was ſtill required, which was drawn up in ſo ſtrong and ample terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it; containing a prolix acknowledgement of all the popiſh errors and corruptions, and a moſt grievous accuſation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, an enemy of *Chriſt*, and a murderer of ſouls, on account of his being the author of king *Henry*'s divorce, and of all the calamities, ſchiſms, and hereſies, of which that was the fountain. This laſt paper he ſubſcribed on the eighteenth of *March*; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting, that the papiſts deſigned, notwithſtanding all theſe ſubſcriptions, to bring him to the ſtake; and that the writ was already ſigned for his execution.

Theſe ſix papers were, ſoon after his death, ſent to the preſs by *Bonner*, and publiſhed, with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to ſpeak at St. *Mary*'s, before his execution: And though he then ſpake to a quite contrary effect, and revoked all his former recantations; yet *Bonner* had the confidence to publiſh this to the world, as if it had been approved and made uſe of by the archbiſhop.

The day appointed for his execution was the twenty-firſt of *March*; and Dr. *Cole* was ſent to *Oxford*, to prepare a ſermon for the occaſion. The day before, *Cole* viſited him in the priſon, whither he was now removed; and aſked him if he ſtood firm in the faith he had ſubſcribed. To which *Cranmer* gave a ſatisfactory anſwer. The next morning *Cole* viſited him again, exhorted him to conſtancy, and gave him money to diſpoſe of to the poor, as he ſaw convenient. Soon after he was brought to St. *Mary*'s church, and placed on a low ſcaffold, over againſt the pulpit. Then Dr. *Cole* began his ſermon; the chief ſcope whereof was, to endeavor to give ſome reaſons why it was expedient that *Cranmer* ſhould ſuffer, notwithſtanding his recantation; And, in the cloſe, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to the archbiſhop, exhorting him to bear up with courage againſt the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the croſs, encouraged him not to deſpair, ſince he was returned, though late, into the boſom of the catholic church, and to the profeſſion of the true apoſtolical faith. The archbiſhop, who, till now, had not the leaſt notice of his intended execution, was ſtruck with horror, at the baſe inhumanity, and unparalleled cruelty [not to be exceeded in the infernal regions!] of theſe proceedings. It is ut-

terly impoſſible to expreſs what inward agonies he felt, and what bitter anguiſh his ſoul was perplexed with. During the whole ſermon he wept inceſſantly; ſometimes lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſometimes caſting them down to the ground, with marks of the uttermoſt dejection! When it was ended, being moved to make a confeſſion of his faith, and give the world ſatisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he conſented; and, kneeling down, began the following prayer.

"O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of "the world; O Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from them both; "three perſons, and one God; have mercy upon me moſt "wretched caitiff and miſerable ſinner! I! who have "offended both heaven and earth, and more grievouſly "than tongue can expreſs! whither then ſhould I go, or "where ſhall I fly for ſuccour! To heaven I am aſhamed "to lift up mine eyes; and on earth I find no refuge! "What ſhall I then do? Shall I deſpair? God forbid! "O good God, thou art merciful, and refuſeſt none, who "come unto Thee for ſuccour: To Thee therefore do "I run; to Thee do I humble myſelf; ſaying, O Lord "my God, my ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon "me for thy infinite mercy! O God the Son, thou waſt "not made man, this great myſtery was not wrought, for "few or ſmall offences only; neither didſt thou give thy "Son to die, O God the Father, for our ſmaller crimes, "but for the greateſt ſins of the whole world; ſo that the "ſinner return unto Thee with a penitent heart, as I do "now in this moment: Wherefore take pity on me, O "Lord, whoſe property is always to have mercy; for "though my ſins be great, yet thy mercy is greater.—I "crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy "name's ſake, and that it may be glorified thereby, and "for thy dear Son *Jeſus Chriſt*'s ſake; in whoſe words I "conclude: Our Father, &c."

Having finiſhed the Lord's-prayer, he roſe from his knees; and made a confeſſion of his faith, beginning with the creed, and concluding with theſe words: "And I be-"lieve every word and ſentence taught by our Saviour "*Jeſus Chriſt*, his apoſtles and prophets, in the Old and "New Teſtament. And now added he, I come to the "great thing that ſo much troubleth my conſcience, more "than any thing I ever did or ſaid in my whole life; and "that is, the ſetting abroad a writing contrary to the "truth, which I here now renounce as things written "with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in "my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave

" my life if it might be; that is, all ſuch bills or papers " which I have written and ſigned with my hand ſince " my degradation, wherein I have written many things " untrue. And for as much as my hand offended, writ- " ing contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be pu- " niſhed: For, *may* I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt " burned. As for the pope, I refuſe him as *Chriſt*'s enemy " and antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine: And as for " the ſacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book " againſt the biſhop of *Wincheſter*."—Thunder-ſtruck, as it were, with this unexpected declaration, the enraged popiſh crowd admoniſhed him not to diſſemble: " Ah, " replied he with tears, ſince I have lived hitherto, I " have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, " and never before this time have I diſſembled." Upon which they pulled him off the ſtage with the utmoſt fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom over againſt *Baliol-College*: Where he put off his cloaths with haſte, and, ſtanding in his ſhirt and without his ſhoes, was faſtened with a chain to the ſtake. Some preſſing him to agree to his former recantation, he anſwered, ſhewing his hand, " This is the hand that wrote, and therefore it ſhall " firſt ſuffer puniſhment." Fire being applied to him, he ſtretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved, except that once he wiped his face with it, till it was conſumed; crying with a loud voice, " This " hand hath offended;" and often repeating, " This un- " worthy right hand." At laſt, the fire getting up, he ſoon expired, never ſtirring or crying out all the while; only keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating more than once; " Lord *Jeſus*, receive my ſpirit." He died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

He was an open, generous, honeſt man; a lover of truth, and an enemy of falſhood and ſuperſtition. He was gentle and moderate in his temper; and though heartily zealous in the cauſe of the Reformation, yet a friend to the perſons of thoſe who moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it. Thus in the year 1534, he endeavored to ſave the lives of biſhop *Fiſher*, and ſir *Thomas More*; and afterwards, when *Tonſtall* biſhop of *Durham* came into trouble, and a bill was brought into the houſe of lords for attainting him, *Cranmer* ſpoke freely, nay proteſted, againſt it. He was a great patron of learning and the univerſities, and extended his care alſo to thoſe proteſtant foreigners, who fled to *England* from the troubles in *Germany*; ſuch as *Martin Bucer*, made profeſſor of divinity, and *Paulus Fagius*, profeſſor of the *Hebrew* tongue at *Cambridge*; *Peter Martyr*, profeſſor

of divinity at *Oxford*; *John à Laſco*, *Bernardine Ochinus*, *Emmanuel Tremellius*, &c. He was a very learned man himſelf, and author of ſeveral works, printed and unprinted.

His printed works are, 1. An account of Mr. *Pole*'s book, concerning king *Henry* the VIIIth's marriage. 2. Letters to divers perſons; to king *Henry* VIII. ſecretary *Cromwell*, Sir *William Cecil*, and to foreign divines. 3. Three diſcourſes upon his review of the king's book, entitled, The erudition of a Chriſtian man. 4. Other diſcourſes of his. 5. The biſhops' book, in which he had a part. 6. Anſwers to the fifteen articles of the rebels in *Devonſhire* in 1549. 7. The examination of moſt points of religion. 8. A form for the alteration of the maſs into a communion. 9. Some of the homilies. 10. A catechiſm, entitled, A ſhort inſtruction to Chriſtian religion, for the ſingular profit of children and young people. 11. Againſt unwritten verities. 12. A defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour *Chriſt*, &c. 13. An anſwer to *Gardiner*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who wrote againſt the defence, &c. *Lond.* 1551, reprinted 1580. It was tranſlated into *Latin* by ſir *John Cheke*. *Gardiner* anſwered, and *Cranmer* went through three parts of a reply, but did not live to finiſh it: However it was publiſhed. 14. Preface to the *Engliſh* tranſlation of the bible. 15. A ſpeech in the houſe of lords, concerning a general council. 16. Letter to king *Henry* VIII. in juſtification of *Anne Boleyn*, *May* 3, 1535. 17. The reaſons, that led him to oppoſe the ſix articles. 18. Reſolution of ſome queſtions concerning the ſacrament. 19. Injunctions given at his viſitation within the dioceſe of *Hereford*. 20. A collection of paſſages out of the canon law, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming it. 21. Some queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes. 22. Concerning a further Reformation, and againſt ſacrilege. 23. Anſwers to ſome queries concerning confirmation. 24. Some conſiderations offered to king *Edward* VI. to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation. 25. Anſwer to the privy council. 26. Manifeſto againſt the maſs.

Thoſe works of *Cranmer*'s, which ſtill remain in manuſcript, are, 1. Two large volumes of collections out of the holy ſcripture, the antient fathers, and later doctors and ſchoolmen. Theſe are in the king's library. When they were offered to ſale, they were valued at a hundred pounds: But biſhop *Beveridge* and doctor *Jane*, appraiſers for the king, brought down the price to fifty pounds. 2. The lord *Burleigh* had ſix or ſeven volumes more of his writing.

writing. 3. Doctor *Burnet* mentions two volumes more that he had ſeen. 4. There are alſo ſeveral letters of his in the *Cotton* library.

JOHN PONET, OR POYNET,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THOUGH the life of this excellent man was but ſhort, and the memorials of that life are handed down to us but in fragments; he was of eminent importance in his time, and was a burning and a ſhining light in the church of God. Biſhop *Godwin*, in his book *de præſulibus Angliæ*, ſays of him, that he was born in the county of *Kent*, in or about the year 1516, and received his academical education in *King's-College*, *Cambridge*. He muſt have obtained the knowledge of the goſpel pretty early in life; for he was in ſo much confidence with the great Reformers, that, ſo ſoon as the beginning of king *Edward*'s reign [*June* 26, 1550.] when *Ponet* could not have been more than three and thirty years of age, he was conſecrated biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and, upon the deprivation of *Gardiner*, was, within a year afterwards, tranſlated to the ſee of *Winchеſter*. The reaſon of his preferment does as much honor to the admirable young king *Edward*, as it could reflect credit upon the biſhop; for, we are told, that it was, by the king's own motion, on account of ſome very excellent ſermons which *Ponet* had preached before him.—A ladder of epiſcopal advancement, which is but too rarely aſcended!

He was a man of very great learning, as well as grace; and poſſeſſed the knowledge, not only of the *Latin* and *Greek*, but (what is not a frequent attainment among divines) a thorough acquaintance with the *Dutch* and *Italian* tongues. He was, in particular, a very great *Grecian*, and had engaged his mind, probably when quite a young man, very deeply in mathematical learning. To ſuch a proficiency had he arrived in the mechanical branch of the mathematics, that he conſtructed a clock, by the effort of his own genius, which pointed both to the hours of the day, the day of the month, the ſign of the Zodiac, the lunar variations, and the tides. This was preſented to *Henry* the VIII. and was received very graciouſly, for (what indeed it was in thoſe days) a wonderful piece of mechaniſm. Beſides all this variety, as well as extent, of knowledge, in ſo young a man; *Heylyn*, who was by no means partial

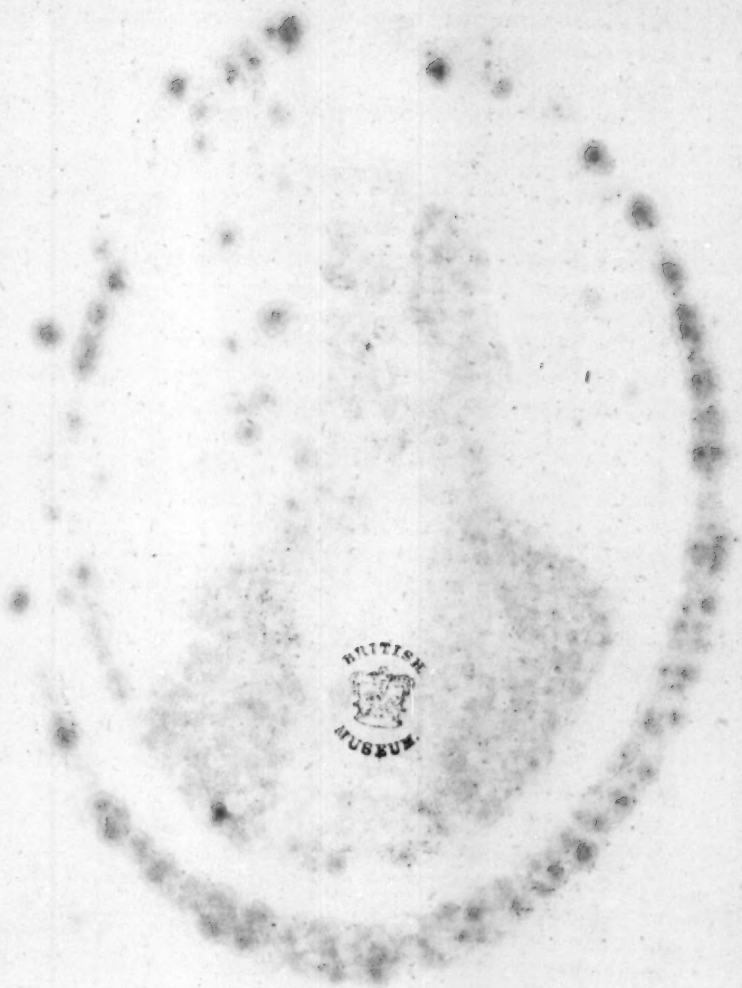
partial to the principles of our Reformers, informs us, that he was 'well-ſtudied with the *antient fathers*.'

Thus fraught with human knowledge and with divine grace, we cannot wonder, that Dr. *Ponet* was ſo ſoon and ſo much taken notice of. Above all, God gave him the deſire to devote his great abilities to the cauſe and ſervice of the goſpel. He not only preached much, but is ſaid to have written much for the truth, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. But the piece, for which he is moſt remembered, is the compoſition called, "King *Edward*'s catechiſm," which was approved and paſſed by the ſynod, which paſſed the book of articles, under the king's warrant. *Fuller* ſays, that this catechiſm 'was firſt compiled (as appears by the 'king's patent prefixed) by a ſingle divine, charactered 'pious and learned; but afterwards peruſed and allowed 'by the biſhops, and other learned men, &c. and by royal 'authority commanded to all ſchoolmaſters to teach it 'their ſcholars.' Some have ſuppoſed, that this pious and learned divine was Dr. *Alexander Nowel*, dean of St. *Paul*'s; but others, upon better warrant, have given it to Dr. *Ponet*, then biſhop of *Wincheſter*. However, all the great Reformers reviſed it, and particularly archbiſhop *Cranmer*, without whom nothing was undertaken or ſet forth in religion, during king *Edward*'s reign.

This catechiſm is highly calviniſtic, and perfectly correſpondent with the articles, which were publiſhed about the ſame time. It came out in the year 1553, in two editions, the one *Latin*, and the other *Engliſh*, with the royal privilege. Indeed, the pious king himſelf prefaced this catechiſm by a letter, dated at *Greenwich*, *May* the twentieth, in which he 'charges and commands all ſchoolmaſters 'whatſoever, within his dominions, as they did reverence 'his authority, and as they would avoid his royal diſpleaſure, to teach this catechiſm, diligently and carefully, 'in all and every their ſchools; that ſo, the youth of the 'kingdom might be ſettled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worſhip.'—At that time, and afterwards in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, the catechizing children and ſervants was thought to be of ſo much importance to poſterity, that the neglect of it was entitled to ſome very ſevere penalties*.—But we are grown *wiſer* in

'* The care of ſending their *children* and *ſervants* is by the rubric laid upon fathers, mothers, miſtreſſes, and dames, who are to *cauſe them to come to church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the curate, until ſuch time as they have learned all that is here* [in the catechiſm] *appointed for them to learn*. The ſame is required by the 59th canon of the church, which farther orders, that if any of theſe

neglect


BRITISH MUSEUM



From an Original Engraving, published under the Inspection of Beza.

in theſe days, and above deſcending to inculcate Chriſtian principles upon the minds of youth; for which reaſon, among others, our young people are ſo *pious*, *decent*, and *virtuous*; are ſo full of good notions, and ſo ready to follow them; as we find them in the preſent age. Were nine tenths of the nation examined; it would be found that they had not ſo much as *once read through* their bibles: And as to catechiſms, it ſeems as if they were very well for pariſh-boys and charity-children; but as to the offſpring of other people, it appears to be a ſettled point, that they ſhall know no more of God and his goſpel than their parents before them.—Such are the times; and ſuch our manners!

As we have mentioned the ſubject of catechiſms, we will only add upon this head, that the preſent catechiſm of the church of *England* was, at the command of king *James* the firſt, reviſed by the biſhops, and that an addition was made to it, giving the explanation of the ſacraments. This was done by the pen of biſhop *Overal*, then dean of St. *Paul*'s, and approved.

When queen *Mary* came to the crown, and gave a bloody earneſt of what proteſtants may ever expect to receive from bigotted papiſts; Dr. *Ponet*, with ſome other great and good men, thought it prudent to quit the kingdom. He accordingly retired to *Straſburgh* in *Germany*, where he departed this life, on the eleventh of *April*, aged only forty years.

Biſhop *Godwin* mentions, that *Ponet* publiſhed ſeveral works in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, which were extant in his time, but which we have not ſeen. They are however ſuppoſed to be chiefly upon theological ſubjects.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

THIS celebrated divine, who was one of the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his age, was born, on the ſix-

neglect their duties, as the one ſort in not cauſing them to come, and the other in refuſing to learn as aforeſaid; they are to be ſuſpended by the ordinary (if they be not children), and if they ſo perſiſt by the ſpace of a month, they are to be excommunicated. And by the canons of 1571, every miniſter was yearly, within twenty days after *Eaſter*, to preſent to the biſhop, &c. the names of all thoſe in his pariſh, who had not ſent their children or ſervants at the times appointed. And to enforce this, it was one of the articles which was exhibited, in order to be admitted by authority, that he, whoſe child of TEN years old or upwards, or his ſervant at fourteen or upwards, could not ſay the catechiſm, ſhould pay ten ſhillings to the poor's box.' WHEATLY *upon the Common Prayer*. p. 396. 4th edit.

teenth

teenth of *February*, 1497, at *Bretten*, in the palatinate of the *Rhine*. His father was *George Schwartſerd*, which ſignifies *black earth* in *German*, and *Melanćthon* in *Greek*; therefore, *Reuchlin* gave *Philip* the name of *Melanćthon*, in the ſame manner as *Hermolaus Barbarus* changed the name of *Reuchlin* into that of *Capnio*, from *Capnos*, which in the *Greek* ſignifies ſmoak, as the word *Reuch* does in the *German* language. It was cuſtomary among the learned men of that time to expreſs their names in *Greek*, when they could find any word in that language into which they could turn them. Thence come *Oecolampadius*, *Eraſmus*, *Chytræus*, *Reuchlin*, *Melanćthon*, and others: But *Reuchlin* was the only man whom *Germany* had, in his time, to put in competition with all the learned men in *Italy*; and it was he that adviſed *Frederic* duke of *Saxony* to ſend for *Melanćthon* to *Wittenberg*, in 1518, to be the *Greek* profeſſor in that univerſity.

Melanćthon gave very early marks of his capacity: But his inſtruction and education were chiefly committed to the care of his grandfather *Reuterus*; becauſe his father's time was taken up with the affairs of the elector palatine, whom he ſerved as engineer, or commiſſary of the artillery. He ſtudied firſt in the place of his nativity, at a public ſchool; and then under a tutor. He was afterwards ſent to *Pfortſheim*, a ſmall city in the marquiſate of *Baden*, where there was a famous college; and he lodged with one of his relations, who was ſiſter to *Reuchlin*. Upon this occaſion, he became known to that learned man, who loved him with great tenderneſs. He went to the univerſity of *Tubingen*, in the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, and from thence to *Heidelberg*, that of the metropolis of the palatinate, in 1509, where he was matriculated on the thirteenth of *October*, and made ſuch conſiderable improvement, that he was intruſted to teach the ſons of count *Leonſtein*, and was made batchelor, though he was under fourteen years of age. But he was refuſed his degree of maſter of philoſophy, on account of his youth; which, together with the air of *Heidelberg*, which did not agree with his conſtitution, occaſioned him to leave that univerſity in 1512, and return to that of *Tubingen*, where he continued ſix years.

Melanćthon has been juſtly reckoned among illuſtrious youths; and Mr. *Baillet* has juſtly beſtowed a chapter upon him in his 'hiſtorical treatiſe of young men, who 'became famous by their ſtudies or writings.' He was employed to make the greateſt part of the harangues and diſcourſes of eloquence, that were publicly ſpoke in the univerſity of *Heidelberg*. He ſtudied divinity, law, and mathematics,

mathematics, at *Tubingen*, where he heard the lectures of all ſorts of profeſſors; and publicly explained *Virgil*, *Terence*, *Cicero*, and *Livy*. He alſo found time to ſerve *Reuchlin* in his quarrel with the monks; and diligently applied himſelf to the reading of the word of God. *Reuchlin* made him a preſent of a copy of the bible which *John Frobenius* had lately printed at *Baſil* in a ſmall volume. *Melancthon* always carried this bible about him, and chiefly when he went to church, where thoſe, who ſaw him hold it in his hands during divine ſervice, believed he was reading quite another thing than what the time and place required of him, becauſe it was much larger than a prayer-book; and thoſe, that envied him, took occaſion from hence to make him odious with others.

He taught at *Tubingen*, both in public and private, with great applauſe and admiration; and publiſhed ſome works as firſt fruits, from which it ſufficiently appeared what a crop might be afterwards expected. He was ſo remarkable, in 1515, that *Eraſmus* then ſaid of him, 'Good 'God, what hopes may we not conceive of *Philip Me*- 'lancthon, though as yet very young, and almoſt a boy, 'equally to be admired for his knowledge in both lan- 'guages! What quickneſs of invention! What purity of 'diction! What vaſtneſs of memory! What variety of 'reading! What modeſty and gracefulneſs of behaviour!' *John James Grynæus* made a parallel between the prophet *Daniel* and *Melancthon*, in which he introduced this fine encomium of *Eraſmus*.

In 1518, he accepted the *Greek* profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, which *Frederic* the elector of *Saxony* offered him upon the recommendation of *Reuchlin*. His inauguration ſpeech was ſo fine, that it removed the contempt to which his ſtature and mien expoſed him, and raiſed great admiration of himſelf. He ſoon contracted a friendſhip with *Luther*, who taught divinity in that univerſity; and *Andrew Caroloſtadius*, archdeacon of *Wittenberg*, joined their acquaintance, and was of their opinion.

Eraſmus had heard, that *Melancthon* had cenſured his paraphraſes; for which this learned man, in 1519, wrote a very civil letter to juſtify himſelf to *Eraſmus*, who accepted of theſe excuſes; but told *Melancthon*, that men of letters ought to love each other, and be united to defend themſelves againſt their common enemies. *Eraſmus* ſpoke very kindly to *Melancthon*; and told him, all the world was agreed in commending the moral character of *Luther*; but there were various ſentiments touching his doctrines. *Luther* had a great love and eſteem for *Melancthon*; and

Jovius, after having abuſed *Luther* in a moſt ſcandalous manner, pays a compliment to *Melancthon*. *Melancthon* had ſo much ſcrupulous honour and diſintereſtedneſs, that he refuſed to receive his ſalary, as a reader in divinity, becauſe he could not beſtow ſuch cloſe attendance, as he thought that office required.

Melancthon read lectures at *Wittenberg* upon *Homer*, and upon the *Greek* text of the epiſtle of St. *Paul* to *Titus*, which drew a great croud of auditors, and excited in them an earneſt deſire of underſtanding the *Greek* tongue. He reduced the ſciences into a ſyſtem, which was then difficult, as they had then been long taught in a very confuſed manner.

In the year 1520, *Jerom Alexander*, the pope's nuncio, ſolicited the emperor, and *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, to puniſh *Luther*: In conſequence of which, the diet of *Worms* was held on the ſixth of *January*, 1521, when *Luther* nobly vindicated his doctrine. The remarks of *Melancthon* upon theſe tranſactions, and upon the conduct of *Frederic*, are judicious and important: "So far, ſays he, was *Luther* "from being ſuborned and inſtigated by the courtiers and "princes, as the duke of *Brunſwick* affirmed, that, on the "contrary, the elector of *Saxony* was much concerned at "the foreſight of the conteſts and diſorders which would "enſue, though the firſt attacks made by *Luther* were "upon very plauſible grounds. By his own ſagacity and "judiciouſneſs, and by long experience in the art of "reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes were "to government. But, being truly religious, and one "who feared God, he conſulted not the dictates of mere "worldly and political wiſdom, and was determined to "prefer the glory of God, to all other conſiderations, and "at the hazard of any public or private detriment. Yet "he preſumed not to rely entirely upon his own judge-"ment concerning an affair of ſo great importance; but "took the advice of other princes, and of men venerable "for age, experience, learning, and probity." Speaking of theſe troubles to *J. Jonas*, ſays, 'What a deplo-'rable thing would it be, that *Philip Melancthon*, an 'amiable youth of ſuch extraordinary abilities, ſhould 'be loſt to the learned world upon this account!' And, in 1522, *Eraſmus* was apprehenſive of being attacked by *Melancthon*, with whom he was very unwilling to have any diſpute: But, in 1523, *Eraſmus* was well pleaſed to find, that both *Luther* and *Melancthon* were offended at the behavior of *Hutten*, who had wrote a furious libel againſt *Eraſmus*:

Eraſmus: And *Melanćthon* declared how ſorry he was, that the contention between *Luther* and *Eraſmus* was continued.

The Sorbonne at *Paris* condemned the writings of *Luther* in 1521; and *Melanćthon* made an apology for *Luther* againſt this cenſure, which he called, *Furioſum Pariſienſium theologaſtrorum decretum*: i. e. the furious decree of the Pariſian theologaſters, or ſmall divines. The ſame year *Melanćthon* was appointed by the elector of *Saxony* one of the deputies to give him their opinion concerning the abolition of private maſſes at *Wittenberg*, which they approved, and deſired the elector to aboliſh them throughout all his dominions. The elector told the deputies, by *Chriſtian Beyer*, that he conceived their advice was grounded on the goſpel; and required them to order that affair with ſuch moderation as to raiſe no troubles, diviſions, or ſeditions, among the people. The deputies anſwered, that they believed private maſſes might be aboliſhed, without noiſe or trouble; but the abuſe was ſo great, that, though it could not be effected without ſome diſturbance, it ought to be attempted: That the ordinance of the maſs, preſcribed by the holy ſcripture, was viſibly ſo different from that of private maſſes, that it was needleſs to deliberate farther about it: That the antient foundations of the monaſtries, colleges, and churches, were not made to ſay a certain number of maſſes, or to chant canonical hours; but to inſtruct youth in the holy ſcripture and religion: That the foundations made, four or five hundred years before, to ſay maſſes, were abuſive; and that thoſe who made them, were miſtaken: That inconveniency ought not to be regarded in ſuch an enterprize, nor ſuch impediments as might be ſurmounted, ſince it was the cauſe of truth and religion. *Stork*, *Marcus Stubnerus*, and *Martinus Cellarius*, in 1522, went from *Zwickau* to *Wittenberg*, to preach their fanatical doctrine. But *Melanćthon* and the other Reformers wrote to the elector of *Saxony*, and to *Luther*, about theſe men, whom they took to be enthuſiaſts; and, when they were diſcovered to be ſuch, the elector drove them out of his territories.

Eraſmus, in 1524, owned that the ſtate of things diſheartened him from adventuring his perſon in the *Low Countries*, where *Hulſt* and *Egmond* were his inveterate enemies. 'When theſe ſaints, ſays he, want to do any 'one a miſchief, they firſt clap him in priſon, and then his 'affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges 'and parties. There the moſt innocent man alive muſt 'ſuffer the vileſt treatment, leſt their authority ſhould

'ſuffer: And when they have been totally miſtaken, they 'cry out, that the ſide of religion muſt always be favor-'ed!' 'Melancthon, continues *Eraſmus*, would gladly have 'a conference with me, but is loth to expoſe me to any 'hatred and obloquy, which however I ſhould have deſ-'piſed. He is a youth of great candor.' But there is ſome room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of a viſit from *Melancthon*, who, with all his mildneſs and candor, was little leſs hated than *Luther* by the Romaniſts. The ſame year, *Eraſmus* wrote a long epiſtle to *Melancthon*, which began with an invective againſt *Hutten*. He commended the *Loci Communes* of *Melancthon*, as very fit and able to encounter and demoliſh phariſaical tyranny: But he added, that they contained alſo ſome things which he did not underſtand, ſome concerning which he had doubts and ſcruples, and ſome which he thought it needleſs to profeſs openly. He then boaſted of the mild and moderate councils which he had given to popes and princes; but he ſpoke very ill of *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Farel*, *Capito*, and *Hedio*.

He apologized for having written againſt *Luther*, and ſaid, that the calumnies of eccleſiaſtics, who made him paſs for a Lutheran, and the importunity of princes, had conſtrained him to it. 'Although, ſays he, I were a 'moſt bigotted papiſt, yet would I condemn cruelty, be-'cauſe opinions oppoſed with cruelty ſpread the more. 'Therefore, the prudent *Julian* would not put Chriſtians 'to death. Our *Theologers* thought, that if they burned 'a man or two at *Bruſſels*, the reſt would be corrected by 'it. On the contrary, the ſufferings of theſe men made 'many embrace Lutheraniſm.'

Melancthon anſwered *Eraſmus* politely, and with a much better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars ſhould not bring any prejudice againſt a good cauſe; and that *Luther* did in no wiſe reſemble thoſe whom he had painted in ſuch odious colors. He gently reproved him for drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inſerting ſuch perſons as *Oecolampadius*, and other men of merit, amongſt them. As for himſelf, he declared, that in his conſcience he was perſuaded of the truth of *Luther*'s doctrine, and would never forſake it. But, as to the diſſertation of *Eraſmus* upon free-will, he ſays; "We are not at all "ſhocked at it; for it would be mere tyranny to hinder "any man from giving his opinion in the church of *Chriſt*, "concerning any points of religion. This ought to be "free to every one, who will deliver his ſentiments with-"out paſſion and partiality. Your moderation in that

"treatiſe

" treatiſe hath been applauded; and yet ſuffer me to tell " you, that ſometimes you bite too hard. But *Luther* is " not ſo eaſily provoked, as to be unable to bear diſſent; " and he promiſeth to obſerve the ſame moderation in his " reply. It is alſo your duty to be very cautious not to " bring an odium upon a cauſe, which the holy ſcrip- " tures ſo evidently favour. As you yourſelf have not as " yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you " will wound your own conſcience. You know that we " ought to examine, and not to deſpiſe prophecies."

Eraſmus replied, in another long epiſtle to *Melancthon*, that he had not much exhorted him to forſake the Reformers, knowing it would be labor loſt; but could have wiſhed that *Melancthon* had applied himſelf entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the ſtudy of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the monks then called it. He declared, his only view was to promote the good of both parties, and to diſſuade tumults; and he wiſhed, that a Reformation might be made without ſtrife and contention. This was wiſhing impoſſibilities, conſidering the temper of the Romaniſts.

All *Europe* was convinced, that *Melancthon* was not ſo averſe, as *Luther*, to an accommodation with the Romaniſts; and that he would have ſacrificed many things for the ſake of peace. This appears chiefly by the book he wrote concerning things indifferent; which was ſo ill received by *Illyricus*. *Melancthon* adviſed the Reformers not to contend ſcrupulouſly about indifferent things; provided thoſe rites and ceremonies had nothing of idolatry in them; and to bear ſome hardſhips, if it might be done without impiety. *Illyricus*, on the contrary, cried out, that people ſhould rather deſert all the churches, and threaten an inſurrection, than to bear a ſurplice. Some Romaniſts have been inſpired with the ſame ſpirit, which calls to mind what a Jeſuit ſaid, 'that they would not put out one wax-' taper, though it were to convert all the Hugonots.'

The elector of *Saxony*, and ſome other princes, ſupported the Reformers at the diet of *Spires:* But, after ſeveral debates, it was ordered, 'that the doctrine about ' the euchariſt ſhould not be entertained: That the maſs ' ſhould be continued, and the celebration of it permitted ' even in thoſe places where the reformed doctrine pre- ' vailed: That the Anabaptiſts ſhould be proſcribed: ' And, that one prince ſhould not protect the ſubjects of ' another.' The reforming princes oppoſed this decree, and alledged, 'that their miniſters had proved, by invin-

' cible

'cible arguments taken out of ſcripture, that the popiſh 'maſs was contrary to the inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and 'the practice of the apoſtles: That they could not permit 'the Lord's Supper to be adminiſtered in a different man-'ner in the ſame church: That there was nothing more 'certain than the word of God, which explained itſelf; 'and therefore they would take care, that nothing elſe 'ſhould be taught than the Old and New Teſtament in 'their purity: And they declared, that the decree of the 'former diet was made for the preſervation of peace; but 'that this would infallibly occaſion wars and troubles in '*Germany*.' This was put in writing by way of *proteſtation*, and publiſhed, on the nineteenth of *April*, 1529, as a ſolemn inſtrument of appeal to the emperor, and a general or national council. This gave the Reformers the name of PROTESTANTS. The inſtrument of proteſtation was ſigned by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*; *Erneſt*, and *Francis*, dukes of *Lunenberg*; the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the prince of *Anhalt*; as alſo by the deputies for the fourteen cities of *Straſburgh*, *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Reuthingen*, *Windeſheim*, *Memmingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Hailbron*, *Iſne*, *Weiſſemberg*, *Nordlingen*, and St. *Gall*.

Oecolampadius wrote to *Melancthon*, deſiring him to declare his opinion in favor of the *Zuinglians*, that the conteſt might ceaſe between them and the *Lutherans*. *Melancthon* anſwered, that he could not approve of the opinion of the Sacramentarians; but that, if he would act politickly, he ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe, as he knew there were many learned men among them, whoſe friendſhip would be advantageous to him; ſo that, if he could have concurred with them, in their opinion about the Lord's Supper, he would have ſpoken freely. He obſerved, that the Zuinglians ſuppoſed the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* to be abſent, and only to be repreſented in the ſacrament, as perſons are repreſented upon a theatre: But he conſidered, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had promiſed to be with us to the end of the world: That it is not neceſſary to ſeparate the divinity from the humanity; ſo that he was perſuaded, the ſacrament was a pledge of the real preſence, and that the body of *Jeſus Chriſt* was truly received in the Lord's Supper: That the proper import of the word was not contrary to any article of faith, but agreed with other places of ſcripture where the preſence of *Chriſt* was mentioned. He declared, it is an opinion unbecoming a Chriſtian, to believe that *Jeſus Chriſt* is, as it were, impriſoned in heaven: That *Oecolampadius* only propounded ſome abſurdities, and the judgement of ſome fathers, againſt it; neither

of

of which ought to influence thoſe who know, that the myſteries of religion are to be judged by the word of God, and not by geometrical principles; as they muſt alſo know that many contradictions are to be met with in the writings of the antients: But he ſaid, that the greateſt number of the expreſſions in the moſt eminent authors, proves the doctrine of the real preſence to be the general ſenſe of the church.

Oecolampadius replied; and the conſequence was a friendly conference at *Marpurg*, in *October* following, between the heads of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. The landgrave of *Heſſe* was preſent at this conference, where *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and *Hedio*, appeared on one ſide; and *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Juſtus Jonas*, *Oſiander*, *Brentius*, and *Agricola*, on the other ſide. The Lutherans propoſed ſuch articles as they objected againſt in the doctrine of the Zuinglians: Firſt, That there was no ſuch thing as original ſin; but it was only a natural infirmity and weakneſs; and that baptiſm did not take away any ſin in children. Secondly, That the Holy Ghoſt is not conferred by the uſe of the word of God, and the ſacraments; but without that word, and thoſe ſacraments. Thirdly, That ſome of them were ſuppoſed to have erroneous thoughts about the divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the holy Trinity. Fourthly, That they ſet the value of faith as to our juſtification, high enough; but ſeemed to attribute juſtification to good works. Fifthly, That they did not think the body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* were really in the Lord's Supper. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* cleared themſelves fully of the ſuſpicion they lay under about the Trinity, and Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt:* But they had long diſputes about original ſin, and the operation of the ſacraments; in which points *Melancthon* agreed with *Zuinglius*, by explaining, or altering his former opinions; ſo that they differed only about the euchariſt. *Luther* could not ſo fully agree with *Zuinglius*, as may be ſeen in his life.

The diet of *Augſburg* was held in *June*, 1530. Nothing coſt *Melancthon* more pains, than the taſk that was given him this year, to draw up a *confeſſion of faith*; which is called the *Augſburg* confeſſion, becauſe it was preſented to the emperor at the diet in that city. *Melancthon* drew up this *confeſſion of faith* out of the memoirs ſent to the elector of *Saxony*. It was divided into two parts. The firſt contained twenty-one articles upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original ſin, the incarnation, juſtification, the goſpel-miniſtry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgement, free-will, the cauſe

of ſin, faith, good works, and the adoration of ſaints. The other part was concerning the ceremonies and uſages of the church, which the proteſtants ſaid were abuſed; ſuch as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of prieſts, confeſſion, abſtinence from meats, monaſtic vows, and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

Melancthon had reviſed, and corrected, this confeſſion ſeveral times; but had much difficulty to pleaſe *Luther* at laſt. Indeed, it is probable, that *Luther* would not have tempered his ſtyle with ſo much moderation: It was a difficult time; and all ſweetneſs of expreſſion, which affected not the merits of their cauſe, was then neceſſary to be added.

This confeſſion was ſigned by the proteſtant princes, and read before the emperor in a ſpecial aſſembly of the empire, who were then diſmiſſed, that they might conſult what reſolutions they ſhould come to in this affair. Their judgements were divided. The more violent ſaid, that the edict of *Worms* ought to be put in execution; and ſuch, as would not obey, ſhould be compelled by the civil powers. Others were for chooſing a certain number of honeſt, learned, and indifferent perſons, according to whoſe judgement the emperor was to decide all matters. And a third party were for giving the confeſſion of faith to the popiſh divines to confute, and the confutation to be read, in a full diet, before the proteſtants. This laſt advice was taken, and *John Faber*, *John Cochlæus*, *Eckius*, *Wimpina*, *Collinus*, and ſome other popiſh divines, were appointed to draw up a confutation, which they finiſhed, and delivered to the emperor and the popiſh princes, who were of opinion that all the ſevere expreſſions, which the divines could not refrain from bringing in, ſhould be taken out. When this was done, the emperor called the proteſtants together, on the third of *Auguſt*, and told them, he had communicated their confeſſion to ſome learned and religious perſons, to give their opinion of it, and to obſerve what was ſound, or what was contrary to the faith of the church: That they had given their judgements in writing, which he had approved; and then ordered it to be read before them by one of his ſecretaries.

The *Romiſh* divines examined the proteſtants confeſſion of faith ſtep by ſtep in their anſwer. They fully approved of ſome articles; as the firſt about the holy Trinity; the third about the incarnation; the eighth about the wicked in the church, and that the ſacraments adminiſtered by wicked perſons are good; the ninth about the neceſſity of baptiſm, and the baptiſm of infants; the tenth about the Lord's

Lord's Supper; the thirteenth about the operation of the ſacraments, though they judged that article to be defective, becauſe they would not acknowledge ſeven ſacraments; the fourteenth about the calling of miniſters, provided they allowed of a canonical ordination; the ſixteenth about the authority of the magiſtrates; the ſeventeenth about the laſt judgement and the reſurrection; and the eighteenth about free-will. But they rejected other articles; as the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and twentieth, that men are not juſtified by the merit of good works, but by faith alone; the ſeventh, that the church is a congregation of ſaints; and that it is ſufficient, to preſerve its unity, that men agree in the doctrine of the goſpel, and about the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, without following the ſame uſages and traditions: The twenty-firſt, about the invocation and worſhip of ſaints. Thoſe, which they partly received, and partly rejected, were the ſecond, about original ſin, which they approved, except the definition of ſin given in it, which ſeems to agree better to actual than original ſin; the eleventh alſo, about abſolution, they allowed of, but diſliked what is ſaid in it about confeſſion; in the twelfth, about repentance, they did not like the aſſertion that faith is a part of repentance, and what concerns ſatisfaction; the fifteenth was approved, as to what is ſaid there, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are to be obſerved; but rejected ſo far, as it ſays, that the cuſtoms received by tradition, as celibacy, and vows, are of no uſe to obtain grace, or make ſatisfaction to God.

As to the ſecond part of the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, in which the proteſtants aſſerted, that the communion under one kind, celibacy of prieſts, the ceremonies of the maſs, private maſſes, the name of ſacrifice given to the maſs, monaſtic vows, abſtinence, faſts, and auricular confeſſion, are abuſes: The popiſh divines maintained, in their anſwer, they were not abuſes, but religious and holy uſages, commanded by ſcripture, and confirmed by tradition: Yet they acknowledged, there were ſome abuſes in them that wanted reformation, and which the emperor promiſed to obtain.

The *Romiſh* divines deſired the proteſtants to return to the old communion of the church. The elector of *Saxony* anſwered for the proteſtants, that if the Romaniſts could prove, that the proteſtants had advanced any error, they would recant it; and if they deſired any farther explication, they were ready to give it: That, ſince they had approved of ſome articles of their doctrine, and rejected

others, it was neceſſary they ſhould confirm and explain thoſe in diſpute.

In conſequence of this, a conference was held at *Augsburg* on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, between ſeventeen *Romiſh* divines, and ſome of the proteſtants: But this was of no effect. The Romaniſts ſaid, if the Proteſtants would not ſatisfy the emperor, by uniting in matters of faith with the princes and members of the empire, they would bring great troubles upon *Germany* by the wars and tumults, which their ſeparation would raiſe. The proteſtants anſwered, by *George Brucke*, their deputy, that they took it ill to be threatened; and complained, that the emperor would not ſuffer them to be heard ſufficiently: That they could not be allowed a copy of the confutation of their confeſſion, but upon hard terms; and that it was expected, they ſhould approve of it, without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a ſafe conſcience: That though it was promiſed and concluded, in the laſt diet of *Spires*, that a council ſhould be held, nothing was done in it ſince. The committee of the *Romiſh* deputies replied, that the proteſtants had no reaſon to complain of his imperial majeſty: That the condition on which he offered them a copy of the confutation of their confeſſion was not hard, becauſe he was ſenſible how they uſed the edict of *Worms:* That they might with greater ſafety conſent to the doctrine of the univerſal church, than of a ſmall number of heretics and apoſtates, who could not agree among themſelves: And that the emperor, having two wars upon his hands, could have no hopes of holding a council at that time.

The proteſtants ſhewed reaſons for their ſeparation, and offered to chuſe a ſmall number of perſons on both ſides, who might treat amicably together, and conſult if they could not find out ſome way of agreement. This propoſal was received; and ſeven perſons were nominated by both parties to confer about religion; two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. The Romaniſts were the biſhop of *Augſburg*, and the duke of *Brunſwick*; the chancellor of the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the chancellor of the marquis of *Baden*; *Eckius*, *Wimpina*, and *Cochlæus*. For the proteſtants were the elector of *Saxony*'s ſon, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*; the lawyers *Brucke* and *Heller*; and the divines *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schepfius*. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the confeſſion of *Augſburg*; ſo that there remained but ſix, three of which were only diſputed againſt in part; and the other three were remitted to the ſecond part of their confeſſion,

ſeſſion, about which it was more difficult to come to an agreement. *Melanćthon*, and the other Lutherans, agreed to theſe points of doctrine: That men ſhould not be ſaid to be juſtified by faith alone, but by faith and grace: That good works are neceſſary: That reprobates are included in the church: That man hath a free-will: That the bleſſed ſaints intercede for us, and may be honored. In the other ſeven articles, they agreed, that the body and blood of *Chriſt* were contained in both elements, and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the euchariſt only under one kind: That the uſual veneration ſhould be given to the holy ſacrament: That the public maſs ſhould be celebrated with the uſual ceremonies, and that they ſhould obſerve what is eſſential in the conſecration: That the faſts on the vigils might be ſtill obſerved, and ſome holydays kept: That the biſhops ſhould hold their juriſdictions; and that pariſh prieſts, preachers, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſhould ſubmit to them in ſpiritual matters; and that their excommunications ſhould not be contemned.

The *Romiſh* divines, on the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, made their report to the diet, upon what terms they ſtood with the Lutherans. It was then thought, that it would be a ſpeedier way to perfect the agreement by reducing the deputies to three; and that both parties ſhould appoint two lawyers, and one divine. *Melanćthon* was choſe by the Proteſtants, and *Eckius* by the Romaniſts. The points upon which they debated, were principally the maſs, vows, and celibacy of prieſts. The Romaniſts conſented, that the married prieſts might live with their wives; but they would not relax in the buſineſs of the maſs and vows. *Melanćthon*, who was very much inclined to peace, might have come nearer, if he had been inveſted with ample powers: But the other Proteſtants had been diſſatisfied with his condeſcenſion, and ordered him to advance no farther. This put an end to all kinds of accommodation: But *Melanćthon* drew up "An apology for the *Augſburg* "confeſſion;" which the proteſtant princes offered to preſent to the emperor, who refuſed to receive it, and it was publiſhed the next year.

Luther was not at the diet of *Augſburg*, but he wrote to *Melanćthon* about the tranſactions there. The former was of opinion, that all propoſals of an accommodation would be ineffectual; but the latter tried to moderate the mind of *Luther*, and ſtop his heat.

Eraſmus alſo wrote to *Melanćthon* in theſe words; 'God 'alone, my dear *Philip*, can unravel the intricate plot of

'the tragedy which is now acting. Ten councils aſſem-
'bled together could not do it; much leſs ſuch an one as
'I. If a man ſays a reaſonable thing, it is ſtraightway
'called Lutheraniſm.' *Melancthon* anſwered *Eraſmus* from *Augſburg*, and prayed him to continue the charitable office of exhorting the emperor to moderation. *Eraſmus* replied with ſome peeviſhneſs and reſentment, ſaying, that he would not concern himſelf in behalf of the evangelics. However, he was better than his word, and did write to cardinal *Campejus*, deſiring him to diſſuade the emperor from making a religious war.

The ſweating ſickneſs, which broke out in *England* in 1485, raged this year in *Germany*, among other calamities; and the affairs of the poor proteſtants were ſo bad, in all appearance, that *Melancthon* was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with ſorrow. *Luther*, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of conſolation.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had a very great regard for *Melancthon*, whom he invited to *England*, and expected there. *Peter Martyr*, and his companion *Ochinus*, had their annual allowance from the king; but ſome more extraordinary annuity was intended for *Melancthon*.

Francis I. king of *France*, had a great love for learning and learned men. He eſtabliſhed profeſſors of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages at *Paris*. The revival of letters in *France*, which had been in a manner extinguiſhed for ſeveral ages, was owing to this prince, who was therefore called the *Father of Letters*. He married *Eleanor*, the emperor's ſiſter, in 1530; at which time there was a great controverſy about religion in *France*, and the king was deſirous of having *Melancthon* to come there, as he judged him a proper perſon to pacify the diſputes. We are told, that the queen of *Navarre* often talked to the king her brother of a very good man, as ſhe ſaid, who was called *Philip Melancthon*, whom ſhe was continually praiſing as the moſt learned man of his time; and that ſhe did not doubt, but if ſo holy and able a man could confer with the doctors of the *Sorbonne*, they would quickly find the means of reſtoring peace to the church. Whereupon this prince, who otherwiſe had a great deſire to bring into *France* the ableſt men of his time, wrote to *Melancthon*, and invited him to come to *Paris*, to join his endeavors with the *French* divines to reſtore the antient diſcipline of the church. This letter was dated at *Guiſe*, the twenty-eighth of *June*, 1535, and declared the pleaſure the king had, that *Melancthon* was diſpoſed to come into *France*, to endeavor to pacify the controverſies. *Melancthon* wrote

to

to the king, the twenty-eighth of *September* following, and aſſured him of his good intentions; but that he was ſorry he had not ſurmounted the obſtacles to his journey. *Langey* was ordered to ſound *Melancthon*, if he was inclined to change his chair of theology at *Wittenberg*, whoſe income was only two hundred crowns a year, for a royal profeſſor's chair in the univerſity of *Paris*, at twelve hundred crowns a year. *Varillas* ſays, 'the elector of *Saxony* permitted *Melancthon* to go into *France*, in hopes that he would make all the *French* turn Lutherans. But *Luther*, who could not be without *Melancthon*, detained him a long time, upon pretence that he was to concert, or, to ſpeak more properly, to poliſh with him his laſt book againſt the Anabaptiſts.' *Bayle* contradicts *Varillas*, and ſays, the elector of *Saxony* could not be prevailed upon to grant *Melancthon* the liberty of going to *France*, and wrote his excuſes to *Francis* I. *Luther* did not detain *Melancthon*; but made repeated inſtances to the elector for his journey. In fact, *Melancthon* could never obtain leave from the elector to make it, although *Luther* had earneſtly exhorted that prince to conſent to this journey, by repreſenting to him, that the hopes of ſeeing *Melancthon* had put a ſtop to the perſecution of the proteſtants in *France*.

The king of *England* alſo deſired to ſee *Melancthon:* But neither of theſe two monarchs ever ſaw him. However, *Melancthon* ſent a ſmall piece into *France*, which contained his advices about reconciling of the controverſies.

Luther, in 1536, wrote upon his table theſe words following: *Res et verba Philippus; verba ſine rebus Eraſmus; res ſine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Caroloſtadius.* 'Philip *Melancthon* is both ſubſtance and words; *Eraſmus*, words without ſubſtance; *Luther*, ſubſtance without words; and *Caroloſtad* neither ſubſtance nor words.' *Melancthon* unawares coming to *Luther* at that time, and reading the ſame, ſmiled, and ſaid, "Touching *Eraſmus* and *Caroloſtadius*, it is well judged and cenſured; but too much is attributed unto me; alſo good words ought to be aſcribed to *Luther*, for he ſpeaketh exceeding well."

Melancthon, in 1541, aſſiſted at the conferences of *Spires* and *Ratiſbon*, where the controverſies between the Romaniſts and Proteſtants were warmly diſputed. At the former, the papiſts choſe *Eckius*, and the proteſtants appointed *Melancthon*, to confer about the points in controverſy, and agreed that they ſhould begin to diſcourſe about original ſin. They entered upon it, and continued the conference three days, when *Nicholas Granville*, who was then prime miniſter to the emperor, and his commiſſioner

at

at the conference, received a letter from his imperial majeſty, which ordered that the conference ſhould be diſcontinued, and all things referred to the diet of *Ratiſbon*, where the proteſtants were ordered to meet. This diet was opened in *March*, in the preſence of the emperor, who appointed *Eckius*, *Pflugius*, and *Gropper*, to manage it for the Romaniſts; and, for the Proteſtants, *Melanctbon*, *Bucer*, and *Piſtorius*. He commanded them to lay aſide all paſſion, and to reſpect the glory of God only in that conference. *Frederic*, brother to the elector palatine, was appointed preſident; who opened the conference on the 27th of *April*, when a writing was produced, which contained twenty-two articles, wherein the whole ſubſtance of religion was comprized. It was imagined, that this writing was drawn up by *John Gropper*; but the emperor ſaid, it was preſented to him by perſons of learning and piety, to forward the peace: He therefore deſired them to examine it, that they might approve of what was well, correct what was amiſs, and terminate all differences. *Dupin* has ſet forth all theſe articles, which are too long to be inſerted here. The proteſtants examined, and objected to ſeveral of them; which was reſented by the legate, and the diet was concluded by the emperor, who commanded that the decree of the diet of *Augſburg* ſhould ſtill continue; but he ſuſpended all proſecutions in the imperial chamber concerning matters of religion, till either a general or national council was held. In the courſe of this diſputation, it ought to be mentioned to the honor of *Melanctbon*, that when *Eckius* propoſed a ſophiſm ſomewhat puzzling, *Melanctbon* pauſed a little, and ſaid, "that he "would give an anſwer to it next day." Upon which *Eckius* repreſented to him the diſgrace of ſuch a ſcholar requiring ſo long a time; but *Melanctbon* replied, like an honeſt man, "*Mi doctor, non quæro meam gloriam in hoc* "*negotio, ſed veritatem:*" i. e. My good doctor, I am not ſeeking my own glory in this affair, but the truth. However, he got a complete victory over *Eckius*; who dared no more to ſhew his face in the controverſy.

In 1543, *Melanctbon* went to the elector of *Cologne*, to aſſiſt him in introducing a Reformation into his dioceſe, which proved ineffectual. *Bucer* and *Piſtorius* aſſiſted *Melanctbon* in drawing up the articles for the elector: But *Gropper* compoſed a treatiſe againſt thoſe articles, and the divines of *Cologne* ſtood ſo firm againſt their archbiſhop, that he was unable to introduce the proteſtant religion in his electorate. However, the elector of *Cologne*, and the elector palatine, renounced popery.

Melanctbon

Melancthon had two ſons, and two daughters, by *Catharine Crappin*, the daughter of a burgomaſter of *Wittenberg*, whom he married in the year 1520, and lived very happily with till the year 1557, when ſhe died. His daughter *Anne* was married to *George Sabinus*, of *Wittenberg*, in 1536, when ſhe was only fourteen years old. *Sabinus* was one of the beſt poets of his time; and *Eraſmus*, in 1534, had highly recommended him to *Melancthon*. *Anne* underſtood *Latin* well, and was very handſome. Her father loved her tenderly: But there had been ſeveral quarrels between the father-in-law and the ſon-in-law; becauſe *Sabinus* was ambitious to obtain civil employments, and diſliked the humility of *Melancthon*, who confined himſelf to literary employments, and would be at no trouble to advance his children. *Sabinus*, in 1543, carried his wife into *Pruſſia*, to the great grief of *Melancthon*; and ſhe died at *Konigſberg* in 1547. *Melancthon*'s other daughter was married, in 1550, to *Gaſper Peucer*, who was an able phyſician, and was very much perſecuted. *Melancthon*, was certainly a good father, as appears by this ſtory. A *Frenchman* found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a child with the other. *Melancthon*, ſeeing him ſurprized at this, made ſuch a pious diſcourſe to him about the duty of a father, and the ſtate of grace in which children are with God, that this ſtranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

Melancthon had much of his time taken up by the affair of the *Interim*. He attended ſeven conferences upon this ſubject in 1548; and wrote all the pieces that were preſented there, as alſo the cenſure of that *Interim*.

About this time *Melancthon* was expected in *England*, by king *Edward* VI. to which he was excited by biſhop *Latimer*, the great court-preacher, who ſaid before the young monarch, in one of his ſermons; 'I hear ſay, Mr. 'Melancthon, that great clerk, ſhould come hither. I 'would wiſh him, and ſuch as he is, two hundred pounds 'a year. The king ſhould never want it in his coffers 'at the year's end.'

Melancthon was one of the deputies, whom *Maurice*, elector of *Saxony*, was to ſend to the council of *Trent* in 1552. He waited ſome time at *Nuremberg* for a ſafe-conduct; but he returned from thence to *Wittenberg*, on account of the war which was ready to break out. His laſt conference with the doctors of the *Romiſh* communion was at *Worms*, in 1557; and of the diſſentions that afflicted him, there was none more violent than that which was raiſed by *Flacius Illyricus*.

Melancthon

Melancthon was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition: He had a great deal of wit, much reading, and vaſt knowledge. He lived among a ſort of people who appeared to him paſſionate, and too forward to mix human methods, and the authority of the ſecular power, with the affairs of the church. His tender conſcience made him fear there was a mark of reprobation in it: But he muſt have well weighed all inconveniences, when he caſt his eyes upon *Paleſtine*, as *Abelard* had formerly done, to retire there, in caſe his enemies ſhould drive him away. "I am not de-"jected, ſays he, at the cruel clamour of my enemies, "who have threatened they will not leave me a footſtep "in *Germany*. But I commit myſelf to the Son of God. "If I ſhall be driven away alone, I am determined to go "to *Paleſtine*, and, in thoſe lurking places of *Jerom*, by "calling upon the Son of God, to write clear teſtimonies "of the divine doctrine, and in death to recommend my "ſoul to God."

The teſtimonies of piety with which *Melancthon* ended his days were admirable: And it is obſervable, that one thing which made him look upon death as a happineſs, was, that it delivered him from theological perſecutions. Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reaſons why he ought not to be ſorry for leaving this world. One of thoſe columns contained the bleſſings that death would procure him: The other contained the evils from which death would deliver him. The firſt column had ſix heads. Firſt, That he ſhould come to the light. Secondly, That he ſhould ſee God. Thirdly, That he ſhould contemplate the Son of God. Fourthly, That he ſhould underſtand thoſe admirable myſteries which he could not comprehend in this life. Fifthly, Why we are created ſuch as we are. Sixthly, What is the union of the two natures in *Jeſus Chriſt*. The ſecond column had only two articles: Firſt, That he ſhould ſin no more. Secondly, That he ſhould be no longer expoſed to the vexations and rage of the divines.

The ſtate of man appeared to this great divine to be one of the moſt incomprehenſible myſteries of religion; and yet there is not one among thoſe who believe without examining, that imagines there is any difficulty in it.

Melancthon ſaid, he had held his profeſſor's place forty years, without ever being ſure that he ſhould not loſe it before the end of the week. None liked his mildneſs, which expoſed him to all ſorts of ſlander, and deprived him of the means of anſwering a fool according to his folly. The only advantage it procured him was to look

upon death without fear, by conſidering that it would ſecure him from theological hatred and contentions.

Hoornbeeck attributed to *Melancthon* the *Greek* verſion of the *Augſburg* confeſſion, which appeared under the name of *Paul Doſcius*: And *Placcius* alſo believed that the tranſlation of *Eccleſiaſticus* and the *Pſalms* into *Greek* verſe was the work of *Melancthon*. It is certain, that he aſſiſted *Luther* in tranſlating the New Teſtament into the *German* language: But *Melchior Adam*, *Teiſſier*, and *Crenius*, were miſtaken, as well as *Placcius*, about his *Greek* verſion of *Eccleſiaſticus*, and the *Pſalms*; for *Lyſerus* has proved that it was done by *Dolſcius*. *Melancthon*, in 1559, wrote in *Greek* to the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and ſaid, "I ſend "you the *Greek* verſion of the *confeſſion*, which was pub- "liſhed without my advice: However, I like the ſtyle, "and have ſent it to *Conſtantinople*." *Melchior Adam* ſays, that this verſion was made by *Melancthon*, though it was publiſhed under the name of *Dolſcius*, who was rector of the college of *Hall* in *Saxony*. But *Melancthon*'s own words ſhew that he did not make this verſion.

Peucer was heard to ſay, that *Melancthon*, his father-in-law, having read the dialogue *de Cœna domini*, wrote by *Oecolampadius*, forſook the opinion of the oral manducation; and that afterwards he triumphed in the argument from the doctrine of the fathers. He ſaid, "The doctrine "of conſubſtantiation was unknown to the fathers; and "that *Auguſtine* was a groſs Zuinglian."

Melancthon explained himſelf freely to an *Hungarian*, who aſked his opinion about the euchariſt. This was reported to *Pomeranus*, who afterwards addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people in a ſermon: 'Moſt dear bre- 'thren, the church is in great danger: Pray to God for 'ſome great perſons that are fallen into error.' *Melancthon* was preſent, and underſtood that this was meant of him: He could not ſuppreſs his anger, and went out of the church in ſight of all the congregation. *Hoſpinian* has undertaken to prove, that *Melancthon* turned from Lutheraniſm, as to the point of the real preſence; though the fear of oppreſſion prevented him from declaring his judgement openly.

Melancthon ſpent all his life in ſtudy, and ſeemed not to be capable of any other labor. He ſubſiſted upon the ſalary he received from *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, as profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of *Wittenberg*; which was juſt ſufficient to maintain his family. His conſtitution was very weak, and required great tenderneſs and management; which made *Luther*, zealous as he was,

blame him for laboring too earneſtly in the vineyard. 'I 'am extremely grieved, ſays he, for your very bad ſtate 'of health; and my prayers are continually offered up for 'your recovery, that there may be ſomebody, when I am 'dead, who may be a bulwark to the houſe of *Iſrael* 'againſt the ragings of *Satan*. In the mean time, why 'do you embarraſs and load yourſelf with ſo much buſi-'neſs and labour, regardleſs of all the admonitions which 'have been given you? The time will come, when you 'will condemn, but it will be too late, this inconſiderate 'zeal, which now poſſeſſes you, and urges you to under-'take ſo much more than you are able to bear, as if you 'had a conſtitution of iron or ſtone.'

In the beginning of his ſickneſs, he ſaid; "I deſire to "be diſſolved, and to be with *Chriſt*." And when his intimate friend *Camerarius* took his laſt leave of him, and commended him to God, *Melanchon* ſaid; "*Jeſus Chriſt*, "the Son of God, who ſitteth at the right hand of the "Father, and giveth gifts to men, preſerve you and "yours, and us all." Feeling himſelf very ſick, he cried; "O Lord, make an end!"

Having received letters from *Francfort*, concerning the perſecution of ſome godly men in *France*, he ſaid, "that "his bodily diſeaſe was not comparable to the grief of "his mind for his godly friends, and for the miſeries of "the church." Raiſing himſelf up in his bed, he cried out; "If God be for us, who can be againſt us?" After this he prayed to himſelf; and being at length aſked by his ſon-in-law, if he would have any thing, he anſwered, "Nothing but heaven; therefore, trouble me no more "with ſpeaking to me." Soon after this he gave up the ghoſt, at *Wittenberg*, on the nineteenth of *April*, 1560, which was the ſixty-third day of his ſixty-fourth year. He was honorably buried near *Luther*, in the church of the caſtle, two days after: And his funeral oration was ſpoken by *Winſhemius*, a doctor of phyſic, and profeſſor of the *Greek* tongue.

When he was firſt converted, he thought it impoſſible for his hearers to withſtand the evidence of the truth in the miniſtry of the goſpel; but, after preaching awhile, he complained, "That old *Adam* was too hard for young "*Melanchon*."

It is aſtoniſhing, that, amidſt ſo many other occupations, *Melanchon* could write ſo many books. The number of them is prodigious; and a chronological catalogue of them was publiſhed in 1582, by *Mylius*. *Chriſtopher Pezelius*, profeſſor of theology at *Wittenberg*, in 1578, publiſhed

liſhed ſome extracts of *Melanćthon*'s works, in which he put the objections and anſwers concerning theological matters in a very good method, and interſperſed ſome ſhort obſervations. This work contains eight volumes in octavo, which have been printed ſeveral times at *Neuſtat*. *Melanćthon* finiſhed few pieces, and publiſhed many imperfect. He found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather choſe to print many of them, than to perfect a ſmall number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him ſome aſſurance that his works would be eſteemed, though unfiniſhed. His *Latin* verſes pleaſed the hypercritical *Julius Cæſar Scaliger*: And *Gaſpar Buſchius*, poet-laureat to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, tranſlated *Melanćthon*'s catechiſm, and his poſtilles, into *German*, as alſo a letter of his to the count *de Weda*.

Melanćthon was ſo cool in his temper, that he examined matters the more freely on both ſides, and was not peremptory in his opinions, becauſe he was convinced that his knowledge might daily increaſe; for he remembered that he had corrected many things in his own writings, which he had believed to be good when they were firſt publiſhed. His modeſty and experience rendered him a little diſtruſtful. He loved peace; and deplored the confuſion of the times. He was even diſpoſed to judge favorably of ſeveral doctrines to facilitate a re-union. Modeſty, moderation, and love of peace, form in the minds of the moſt knowing men, a certain principle of equity, which makes them lukewarm and irreſolute; and this ſeems to have been the character of *Melanćthon*. In ſome caſes, however, (as *Zanchius* obſerved of him) his natural timidity led him to concur with and do many things, which his judgement diſapproved, and which were afflicting to many good men, who loved him ſincerely.

He publiſhed ſeveral books on rhetoric, logic, and grammar, as well as on theology. His common-places were publiſhed in 1521, when he was only twenty-four years of age; and there is reaſon to believe that he was an author in print before the age of twenty. The parliament at *Paris*, in 1523, cenſured ſome of his works, as they did thoſe of *Luther* and *Caroloſtadius*. The court condemned the writings of *Melanćthon*, as containing 'things contrary to holy ſcripture, ſound reaſon, the 'councils, the doctrine of the univerſal church, and judge-'ment of the catholic fathers; being full of ſchiſmatical 'and heretical propoſitions already condemned, contain-

'ing the doctrines of *Luther*, and more dangerous than 'his books, becauſe of the artifices and ſmoothneſs of his 'diſcourſe: And to ſhew that they had reaſon to con-'demn them, they joined a general cenſure of ſome pro-'poſitions taken out of his book of common-places, his 'commentary upon the epiſtle to the *Romans*, his treatiſe 'againſt the cenſures of the ſorbonne, his letters, and 'declarations.' The Lutheran doctrine was then encouraged in the *French* court; and it is no wonder that every Reformer was cenſured by the ſorbonne and parliament, who condemned *Meſgret* for favoring the licence which *Wickliffe* had introduced; and paſſed a general cenſure upon the colloquies of *Eraſmus*, while that eminent genius paid *Melancthon* the higheſt compliments, and ſaid he was deſirous of joining with him in his endeavors for the peace of the church; but that there were ſome men, of reputation and authority, who treated all thoſe as heretics that had any correſpondence with *Melancthon*.

Melancthon, *Cruciger*, *Bugenhagius*, and *Aurogallus*, aſſiſted *Luther* in his *German* tranſlation of the bible. *Luther* preſided over the work; and collated the *Vulgate* tranſlation, his new one, and the original text. *Melancthon* compared theſe with the *Septuagint*. *Cruciger* conferred the *Hebrew* with the *Chaldee*; and the other aſſiſtants explored the rabbinical writings. Every one came to conference prepared for the particular paſſages under conſideration; and each delivered in his judgement upon the ſeveral texts: Theſe were all collated and examined, before they concluded upon and determined the final expreſſion.—This was a great work, highly valuable in itſelf, and the moſt effectual means, in the hand of God, both of preparing and eſtabliſhing the REFORMATION.

JOHN à LASCO:

THE POLISH REFORMER.

GOD calleth his church out of every people, and nation, and tongue. It is declared that every country under heaven ſhall bear witneſs of the power of his grace, as well as participate the bleſſings of his providence; and that he is, and will be, *rich unto all that call upon* HIM.

This

This excellent man was born of a noble family, (which took its name from *Laſco*, or *Latzki*, or *Latzco*,) in *Poland*, and received a very learned and accompliſhed education. His brother *Jerom* was alſo a very able and conſiderable man, and was employed by the emperor *Ferdinand* to negotiate an affair of great importance with the *Turks*, as his ambaſſador: And he had an uncle, of his own name, who was archbiſhop of *Gneſna* in *Poland*, to whom *Eraſmus* dedicated his edition of St. *Ambroſe*'s works.

To attain the knowledge of every thing worth knowing, he ſet out upon his travels. His diſtinguiſhed abilities procured him an eaſy acceſs to ſeveral crowned heads, whoſe countries he viſited; and his eloquence, as well as his learning, made him acceptable every where.

In the courſe of his learned purſuits, we find him traverſing the *Alps*, and ſitting himſelf down in the barren cold region of *Switzerland*. It ſeems, that divine grace, while he was viſiting the world, here firſt viſited his heart. It not only viſited, but fixed its abode within him. *Zuinglius* appears to have been the inſtrument; for we find, that he ſtaid ſome time with him at *Zurick*, and that *Zuinglius*, being fully acquainted with his eminent talents as well as gracious affections, prevailed upon him to ſtudy divinity, with a view of promoting the cauſe of the goſpel.

After ſome ſtay at *Zurick*, he returned to his own country: But *Poland* was no favorable place for his profeſſion of proteſtantiſm, or the increaſe of his ſpiritual knowledge as a divine. Accordingly, though his family and connections opened his way for any ſort of preferment; he left his country, his friends, and all human expectations, in order to propagate the truth with freedom, and to enjoy it with ſafety. He did not quit the kingdom, however, without the knowledge and conſent of the king. But, having obtained the royal licence, he choſe rather to ſuffer afflictions (like *Moſes*) with the people of God, than to enjoy all the riches and honors, which the world could afford him. He had been made provoſt of *Gneſna* and biſhop of *Veſprim* in *Hungary*; but theſe dignities had no weight with him to quit or conceal the knowledge of the truth, for which he was accuſed of hereſy, and even ſentenced without hearing. He afterwards wrote to the king upon a ſimilar occaſion, and told him; "That his doctrine of "the ſacrament had been condemned by a preconceived "determination, without any real or juſt knowledge of "the matter by thoſe who condemned him; and that it "was the manner of the papiſts, not to attempt convic-"tion by ſcripture and reaſon, but to employ force and "authority;

" authority; accuſing thoſe of hereſy, who will not ſwal-
" low all they ſay, or maintain whatever abſurdities they
" are pleaſed to affirm."

Sic volo, ſic jubeo: ſtet pro ratione voluntas.

It appears by a popiſh hiſtorian, quoted by *Melchior Adam*, that our noble profeſſor left *Poland* in the year 1540. We find him retired, however, to *Embden* in *Frieſland* about the latter end of the year 1542, where he took upon him the office of a paſtor, and preached conſtantly at his church in that town. In the following year, he was engaged, by *Anne* counteſs dowager of *Oldenburg* in *Eaſt Frieſland*, to introduce and eſtabliſh the reformed religion in that territory. This he attempted with great ſucceſs, and continued in this labor, till he received an invitation from *Albert* duke of *Pruſſia* for the ſame purpoſe. He ſent the prince, in a ſpirit of fairneſs and candor, a declaration of his doctrine of the ſacrament, which accorded with the doctrine of *Zuinglius*; and therefore, as the duke was a Lutheran, the affair dropped between them.

He had labored in the work of the goſpel near ten years in *Eaſt Frieſland*, not daring to venture into *Germany* on account of the threats of *Charles* V. and the conteſt upon the buſineſs of the *Interim*; when he was invited into *England*, by our great and good archbiſhop *Cranmer*, to aſſiſt in the work of the Reformation. This was about the year 1549. He arrived in *England*, when the publication of the *Interim* drove the proteſtants into any country, that would grant them a toleration; and ſuch they found in *England*, where they had ſeveral privileges granted them by king *Edward* the VIth. Three hundred and fourſcore were naturalized, and erected into a corporate body, which was governed by its own laws, and allowed its own form of religious worſhip independent of the church of *England*; which at that time was a moſt extraordinary conceſſion, and proved how highly they were held in eſtimation. A church in *London* (the *Auſtin Friars*) was alſo granted to them, with the revenues belonging to it for the ſubſiſtence of their miniſters, who were either expreſsly nominated, or at leaſt approved, by the king. His majeſty alſo fixed the preciſe number of them. According to this regulation, there were four miniſters, and a ſuperintendant; which poſt was aſſigned to *John à Laſco*, who had been invited over, and who, in the letters patent, is called a perſon of illuſtrious birth, of ſingular probity, and great learning. In the midſt of theſe favors, it was certainly neither prudent nor grateful to attack the eſtabliſhed church,

church, which we find he did by writing a book againſt her ritual, her eccleſiaſtical habits, and the geſture of kneeling at the ſacrament. What a pity, when ſo many eſſentials were concerned, that good men ſhould occupy themſelves and differ about modes, and forms, and trifles!

About this time, 'the emigrants from *Germany* (ſays 'Dr. *Gloceſter Ridley*) on the ſcore of religion, who agreed 'in ſubſtance with us, but under a different diſcipline, 'were to be protected; but, under their wing, crept mul-'titudes of frantic enthuſiaſts, or lurking papiſts perſo-'nating new ſectaries. For ſifting of theſe, in *June* 1550, '*Auſtin Friars* was given to the *Germans* and other fo-'reigners, for their church, under the ſuperintendency 'of *John à Laſco*, the *Polander*; *for avoiding of all ſects of* 'Anabaptiſts and ſuch like, as king *Edward* ſets it down 'in his journal. Theſe were indulged to uſe their own 'rites and ceremonies; and an injunction was given to 'all biſhops, judges and officers, not to moleſt them for 'their non-compliance with the order of religion eſta-'bliſhed here. So that every ſtranger, who was not pro-'tected by *John à Laſco*, became amenable to the *Engliſh* 'governors.'—Thus affairs ſtood (for *Laſco*'s book did not operate to his prejudice); till the death of that excel-lent prince, our *Engliſh Joſiah*, gave a new turn to public expectation, and for a time unhinged the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion.

King *Edward* the VIth was taken from the world on the ſixth of *July*, 1553. The change of public meaſures and counſels was ſoon written in blood. However, *John à Laſco* and the other foreigners of the proteſtant faith, were ſuffered to depart, or rather were ſent away, upon the acceſſion of queen *Mary*. They formed a great com-pany of *Poliſh*, *Germans*, *French*, *Scots*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and others. *John à Laſco* embarked on the ſeventeenth of *September* following, with one hundred and ſeventy-five of his flock, and his colleagues, all, except two, who ſtaid in *England* concealed, together with the reſt of the *Ger-man* proteſtants, who were deprived of their churches, and all their privileges taken away. Theſe diſtreſſed exiles arrived on the coaſt of *Denmark*, in the beginning of a very ſevere winter; but they met with a reception as cold and as barren as the country itſelf. For, though they were known to be proteſtants, yet becauſe they profeſſed the Zuinglian doctrine concerning the ſacrament; to the laſting diſgrace of the *Danes*, both as men and as Chriſ-tians, they were not ſuffered to diſembark, nor to anchor longer than two days, without daring to put their wives

and

and children on ſhore. An inſtance of brutality, which would have diſgraced the *Algerines!* They were treated in the ſame inhoſpitable and unchriſtian manner at *Lubec*, *Wiſmar*, and *Hamburgh*; becauſe, with theſe Lutherans and the papiſts, they could not believe, contrary to the evidence of their ſenſes, and without the leaſt authority from the ſcripture to look after a miracle, that the bread and wine in the ſacrament actually became that very body and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which is aſcended to heaven, and which, it is declared, ſhall remain there, till the final reſtitution of all things. If the manners and diſpoſitions of theſe people had been ever ſo much more churliſh, ſelfiſh, and unfeeling, than they are by nature; ſurely, grace, if they had any, muſt have melted their boſoms at the ſight of ſo much outward ſuffering, and eſpecially of ſo much Chriſtian woe. After ſpending the winter, which is commonly very ſevere in thoſe countries, in this dreadful manner, toſſed about from place to place; they at length reſolved to ſteer for *Embden*, where, after a multitude of perils and hardſhips, they did not arrive till *March*, 1554, when the worſt of the winter was nearly over. From *September* to *March*, they had wandered to and fro, and were driven about upon the ſeas. Through the wide world theſe people ſought after a home, of whom the world, indeed, was not worthy.

At *Embden* they were received with kindneſs and hoſpitality; and moſt of them ſettled in the country. The good counteſs dowager, *Anne* of *Oldenburg*, became their immediate patroneſs, and probably procured for them all the good offices, which they found in *Frieſland*. *John à Laſco*, however, did not remain here; for, in 1555, he went to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, where he obtained leave of the ſenate to build a church for the reformed ſtrangers, and particularly for thoſe of the low countries. While he was at this city, he wrote an apologetical letter to *Sigiſmund* king of *Poland*, againſt the aſperſions of *Joachim Weſtphale*, of *Timann*, and of *Pomeran*, who had all repreſented him as a vagabond, deſirous of drawing away people after him. This letter was written in 1556; and we have given a hint of its contents before.

In this year, 1556, with the conſent of the duke of *Wirtenberg*, he maintained a diſputation againſt *Brentius* the Lutheran, upon the ſubject of the euchariſt. *Brentius* publiſhed a very unfair account of this controverſy, in which he ſtated many things, which *John à Laſco* had not ſaid; and omitted many others, which he had urged, but which bore too hard upon the Lutherans. He alſo abuſed

the

the church of the ſtrangers, over which *John à Laſco* preſided, calumniating them for differing from the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, reſpecting the ſacrament. This obliged our noble ſufferer to publiſh an apology for himſelf and his church, about the beginning of the year 1557, in which he proved, "That their doctrine did not militate with "the *Augſburg* confeſſion concerning the preſence of *Chriſt* "in the ſupper;" as their adverſaries had charged upon them: "But that, if even they did differ from that con-"feſſion, it did not follow they were to be condemned; "if they could juſtify their diſſent from that confeſſion "by the word of God."

Weſtphale ſeems to have been his principal adverſary, and carried his oppoſition with a bitterneſs, very unbecoming a miniſter and a Chriſtian. He called theſe poor refugees by opprobrious names, railed ſeverely at *John à Laſco*, and even went ſo far as to ſay, 'That thoſe, who 'had ſuffered, upon the doctrine of the ſacrament, in '*England*, *Holland*, *France*, and elſewhere, were only the 'martyrs of the devil.'—A raſh expreſſion indeed, which involved in its cenſure ſome of the brighteſt and moſt uſeful inſtruments of the Reformation, whoſe very books *Weſtphale* was not worthy to bear after them! Such hot-headed opinioniſts only injure the cauſe, which has the misfortune of their approbation.

After an abſence of twenty years, our noble *Pole* returned to his native country; where, notwithſtanding the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics did their utmoſt to drive him away; their efforts proved ineffectual, through the favor of *Sigiſmund* the king, who made uſe of his talents in his moſt important affairs. In *Poland*, the harveſt truly was plenteous; but the laborers were few. The popiſh clergy obſtructed every attempt of a Reformation, and would have deſtroyed *John à Laſco*, but for fear of the conſequence to themſelves. They once attempted to remove him from the king's confidence, and had the boldneſs to addreſs his majeſty upon the ſubject. But the king nobly replied, 'That he had indeed heard, that the biſhops had pro-'nounced him an heretic; but the ſenate of the kingdom 'had determined no ſuch matter: That *John à Laſco* was 'ready to prove himſelf untainted with heretical pravity, 'and ſound in the catholic faith.'

When open attacks would not ſerve, they attempted (in the true ſpirit of their profeſſion) to deſtroy him by ſecret arts. No lie, no calumny, was too groſs or bitter for circulation, if there was the leaſt proſpect of its gaining belief among the multitude. They ſet it about, that he

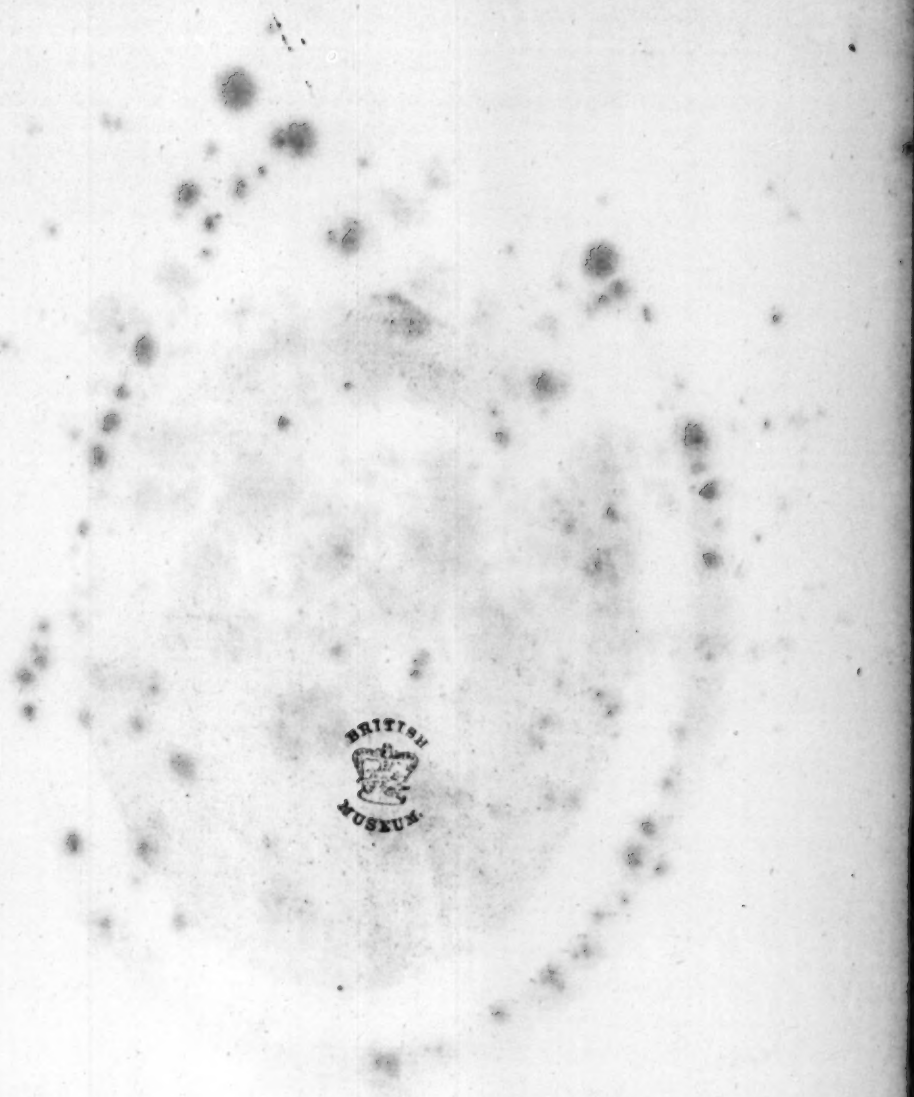
was a trumpet of ſedition, and would ſoon introduce a civil war into the land. But theſe artifices, likewiſe, had no other effect, than to ſhew the malice and wickedneſs of his enemies.

However, it pleaſed God, in a ſhort time, to remove his ſervant out of this turbulent world, and to bring him happily, where the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and where the weary are at reſt. He was taken away by a ſhort ſickneſs in *January*, 1560.

King *Sigiſmund* (as we have obſerved) very highly eſteemed him, and adviſed with him upon his moſt weighty affairs. *John à Laſco* continued in the Helvetic or Zuinglian doctrine of the ſacrament, without any variation; but took very great pains to conciliate the difference, which ſubſiſted upon that article, in the proteſtant churches. He was a man of peace, a miniſter of the goſpel of peace, and peace he wiſhed to promote. And ſo do all thoſe, who have *the peace of God ruling in their hearts*.

The hiſtorians of his time ſpeak very highly in his praiſe. *Eraſmus*, who much eſteemed him, declares, that he had learned ſobriety, temperance, modeſty, diſcretion and chaſtity of him; although being then old, and *John à Laſco* yet young, he ought to have been the maſter, and not the ſcholar. And *Zanchius*, in a letter to him, writes thus; 'Servavit te huc uſque Deus, ut ſicut Lutherus ſuæ Germaniæ, Zuinglius ſuæ Helvetiæ, Calvinus ſuæ Galliæ, ita tu tuæ Poloniæ ſis Apoſtolus:' i. e. God hath hitherto preſerved you, that as *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, were the apoſtles of their own reſpective countries of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *France*; ſo *You*, in like manner, might be the apoſtle of *Poland*, your native land.

His writings were: 1. A book upon the Lord's Supper. 2. An epiſtle, containing a brief diſcuſſion of the controverſy upon the Lord's Supper. 3. A confeſſion of our communion with the Lord *Chriſt*, and the exhibition of his body in the ſacrament; addreſſed to the miniſters of the churches in *Eaſt Frieſland*. 4. An epiſtle to the miniſters of the church at *Bremen*. 5. A tract againſt *Mennon*, the chief of the catabaptiſts. 6. Three epiſtles, concerning the right method of church-government. 7. An epiſtle apologetical to king *Sigiſmund* and the ſtates of *Poland*. 8. A defence of the church of refugees at *Frankfort*, upon the calumny about the Lord's Supper. 9. An anſwer to the virulent addreſs of *Joachim Weſtphale* upon the ſame ſubject. 10. The manner and reaſon of the whole eccleſiaſtical conduct of *Edward* the VIth, towards the church of refugees in *London*.


BRITISH MUSEUM



From an original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

PETER MARTYR:

OR

PETER MARTYR VERMILIUS.

THIS excellent man was born in the city of *Florence*, the metropolis of the dukedom of *Tuſcany* in *Italy*, on the eighth of *September*, 1500. His father was *Stephen Vermilius*, who gave him ſuch a liberal education, that, at ſixteen years of age, he became a canon regular of the order of St. *Auguſtine* in the college at *Fiſcoli*, about a mile from *Florence*. It is ſaid, that he received the firſt rudiments of literature from his mother, who was a very ingenious lady, and uſed to read *Terence* and the other *Latin* claſſics to him in the original. He ſpent three years at this college, and was then ſent to *Padua*, to enlarge his learning in that univerſity, which was in a flouriſhing condition. He ſettled there in the monaſtry of St. *John de Verdera* of the ſame order of Auguſtines, where he continued eight years ſtudying philoſophy, and the other liberal arts: But he more particularly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, and poets, which he completely maſtered.

He began to preach in 1526; and the firſt time he performed that office was in the church of St. *Afra* in *Breſcia*, or *Brixia*, a city belonging to the republic of *Venice*. He afterwards preached in the moſt conſiderable cities of *Italy*: But all the time that he could obtain from his function was devoted to ſacred learning, philoſophy, and in acquiring the *Hebrew* tongue. He became ſuch a celebrated ſcholar, that he was made abbot of *Spoletto*, in the duchy of *Umbria*, ſubject to the pope, where he continued three years. From thence he was tranſlated to the city of *Naples*, where he became abbot of the monaſtry of his order called St. *Peter ad Aram*, which was much more conſiderable than that of *Spoletto*.

At *Bononia* he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Hebrew* tongue, and purſued at the ſame time his ſtudies in divinity.

It was at *Naples* that *Martyr* firſt read the works of *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, which opened his eyes to the verity

of the goſpel: But he did not embrace the proteſtant religion till the year 1542. One *Valdes*, a *Spaniſh* lawyer and learned proteſtant, was the means of eſtabliſhing him in the knowledge and love of the truth; ſo that, it is ſaid, he even ventured to preach it privately at *Rome* itſelf to ſome perſons of quality, and proceeded ſo far as to attack the doctrine of purgatory openly; but was ſoon ſilenced. He fell into a dangerous ſickneſs after he had been three years at *Naples*; but the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame it, and his phyſicians adviſed him to take better air than what *Naples* afforded. The fathers therefore choſe him general viſitor of their order, that he might be abſent from his cure with convenience: And he was ſoon after elected prior of St. *Fridian* in the city of *Lucca* in *Tuſcany*, where he enjoyed his native air. Here he lived with *Zanchius* and *Tremellius*, whom he is ſaid to have been the inſtrument of converting to the knowledge and profeſſion of the goſpel, with many others, who were afterwards obliged to abandon their native country upon that account.

This priory was a place of great dignity, and had epiſcopal juriſdiction in the middle part of the city. He inſtituted a moſt admirable method of ſtudies for the young ſtudents at *Lucca:* But his opinion concerning a Reformation of the church was diſcovered, and ſnares were laid for him by the monks, which prevented him from declaring his ſentiments. He therefore committed the beſt part of his library to the cuſtody of one of his friends, gave another part to the college, and departed from *Lucca* to *Piſa*, a city eight miles diſtant from the other.

He wrote from *Piſa* to cardinal *Pole*, and ſhewed him the reaſons of his departure. Afterwards he went into *Switzerland* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, who was alſo lately converted from the *Romiſh* ſuperſtitions, after having been one of the moſt popular preachers in *Italy*, and continued ſome time at *Zurick*; from whence he went to *Straſburgh*, by means of *Bucer*, where he read and taught divinity about five years.

While he was at *Straſburgh*, he followed the example of *Luther* and *Bucer*, by taking a wife, who had lately been a nun, and whoſe name was *Catharine Dampmartin*. This cauſed his enemies to ſay, that he left his order and monaſtic vows for the ſake of a woman. She lived with him eight years, went with him to *England*, and died at *Oxford*.

Bucer endeavored to perſuade *Peter Martyr* to follow his example about the euchariſt. *Martyr* conformed himſelf for ſome time to *Bucer*'s language, and afterwards left it, when he ſaw the dangerous conſequences of it; which were,

were, that the Lutherans were not fully ſatisfied; while it gave offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that point. However, *Bucer* was convinced of *Martyr*'s orthodoxy; and they continued their friendſhip. *Bucer* and *Fagius* were invited to *England* in the reign of *Edward* VI. *Peter Martyr* was alſo invited there in that reign, to aſſiſt in the Reformation: Though *Naudæus* erroneouſly ſays, he fled thither for refuge.

In 1547, *Edward Seymour*, lord protector, and archbiſhop *Cranmer*, invited *Peter Martyr* to *England*, 'that his 'aſſiſtance might be uſed to carry on a Reformation in the 'church.' He arrived in *December* the ſame year, in this kingdom, with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, another *Italian*. They were kindly received by archbiſhop *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, and entertained there for ſome time. The ſtipends, allowed them, were handſome for the time; though indeed no ſtipends could deſerve any conſideration, which might draw over and ſubſiſt men of ſuch eminence and learning. We were but juſt emerged from barbariſm in this country; and the introduction of learned foreigners afforded both a poliſh to our manners, and an improvement to our minds. True knowledge beat down the outworks of ſuperſtition, and the goſpel of truth inveſted the capitol.

Bucer was made profeſſor of divinity at *Cambridge*; and, in 1548, *Martyr* was admitted doctor of divinity at *Oxford*, as he had ſtood at *Padua*. The government, at that time, had a watchful eye over both the univerſities, where *Bucer*, *Martyr*, and the other learned foreigners, were hard preſſed in diſputes with popiſh *Engliſh* divines. *Ogletborpe*, the preſident of *Magdalen-college* in *Oxford*, was particularly obnoxious, as being backward in the work of Reformation, and there was ſome talk of proſecuting him before the council: But he prevented this, by ſending a letter to *Cranmer*, ſetting forth his own conduct in the moſt favorable light, wherein he declared his diſlike to tranſubſtantiation; yet he thought that *Chriſt* was preſent in the ſacrament in ſome inconceivable manner; on which account, he was of opinion, that it ought to be adminiſtred with great devotion and caution. We ſhall find that doctor *Oglethorpe* was afterwards made biſhop of *Carliſle*; and that it was he who crowned queen *Elizabeth* in 1559, notwithſtanding the other biſhops refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity; becauſe that princeſs had ſufficiently declared herſelf againſt the church of *Rome*.

Doctor *Smith*, another eminent profeſſor in *Oxford*, had been remarkably inconſtant in matters of religion, and was

was therefore removed from his public profeſſorſhip of divinity, to make way for *Peter Martyr*, notwithſtanding he was more addicted to the Zuinglian than to the Lutheran doctrines in point of the ſacrament.

The ſame year, *Martyr* was appointed by the king to read a public lecture to the academians in the divinity ſchool, and to have an annuity of forty marks for his reward. He maintained public diſputations with the Romaniſts, who behaved to him more like perſonal enemies than religious adverſaries.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the main ſpring which actuated all meaſures, was religion. The young king, and the duke of *Somerſet*, were ſincerely and virtuouſly diſpoſed towards a Reformation; and their meaſures were directed by the cool and politic head of archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who made an admirable uſe of that knowledge of mankind, which he had acquired by his long experience. He could not, indeed, prevent many, who aſſiſted in the work of Reformation, from profiting themſelves by the ſpoils of the church: But he took care, that what ſhe loſt in her property, ſhe ſhould make up in her eſtabliſhment.

The ſpirit of Reformation ſeems to have been quickened by the arrival of the foreign divines from *Germany* and other places. They were in general againſt the imparity of church government: But, in other reſpects, their opinions were not much repugnant to thoſe now received by the church of *England*. The calling in thoſe foreigners had this happy effect, that their authority, which was great in *England* on account of their reputation abroad, proved an uſeful counterpoize at the univerſities, to the influence of the papiſts and the popiſh profeſſors, who continued ſtill numerous there.

The privy-council were informed of the tumult at *Oxford*, and appointed ſome delegates to hear and preſide in the diſputation which the profeſſor had undertaken. *Martyr* accordingly maintained, againſt three opponents, that in the ſacrament of thankſgiving there is no tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of *Chriſt*: That his body or blood is not carnally or corporally *in* the bread and wine, nor *under* them: But that his body and blood are united to the bread and wine ſacramentally. His adverſaries, finding no advantage could be gained by argument, had recourſe to more forcible meaſures. They ſtirred up the multitude againſt him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was obliged to retire to *London*, till the tumult was ſuppreſſed.

In

In 1550, the king beſtowed a canonry of *Chriſt-church* upon *Martyr*, who was inſtalled the twentieth of *January*. He then entered upon the lodgings belonging to him, which joined on the north-ſide of *Chriſt-church* great gate leading into *Fiſh-ſtreet*. His wife *Catharine* ſettled with him there; as the wife of doctor *Cox* did about the ſame time with him in the dean's lodgings. It was obſerved, that theſe were the firſt women, who reſided in any college or hall at *Oxford*; by whoſe example any other canon was permitted to marry, and introduce women and children into thoſe ſeminaries, which was looked upon as ſuch a damnable matter by the papiſts, that they uſually ſtiled them concubines; and called the lodgings that entertained them and their children ſtews and bawdy houſes.

While *Martyr* continued in theſe apartments, he continually, and eſpecially in the night time, received very opprobrious language from the papiſts, as well ſcholars as laics, who frequently broke his windows. This diſturbed his ſtudies and ſleep, and obliged him to change his lodgings for thoſe in the cloiſter, where he peaceably ſpent the remaining part of his abode in the univerſity. However, for the cloſer enjoyment of his ſtudies, he erected a fabric of ſtone in his garden, ſituated on the eaſt-ſide of his apartments, wherein he partly compoſed his commentaries on the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and his epiſtles to learned men. This fabric contained two ſtories, and ſtood till 1684, when it was pulled down.

Doctor *Hooper*, profeſſor of divinity, was preferred to be biſhop of *Glouceſter*; but when he came to be conſecrated he ſcrupled the wearing of ſome of the epiſcopal ornaments. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſuſpended *Hooper*, as is mentioned in his life. The doctor conſulted *Bucer* and *Martyr* upon the affair; and the latter wrote him an anſwer to all his objections, which was fuller than *Bucer*'s letter to the archbiſhop, but exactly conformable to the ſentiments expreſſed in it. He commended *Hooper* for his pains in preaching; but adviſed him not to exert his zeal upon points that are indefenſible, and things of little moment; leſt the people ſhould from thence be led to call in queſtion the judgement of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in the moſt important articles. He reminded him, that an abſtinence from things ſtrangled, and from blood, was a part of the *Jewiſh* inſtitution; and yet that the council at *Jeruſalem* commanded the gentiles to obſerve it, to avoid giving offence. In anſwer to one objection of *Hooper*'s, 'that

'we

'we ought to have an expreſs warrant from ſcripture for 'every thing belonging to religion:' *Martyr* told him, that if the general rules of order were obſerved, the governors of the church had a diſcretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for inſtance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a declining poſture, and in a congregation of men only, ſtood upon no other than eccleſiaſtical, that is, human authority; to which he preſumed, that *Hooper* had always ſubmitted without any ſcruple. He told him further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant from the New Teſtament for ſinging pſalms in public worſhip; and that the Chriſtian church from the beginning, in many particulars, had a regard to the *Jewiſh* polity; eſpecially in the great feſtivals of *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*. Suppoſing, what he could not grant, that the epiſcopal habit and veſtments were introduced into the church by the ſee of *Rome*; yet he did not think the contagion of popery ſo very malignant as to carry infection to every thing which it touched: That to govern by ſuch narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient reſtraint upon the church of God; and that our anceſtors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Chriſtian churches, and of tranſlating the revenues ſacred to idolatry, to pious uſes, and the maintenance of the clergy.

Hooper for ſome time continued his non-conformity; but he was afterwards conſecrated biſhop, and died a martyr. *Peter Martyr*, and his companion *Ochinus*, had their annual allowances from the king; as all other learned followers had, according to biſhop *Latimer*, who ſaid, in one of his court ſermons; 'There is yet among us two great 'learned men, *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochin*, which 'have an hundred marks a piece. I would the king would 'beſtow a thouſand pounds on that ſort.' Such were the ſentiments of this moſt venerable prelate and martyr, the pious *Latimer*.

The death of *Bucer*, which happened in 1551, was greatly lamented by king *Edward* VI. and all the friends of the Reformation in *England*. He was no friend to the book of Common Prayer as it ſtood at the time of his death; and his remonſtrances, with thoſe of *Martyr* and *Calvin*, prevailed with archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the other prelates of the Reformation, to ſuffer it to be reviſed and corrected. *Catharine*, the wife of *Peter Martyr*, died about the ſame time, and ſhe was buried in the cathedral church of *Oxford*, near to the place where the reliques of St. *Frideſwide* had been

been repoſed: But, about four years after, her body was taken up, thrown out of the church with ſcorn, and buried in a dunghill, where it lay till queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, when ſhe ordered the body to be taken up and reburied. 'The wife of *Peter Martyr* had been ſuſpected of hereſy: But, as ſhe was a foreigner, and did not ſpeak *Engliſh*, it was impoſſible to prove the charge againſt her; yet this did not prevent her body being taken out of its grave, and buried in unconſecrated ground.' The bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were taken up and burnt under the farce of law. 'The like difficult proceſs was alſo carried on againſt the body of *Peter Martyr*'s wife: But the viſitors could not hear of any witneſſes that had heard her utter any hereſy. They ſent up therefore to cardinal *Pole* for freſh inſtructions; who directed, that ſince it was notorious ſhe had been a nun and had married contrary to her vow, her body ſhould be taken up, and buried in a dunghill, as a perſon dying under excommunication; which was done accordingly.' *Melchior Adam* ſays, that the true reaſon of this low indecency was founded in a motive of reſentment, which cardinal *Pole* had conceived againſt her huſband. The cardinal had formerly been the moſt intimate friend of *Martyr*, and even continued to appear ſo, after he had expreſſed his diſlike of the errors of the church of *Rome:* But when *Martyr* left *Italy*, *Pole* became his moſt inveterate enemy, and exerciſed this indignity to the wife, in order to expreſs his hatred of the huſband. When queen *Elizabeth* came to the throne, her body was removed again by an order, and ſolemnly interred in the moſt honorable part of the church. And, to prevent the papiſts from treating her in the ſame opprobrious manner again, if they ſhould ever have come into power, her bones were mixed with the bones of the ſainteſs *Frideſwide*, that it might not be poſſible to diſtinguiſh or ſeparate them.

King *Edward* VI. died in 1553, in the ſixteenth year of his age; which gave a violent blow to the Reformation. He was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Mary*, the daughter of *Catharine* of *Arragon*, who had been educated a papiſt, and whoſe reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs. Upon her acceſſion, all the popiſh biſhops were reſtored, and the proteſtant biſhops ſet aſide. A letter was iſſued to the biſhops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exerciſes of preaching and expounding the ſcriptures without the queen's licence. Thus, the ſupremacy, for this time, was borrowed by a popiſh ſovereign, to be the ſcourge of the Reformation. In the beginning of this

reign, many proteſtants foreſaw the approaching perſecutions which diſhonored the nation, and retired abroad; ſome to *Switzerland*, and others to *Germany*. A reſolution was taken to bring into the univerſities a teſt for purging them of all proteſtants, and to prevent their readmiſſion for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows:

'You ſhall ſwear, by the holy contents of this book, 'that you ſhall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at 'any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or 'error of *Wickliffe*, *Huſs*, *Luther*, or any other condemned 'of hereſy: And that ye ſhall keep, hold, maintain, and 'defend generally and eſpecially, all ſuch articles and 'points as the catholic church of *Rome* believeth, holdeth, 'or maintaineth, at this time: And that ye ſhall allow 'and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all 'traditions, inſtitutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable 'cuſtoms, as the ſaid church of *Rome* taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them: And that you ſhall 'namely and ſpecially hold as the ſaid catholic church 'holdeth in all theſe articles, wherein lately hath been 'controverſy, diſſention, and error; as concerning faith 'and works, grace, and free-will, of ſin in a good work, 'of the ſacrifice of the New Teſtament, of the prieſthood 'of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of 'baptiſm and Chriſtian liberty, of monaſtic vows, of faſting and choice of meats, of the ſingle life of prieſts, of 'the church, of the canonical books, of the firm holding 'of matters not expreſt in the ſcriptures, of the inerrability of general councils in faith and manners, of the 'power of the church to make laws, of the church's 'ſacraments and their efficacy, of the power of excommunication conferred upon the church, of puniſhing 'heretics, of the ſacrifice of the maſs, of purgatory, of 'worſhipping ſaints and praying to them, of worſhipping 'the images of ſaints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical precepts and councils. And likewiſe of all other articles, 'wherein controverſy or diſſention hath been in the church 'before this day.'

The roman-catholics at *Oxford*, without waiting for any directions from the court, drove *Peter Martyr* from the divinity chair, and brought the old ſervice into the churches with all the train of ceremonies formerly uſed. *Martyr* then left *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where the queen granted him a ſafe-conduct, with which he returned to *Straſburgh*, where he met doctor *Cox* and ſome other

other *Engliſh* fugitives, and renewed his lectures in philoſophy and divinity. *Ochinus* went to *Straſburgh* with his friend *Martyr*; and it was in the year 1553, that they repaſſed the ſea. *Ochinus* went to *Switzerland*, where he continued ten years, when he was baniſhed for his writings, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and then went to *Moravia*, where he died of the plague. There are expreſs and unexceptionable proofs that *Ochinus* fled from *Baſil* to *Poland*, and died in thoſe parts; yet the capuchins made no ſcruple to publiſh, that he died a roman-catholic martyr at Geneva. 'Tis very certain, that he was not found in the faith.

Martyr, upon an honorable invitation from the magiſtrates, travelled to *Zurick* in 1556, to which place he was accompanied by our excellent doctor *Jewel*, and ſeveral other exiled divines of *England*. In this city he took for his ſecond wife one *Catharine Merenda*. He lived at *Zurick* ſeven years in high eſteem with the inhabitants of the place, and in great friendſhip with *Bullinger* and other learned men. While he continued there, *Maximilian Celſus*, an exiled count, and the chief miniſter of the *Italian* church of *Geneva*, died; whereupon *Martyr* was invited to ſucceed him, which he refuſed for ſeveral reaſons. When queen *Mary* died, queen *Elizabeth* invited him to return to *England*, and accept of what preferment he pleaſed, which he modeſtly declined. He continued at *Zurick* to the time of his death, which happened on the twelfth of *November*, 1562, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. He died with great comfort, meekneſs and tranquillity, in the preſence of *Bullinger*, and ſome other friends; before whom he declared, with a voice which could ſcarce be heard, "That he expected life and ſalvation only "through *Jeſus Chriſt*, who alone was appointed by the "Father for the ſalvation of men." To this declaration he added ſeveral reaſons for this hope; concluding with this ſentence, "This is my faith; and in this I dye: "But thoſe, who teach otherwiſe and lead men to expect "ſalvation upon any other ground, will God deſtroy." Then, ſtretching forth his hands, he gently ſaid, "Fare-"well, dear friends and brethren, farewell."

It appears that *Martyr* was in *France* in 1561, when he paid a viſit to *John Anthony Caraccioli*, a biſhop, who had openly declared himſelf a proteſtant. This prelate had not been confirmed or elected by the church and people; which made him in doubt, whether he could lawfully exerciſe the paſtoral function? He convened the

elders of the reformed church, who met at *Poiſſy*, and referred the affair to the church of *Geneva*. 'In the mean 'time, paſſed through *Troyes*, (ſays *Beza*) that great man 'Peter *Martyr*, in his return from *Poiſſy* to his church at 'Zurick; by whoſe advice, the biſhop made his abjura-'tion, ſigned the confeſſion of faith, promiſed to quit his 'biſhopric, and was received into the miniſtry.'

He had two children by his ſecond wife, who both died very young, and before him; and he left her with child of a third, which proved a daughter.

Peter Martyr is ſaid to have been a man of a large healthy body, and of a very grave ſedate and well-compoſed countenance. His parts and learning were very uncommon; as was alſo his ſkill in diſputation, which made him as much admired by the proteſtants, as hated by the papiſts. He was very ſincere and indefatigable in the work of the Reformation; yet his zeal was never known to run headſtrong before his judgement. He was always moderate and prudent in his outward behavior; nor, even in diſputation, was he ever tranſported into intemperate warmth, or driven to unguarded expreſſions. None of his works raiſed his reputation higher in *England*, than his defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Lord's Supper, againſt biſhop *Gardiner*, which all the foreign divines likewiſe allowed to be a moſt able and accurate performance. Biſhop *Jewel* ſaid of him, that he was 'an illuſtrious man, 'and ought never to be named without the higheſt reſpect 'and honor.' And *Simlerus*, who ſpoke his funeral oration before the people of *Zurick*, told them, 'That they 'might have another in *Martyr*'s room; but another '*Martyr* they would never have.'

His writings were very conſiderable: The *Engliſh* titles of them are as follow. 1. A catechiſm or expoſition of the creed, publiſhed in *Italian*. 2. A prayer book compoſed out of the *Pſalms*. 3. Commentaries upon *Geneſis*. 4. Upon the book of *Judges*. 5. Upon the two books of *Samuel*. 6. Upon the firſt book of *Kings*, and eleven chapters of the ſecond. 7. Upon *Paul* to the *Romans*. 8. Upon the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. 9. Diſputations at *Oxford*, about the Lord's Supper. 10. Defence about the orthodox doctrine of the Lord's Supper, againſt *Stephen Gardiner*. 11. An abridgement of the ſaid defence made by him afterward. 12. Confeſſion exhibited to the ſenate of *Straſburgh*, concerning the Supper of the Lord. 13. Judgement concerning the preſence of *Chriſt*'s body in the ſacrament, delivered at the conference at *Poiſſy*. 14. A

diſcourſe

diſcourſe concerning the maſs. 15. A dialogue concerning the place of *Chriſt*'s body, againſt the *Ubiquitaries*. 16. Refutation of *Richard Smith*'s two books, concerning ſingle life and monkiſh vows. 17. Commentaries on the firſt and ſecond books of *Ariſtotle*'s *Ethicks*, and part of the third. 18. Common places gathered out of his commentaries by others, and digeſted into heads. 19. Certain treatiſes of free-will, God's providence, predeſtination, and the cauſe of ſin. 20. Propoſitions, ſome neceſſary, ſome probable, out of *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Judges*; together with ſolutions of a queſtion or two concerning ſome Moſaical laws and oaths. 21. Divers ſermons and orations of ſeveral ſubjects, and made upon ſeveral occaſions. 22. His letters to ſundry perſons, concerning much variety of uſeful diſcourſe.

THOMAS GRYNÆUS.

GOD, in his great mercy to his church, has appointed miniſtring ſervants, of various gifts and qualifications, for the building up of his people, and forwarding them in their moſt holy faith. Where the ſoft language of a *Barnabas* would probably fail, the Lord ſends the thunder of a *Boanerges* to the ſoul: And he rarely employs the meek and placid ſpirit of a *Melanćthon*, when the raging paſſions of men are better oppoſed by the magnanimous heart of *Luther*. Some of his miniſters are moſt inſtrumental in public ſpeaking; and others are perhaps more permanently and extenſively uſeful in writing for the public. Divine grace confers different talents, proportioned to the different work deſigned: But ſtill it is the *ſame* Spirit and the *ſame* Lord, *who worketh all in all*. Whatever good is done upon earth, the Lord doeth it himſelf.

This excellent man, *Thomas Grynæus*, ſeems to have eminently poſſeſſed *the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit*, which, though it has but little ſplendor in the eyes of men, *in the ſight of God is of great price*. He made but little noiſe in the world; but was, however, of great uſe in promoting the cauſe of Reformation.

He was born at *Veringen* in *Germany*, of a good family, about the year 1512, and received the rudiments of his education

education at home. While he was yet very young, he was removed to the care of his good and learned uncle *Simon Grynæus* (whoſe life we have given) at *Heidelberg*, under whoſe tuition he ſtudied very hard, and in time became a great proficient in almoſt every branch of ſcience.

In the year 1529, he accompanied his uncle to *Baſil*, in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and was ſo far advanced in his ſtudies, as to be able, at a time, when others are little more than ſchool-boys, to aſſiſt his learned relation privately in the tuition of young perſons, and in ſome reſpects, by teaching others to inſtruct himſelf. He does not appear to have remained long at *Baſil*; for we find him, while a mere youth, in the capacity of a public teacher of the languages and philoſophy at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, where he obtained great eſteem by his life and learning. In this ſtation he continued about eleven years, till theological diſputes, in which he was neceſſarily involved, began to run very high: Upon which account, being a man of a quiet ſpirit, and wearied with the contentions about him, he returned to *Baſil*, where he purſued his ſtudies for a while, with great diligence and privacy.

He had not ſate down long at *Baſil*, in 1547, before the rectors of that univerſity, deſirous to ſhew honor to ſo learned a man, as well as wiſhing for his able aſſiſtance, conferred upon him the degree of maſter of arts. While he was employed in this buſineſs of public and private tuition, to which he added the labors of a preacher in the neighboring villages; *Charles*, marquis of *Baden*, who was awakened by the grace of God from the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the times, was employed in purging his dominion of the *Romiſh* errors, and in eſtabliſhing the pure doctrine of the goſpel. His territory lay cloſe up to *Baſil*. Wiſhing, therefore, for an able and faithful miniſter, he applied earneſtly to *Grynæus* to accept of the charge, and the more, as it was no great diſtance from his beloved ſeat of learning. Accordingly, *Grynæus* complied with the marquis's wiſhes, and performed his paſtoral duty with ſo much faithfulneſs, ſolemnity, and kindneſs of behavior, that he was exceedingly endeared to his flock, and beloved by all thoſe, who had any concern for truth and knowledge. In this function he continued about eight years; at the expiration of which, an epidemical diſorder, which raged in *Baſil* and through all the neighboring country, carried off this valuable ſervant of *Jeſus Chriſt* to his Maſter's preſence, on the ſecond of *Auguſt*, in the year 1564, and

and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. His body was buried in his own church, where he had been the firſt preacher of the goſpel, and where an honorable monument was afterwards erected to his memory.

It does not appear, that he publiſhed any writings; but he left behind him a noble treaſure for the church in his four excellent ſons, whoſe names were, *Theophilus*, *Simon*, *John James*, and *Tobias*, all of them eminent for their piety and learning. But *John James*, whoſe life we ſhall give hereafter, was the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the four, and ſucceeded his father in his paſtoral charge, as well as in faith and doctrine. He was indeed a burning and a ſhining light; as our Readers will probably perceive in the account of him. Such a father and ſuch ſons are not often met with in the hiſtory of the world.—Bleſſed be God for *them*. May the Lord of the vineyard ſend forth many more ſuch laborers into his harveſt!

PETER PAUL VERGERIO,

BISHOP OF ISTRIA.

SCARCE any thing proves the almighty efficacy of the grace of God with more demonſtration, than the converſion of the determined oppoſers of the goſpel. That *ſuch* men ſhould build the faith, which once they attempted to deſtroy, not only ſhews that there is ſome extraordinary circumſtance in the caſe, but excites the public aſtoniſhment, and leads to the ſtricteſt enquiry. This enquiry, when conducted with candor and ſeconded by grace, has often ended in the converſion of others; and what was at firſt imagined to be only a private matter, has eventually turned out a public bleſſing. The wonderful change made in the apoſtle *Paul* had this happy effect; and as the ſincerity of ſuch perſons, as the apoſtle and ſome others were, cannot reaſonably be queſtioned; the ſurprizing alteration of their ſentiments and conduct has been produced, as a ſtrong argument of the truth and glory of the goſpel. And, perhaps this argument has been treated by nobody with more force and perſpicuity (ſo far as relates to the power

of words), than by the late lord *Lyttleton* in his tract, entitled, 'Obſervations upon the converſion of St. 'Paul.'

The ſubject of our preſent conſideration is another very remarkable inſtance of the ſame kind. *Vergerio*, as well as the apoſtle we have juſt mentioned, had too much knowledge to be deceived by mere artifice, had too great an intereſt, as well as gave up too great an intereſt, on the oppoſite ſide, to be queſtioned of their uprightneſs, and had nothing to hope for, by eſpouſing the cauſe of truth, but reproach, and perſecution, and poverty.

There were two of this name of *P. P. Vergerio*, and both very learned men. By way of diſtinction, our *Vergerio* is called junior, probably from being the younger of the two. The other was a layman, and a pupil of *Chryſoloras*, of *Conſtantinople*, who revived the knowledge of the *Greek* tongue and other learning in *Italy*, after a barbariſm of above ſeven hundred years. It does not appear in what part of *Italy* our *Vergerio* was born or educated; but we find him celebrated for his knowledge in the canon law and ſcholaſtic divinity, and, in conſequence of it, employed by the pope, as his nuncio, at the ever memorable diet of *Augſburg* in the year 1530. *Vergerio* had almoſt unlimited confidence placed in him, and was entruſted with a very ample commiſſion. His chief inſtructions were, that he ſhould uſe all endeavors to prevent the holding of a national council in *Germany*, and to induce king *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, to oppoſe any treaty of that kind. *Vergerio* very ſedulouſly acquitted himſelf according to the tenor of his commiſſion, and left no ſtone unturned to perplex and mortify the Lutherans, by ſhewing every liberality to *Eckius*, *Faber*, *Cochlæus*, and others, who were their adverſaries, in order to induce them to make the warmer oppoſition. He alſo made *Eckius* a canon of *Ratiſbon*; a piece of preferment, which, as the pope's legate, he could confer, being preſent; the chapter's right of election, in that caſe, being ſuſpended.

Vergerio had conducted his truſt with ſo much addreſs, that when *Rango*, the biſhop of *Rhegio*, (who had been ſent by *Clement* VII. in quality of Ambaſſador to *Germany*, to conciliate the breaches in religion, and to negotiate the affair of a general council) was thought too old and infirm to carry on the artifices of the *Roman* ſee; nobody was thought more capable, or more attached, to ſucceed in that commiſſion than *Vergerio*. His buſineſs was to profeſs, in behalf of the pope, his holineſs's ardent deſire to convene a general

a general council; while, ſecretly, he was to throw the moſt inſurmountable obſtacles in the way of effecting of that meaſure, which might be in his power. It was a work of darkneſs; and he was enjoined to be as ſilent as death.

Pope *Clement* dying, cardinal *Farneſe* was elected in his ſtead, and aſſumed the name of *Paul* the third. This good man, as one of his firſt acts, created two of his grandchildren (very much under age, and iſſue of his baſtards) cardinals of his holy church. He recalled *Vergerio* from *Germany*, in order to be exactly informed of the ſtate of religion (or moſt likely of other things) in that country, and 'conſulted (ſays *Sleidan*) with the cardinals, by what 'means they might beſt prevent the calling of a national 'council; till, by private and unſuſpected contrivances, 'they ſhould have embroiled the emperor and other princes 'in a war.' The piety of this deſign needs no comment. However, the new pope reſolved at length to ſend *Vergerio* back again into *Germany* to proffer a general council, but to take care at the ſame time, under the appearance of the greateſt openneſs and ſimplicity, to learn what form the proteſtants would inſiſt upon in reference to the qualifications, votings, and diſputations of the council; that there might be ſuch terms and rules impoſed on them, as he might be ſure they would never conſent to. By this means, the odium of not holding the council would apparently fall upon them. He was alſo inſtructed, to exaſperate the princes of the empire againſt the king of *England* [*Henry* the eighth] whoſe dominions the pope had in contemplation to beſtow upon thoſe, who would conquer them; And he received a ſecret article, to tamper with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, in order to bring them over to the cauſe of *Rome*. 'One great reaſon (ſays *Sleidan*) why '*Vergerio* was ſent back upon this commiſſion to *Germany* 'was, becauſe king *Ferdinand* had recommended him to 'the pope, as a perſon extremely well qualified to under-'take that employment.'

Early in the ſpring of the year 1535, *Vergerio* ſet out to execute this hypocritical commiſſion, in which he was exceedingly induſtrious, and negotiated with almoſt all the princes of *Germany*. At *Prague* he met with the good elector of *Saxony*, with whom he dealt with all imaginable ſubtilty, and according to the coloring of his commiſſion. He propoſed, among other things, that the council deſired ſhould be called at *Mantua*, pretending the convenience of its ſituation with reſpect to plenty and acceſs, but meaning, really to get all the heads of the proteſtant party into *Italy* under his maſter's power. But the deſign was ſeen

through, and fell to the ground. *Vergerio* went alſo to *Wittenberg* upon the object of his commiſſion with *Luther*; but *Luther* knew not the value of gold, and did not eſtimate high enough all the preferments of the world, to give the pope's nuncio any proſpect of ſucceſs.

In the year 1556, *Vergerio* returned to the holy father, in order to give in a ſtate of affairs, and to explain his management in the commiſſion. His report was, that the proteſtants demanded a free council, in a convenient place, which place muſt be within the territories of the empire, as the emperor had promiſed them. With reſpect to *Luther* and his party, there was no hope of prevailing upon them by any other means, than abſolute force and entire ſuppreſſion. As to the motion about the king of *England*, the proteſtants would on no account hear of it; and the reſt of the princes received it but coldly. Indeed, *George* duke of *Saxony* [*Luther*'s bitter enemy] did ſay, that the greateſt danger was from the proteſtants, which was only to be avoided by the pope and emperor declaring war againſt them, as ſoon as poſſible.

Upon the force of this laſt hint, the pope ſent off *Vergerio* to *Naples*, where the emperor then was, in order to propoſe a war upon the Lutherans, as the beſt and quickeſt method of ſettling the controverſy. The emperor came to *Rome* to debate this matter, and propoſed earneſtly the calling a general council. The pope inſiſted that it ſhould be held in ſome city or town of *Italy*; to which the emperor, not knowing the pope's holy motives, conſented, and accordingly a bull was drawn up by the nine cardinals out of the conſiſtory, by the archbiſhop of *Brundiſi*, by the biſhop of *Rhegio*, and by our *Vergerio* juſt made biſhop of *Modruſch* and ſoon after of *Capo d' Iſtria*. *Mantua* was the place fixed by the bull; and the twenty-third of *May* enſuing was the time.

It was foreſeen, that the proteſtants, from every reaſon of ſafety and propriety, which could be dear to them as men and as Chriſtians, would never conſent to put themſelves into the pope's clutches. Accordingly, they told the emperor, that they could not truſt themſelves out of their own country; and eſpecially, as in the caſe of Dr. *Huſs*, it might not be eaſy to procure ſuch a ſort of *ſafe-conduct*, as would bring them back again. They laid open at large the fallacy and deceit of the pope's conduct, and gave very broad hints to the emperor, that they could neither truſt him nor any of the papiſts. *Sleidan* enters, at full length, all the debates upon this occaſion; to whoſe commentaries we muſt refer the inquiſitive Reader.

Vergerio

Vergerio was called from his embaſſy in *Germany* by the pope in the year 1537, as a man, who well underſtood and could well be truſted with his holineſs's affairs, and therefore could give him the moſt preciſe account and advice upon them. From this time to the year 1541, he ſeems to have remained in *Italy*. But, in this laſt year, he was commiſſioned to go to the diet at *Worms*, under an aſſumed character for the *French* king; as it was thought he might do his holineſs more ſervice under a borrowed form, than he could do in a real appearance. *Vergerio*, with his uſual induſtry and addreſs, made a ſpeech here, upon the unity and peace of the church, which he printed and circulated. In this ſpeech, he inſiſted chiefly upon arguments againſt holding a national council; for the pope, of all things, could not endure that ſtep, and *Vergerio* knew very fully his ſecret thoughts. By *Vergerio*'s means, in co-operation with other inſtruments, the conference at *Worms* was impeded, and at length diſſolved. Every thing, that artifice and evaſion could do, was attempted, and unhappily ſucceeded.

We have mentioned, that *Vergerio* was in great favor with king *Ferdinand*, of *Hungary*; to which may be added, that he was in ſuch terms of eſteem with him, as to be godfather to one of his children, with the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the archbiſhop of *Lunden*.

When *Vergerio* returned from *Worms* to *Rome*, the pope, in reward for his ſervices, deſigned to have made him a cardinal, among ſome other perſons, whom he intended to promote; but, upon ſome inſinuations, that he was leaning towards Lutheraniſm, through his long reſidence in *Germany*, the pope changed his purpoſe. Upon the information of this circumſtance (which ſeems to have had no other foundation than malice or envy) from cardinal *Ginucio*, to whom the pope had told it, *Vergerio* was quite aſtoniſhed; and, in order to put an end to all ſuſpicions of that ſort, he retired into the country, and began to compoſe a book, to which he prefixed this title; "*Adver-*" *ſus apoſtatas Germaniæ*;" againſt the apoſtates of *Germany*. This work naturally led him into ſtrict inveſtigations of the doctrines of the proteſtants, which he had never duly examined before, in order to give them the moſt exact and forcible confutation. Divine grace took this occaſion, which he meant for oppoſition, to bring about what he leaſt expected—his converſion. The apoſtle *Paul* was called to the truth, when he meditated its ruin; and ſo was *Vergerio*, and the great *Francis Junius*, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. He found himſelf overcome and

vanquiſhed by a careful peruſal of the writings, which he wiſhed to explode; and he ſaw the rottenneſs and impiety of that church, whoſe intereſts it had been the main buſineſs of his life to uphold. In the utmoſt perturbation of mind, and relinquiſhing his views of a cardinal's hat; he went to confer with his own brother, *John Baptiſt Vergerio*, biſhop of *Pola*, in *Iſtria*, which territory is part of the *Venetian* ſtate. His brother, in the laſt degree of aſtoniſhment, began to bewail the ſtate and condition of *Vergerio*'s underſtanding, and ſeemed rather at a loſs what to do with himſelf than how to give advice to another. At length, by *Vergerio*'s repeated entreaties, they applied themſelves together in ſearching the ſcriptures, and particularly in examining by the ſcriptures that important article—the juſtification of a ſinner before God. The reſult was, the Spirit of God ſet home his word on both their hearts; and they became brethren in grace, as well as in blood. They ſaw, in this pure glaſs of the word, the error of the church of *Rome* upon this doctrine, as well as the abſurdity, fallacy, and impiety of many other tenets, which it maintains. Convinced of the truth in their own minds, they ſaw it was too precious a light to be confined *under a buſhel*, or in their boſoms. They, therefore, preached to the people of *Iſtria* the true doctrine of the goſpel, according to the meaſure of grace given them. This ſoon alarmed the inquiſition, as well as raiſed the indignation of the monks. The officers of the inquiſition came quickly to *Pola*, and *Capo d' Iſtria*, where the brothers had preached, and committed their uſual outrages upon the people; and one of them, *Griſonio*, went into the pulpit, and, amongſt other terrors, excommunicated all, who would not *inform* againſt perſons *ſuſpected* of *Lutheraniſm*. What would he ſay to Lutherans themſelves? He and his colleagues ſearched after thoſe, who had been guilty of reading the New Teſtament in the vulgar tongue, which it ſeems *Vergerio* and his brother had procured to be diſtributed among the people. This occaſioned much perplexity and diſtreſs. The inquiſitors preached alſo frequent ſermons againſt the perſon and doctrine of *Vergerio*, who was obliged to fly, for ſafety, from the approaching ſtorm. If he had been in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, under the immediate dominion of the pope, probably he had not ſo eſcaped. He firſt retired to *Mantua*, and ſought the protection of cardinal *Hercules Gonzaga*, who had been his intimate friend. But he ſoon found, that no man of the world will protect from perſecution on account of the goſpel; for *Gonzaga*, urged by letters from *Rome*, and by *John Caſa* the pope's legate at *Venice*,

Venice, ſoon thought it expedient to let *Vergerio* know, that his company could be diſpenſed with. In this ſituation, he thought it was proper to go to *Trent*, where the general council was convened, in order to explain his caſe to the fathers, among whom he had a right to ſit. But the pope, though he wiſhed to have had him priſoner, yet finding it neceſſary to remove all ſuſpicion (eſpecially in *Germany*) concerning the freedom of the council; wrote to his legates, who preſided there, to get him proſcribed from appearing among them. Being in conſequence expelled, he went to *Venice*; where *Caſo*, the pope's legate, adviſed him to go by all means to *Rome*, and reconcile himſelf. Whether *Caſo* was ſincere or not, *Vergerio* knew better than to truſt himſelf in the lion's den, and therefore went to *Padua*, where he remained for ſome time.

During *Vergerio*'s abode at *Padua*, there occurred in *Citadella*, near that city, a circumſtance, which has been much talked of all over the Chriſtian world, and which it may not be thought tedious or impertinent to relate.—In *Citadella* lived *Francis Spira*, a lawyer of great abilities and practice at the bar. This man had embraced the reformed religion with remarkable zeal and earneſtneſs, and, as he made proficiency in it, freely expreſſed his opinion of the ſeveral points of the controverted doctrine, both to his friends and to every body. A conduct of this ſort could not long be concealed in *Italy*, but was at length noticed to *John Caſa**, archbiſhop of *Benevento*, and the pope's legate at *Venice*. When *Spira* was informed of this, he was very ſenſible of his danger; and therefore, after revolving the matter in his thoughts, he followed eaſy counſels, and went to the legate, who had ſent for him. Before the legate, he recanted his errors (as he termed them), begged his abſolution, and promiſed obedience for the future. Though the legate was glad of his voluntary confeſſion; yet, for the ſake of example, he enjoined him, by way of penance, to return home, and make a public recantation of the proteſtant doctrines. All this he promiſed to do, againſt the impreſſions of his mind, and the clear conviction of his conſcience, which reproached, and reproached him again, for his ſhameful deſertion and denial. When he came home, the ſolicitations of his friends, (who urged, that the welfare of himſelf,

* This being (for one would ſcarce honor him with the name of *man*) wrote an execrable book in celebration of an unnatural vice, which he had the impudence to call a *divine work*, and to profeſs that he followed it. This book was written in verſe, to render his abominable laſciviouſneſs the more pleaſing.

of his wife, children, eſtate, and all, depended upon it) prevailed; and he made his formal recantation. Soon afterwards his ſoul was ſtruck with horror at what he had done; and he fell into the moſt dreadful deſpair of God's mercy. Growing worſe and worſe, and expreſſing himſelf in language almoſt too dreadful to repeat, concerning his crime, and his aſſured damnation from God; he was removed by his friends from *Citadella* to *Padua*, that he might both have better advice of phyſicians, and the conſtant conference of learned men. His phyſicians ſoon confeſſed his malady beyond their art, and preſcribed for him, as the beſt and only remedy, good advice and ſpiritual conſolation. Accordingly, many of the clergy and others conſtantly attended him, and labored to heal his mind by ſuch portions of ſcripture, as exhibit the riches and extent of the mercy of God to repenting ſinners. He allowed the truth of thoſe paſſages, and of all they could ſay reſpecting the love of God in *Chriſt*; but ſtill inſiſted, that *he* was particularly excluded to be an inſtance of the divine vengeance, and that the promiſes did not belong to him, who muſt juſtly be damned to everlaſting torments, becauſe he had abjured the truths of God, knowing them to be ſo, and againſt the repeated admonitions of his conſcience. He ſaid, in language as dreadful as ever was heard, that he felt the pains of damnation, even then, in his ſoul; that he wanted to be at the worſt, which hell could inflict upon him, as the expectation of more torments increaſed thoſe he already ſuſtained; and that, though he ſaw all glory and excellency in God, yet he was ſo far from loving him on that account, that he moſt horribly hated him the more. In this condition he continued for ſome time, refuſing all ſuſtenance, and ſpitting it out again, when forced upon him. *Vergerio* frequently viſited him, and ſet before him the freedom and fullneſs of the divine grace, urging the inſtances of *Peter* and others, who had fallen from God, but were received into mercy again; but all his exhortations were in vain. Whatever could be ſaid, was thrown away upon poor *Spira*; and his malady increaſed more and more. In ſhort, he languiſhed, and ſunk, and died, in all the agonizing tortures of the moſt miſerable deſpair*.

Vergerio, as an eye-witneſs of God's wrath for the denial of his truth, was deeply ſtruck with this dreadful example, and in conſequence was the more confirmed by it in his

* The account of *Spira* is delivered by ſeveral creditable authors, who were eye-witneſſes of his melancholy end; viz. *Matthew Gribaldo*, a lawyer of *Padua*, by *Sigiſmund Gelon*, *Henry Scot*, and *Vergerio*.

attachment

attachment to the proteſtant doctrine. Till this period, he had evidently heſitated, and wiſhed to keep himſelf as ſafe as he could, without entirely making ſhipwreck of conſcience. But this awful inſtance determined him. He, therefore, fully reſolved to abandon his native country and all he had, and to become, in a double ſenſe, a *ſtranger and pilgrim upon earth.* Every true Chriſtian muſt be this in his ſpirit; but every one is not called to be ſo both in body and mind, as *Vergerio* undoubtedly was. He underwent this voluntary baniſhment, that he might live where he might freely profeſs the doctrine of *Chriſt.* He quitted the fine country of *Bergamo* for the bleak barren hills of the *Griſons:* The *Griſons* became a ſpiritual *Eden*, far more delightful than the *Italian* plains, through the ſweet manifeſtation of the goſpel. If *Chriſt* and a dungeon have been preferred by many martyrs to a palace without him; ſurely *Chriſt* and the *Griſons* muſt be far more welcome than all the buſy ſcenes of life, where inward peace is a ſtranger, and where outward felicity flies off in a dream. *Vergerio* counted the coſt, and had made a wiſe eſtimate of the honors, the riches, and the pleaſures, of a giddy world. He was certainly able to do ſo, in the ſtrength of grace; for he had ſeen and known them all in their higheſt ſplendor and magnificence: And, with *Solomon*, he could write upon them all;—*vanity and vexation of ſpirit.*

Vergerio preached the goſpel partly amongſt the *Griſons*, and partly in the *Valteline*, for ſeveral years. At length, he was invited to *Tubingen*, in *Swabia*, by the duke of *Wurtemburg*, where he paſſed the remainder of his days.

Vergerio's brother, *John Baptiſt Vergerio*, biſhop of *Pola*, who was converted to the truth at the ſame time (as we we have mentioned) died before he left *Italy*; and it is ſuſpected, that he was poiſoned by thoſe deſperate and implacable papiſts, who hunted likewiſe for *Vergerio*'s blood.

While *Vergerio* was among the *Griſons*, the emperor and pope had endeavored to draw the *Swiſs* to the council of *Trent:* But the *French* king, having oppoſite views, inſtructed *La Morliere*, his ambaſſador or envoy to the Cantons, to diſſuade them from it. *La Morliere*, finding it a work of difficulty, prevailed upon *Vergerio*, who was expert in negotiation and buſineſs, to come to him from among the *Griſons*. *Vergerio* ſupplied him with arguments, and, ſoon afterwards, publiſhed a book againſt repairing to the council. By theſe means, *Switzerland* and the *Griſons* were preſerved from that corrupt leaven, and from being enſnared by the policy of *Rome.*

In

In this book *Vergerio* exhibited the pride, pomp, luxury, ambition, bribery, and diſſolute manners of the court of *Rome*, which he declared he well knew, and from his heart deteſted: That the council of *Trent* was not called by the pope, to eſtabliſh the doctrine of *Chriſt*, but thoſe human inventions which they had brought in contrary to the word of God; not to purge God's fold, but to diſſeminate their inveterate errors; not to reſtore Chriſtian liberty, but to introduce a miſerable bondage and oppreſſion on the ſouls of men: That this appeared, from there being none but biſhops and abbots, who had taken an oath preſcribed by the *Roman* ceremonial, allowed to ſit there: That the inferior clergy and ſecular princes had only a right to come, without the leaſt power of deliberating or voting; ſo that every concluſion muſt be *ex parte*; as all, who differed from *Rome*, were without influence: And that, in ſhort, no good thing would be done, nor any corruption complained of remedied, though to remedy corruptions was the expreſs end for which the council was pretended to be called.

The event proved the truth of *Vergerio*'s aſſertion; as we may more fully learn from the celebrated hiſtory of that council, written by the excellent *F. Paulo* of *Venice*.

This good man *Vergerio* finiſhed his labors and his life at *Tubingen* on the fourth of *October*, in the year 1566. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. *James Andreas*, on 1 *Tim.* i. 12, 13. *I thank* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the miniſtry, who was before a blaſphemer, and a perſecutor, and injurious: But I obtained mercy, becauſe I did it ignorantly in unbelief.* Upon this text he drew, and might draw, no very diſtant parallel between thoſe two perſecuting converts, the apoſtle *Paul* and biſhop *Vergerio*.

Pezelius ſays, that 'of a wolf God made *Vergerio* one of 'his fold, and a paſtor of his flock;' and *Trithemius* ſpeaks of him, that 'he was a man, diligent in ſearching the 'holy ſcriptures, and very learned in human ſcience, 'celebrated as a philoſopher and a rhetorician, and per-'fectly ſkilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.' *Thuanus* mentions him likewiſe in very handſome terms, and perhaps as handſome as he dared: But *Vergerio* has a much better commendation than all theſe,—the applauſe of his Maſter—*Well done, good and faithful ſervant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

End of the Life of Vergerio.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM